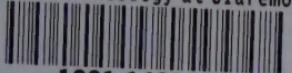


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HISTORY
OF
THE JESUIT S.

Abram Longbottom

HISTORY

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THE JESUITS:

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THEIR SOCIETY TO
ITS SUPPRESSION BY POPE CLEMENT XIV.;

THEIR MISSIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD;
THEIR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND LITERATURE; WITH THEIR
REVIVAL AND PRESENT STATE.

BY

ANDREW STEINMETZ,

AUTHOR OF "THE NOVITiate," "THE JESUIT IN THE FAMILY."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

To the Catholic, as well as to the Protestant world this book is offered as some enlightenment on that important subject—the abuse of the religious sentiment. It is a book of facts. The Jesuits themselves, Catholic historians, and Protestant writers, the most impartial, furnish the groundwork. The main subject is connected with the contemporaneous history of the world during the last three centuries, which is brought home to the present times of political unrest and revolutions—and yet hopeful withal. It is a history of Human Nature—errors, crimes, and retribution—political as well as “religious”—and *therefore*, the book is impartial. Connected with no party whatever, my object has been to seek, and find, and boldly to express, the truth—such, at least, as it has appeared to me, after multitudinous consultations. For, intensely interested in the subject, I have spared neither pains nor expense to collect such information on the subject as would enable me to put forth a decisive work, not only on the Jesuits, but the religious movement in general, which antagonised the South with the North of Europe.

To every mind the history of the Jesuits presents subjects of interest. In their exploits, the churchman, the missioner, the preacher, the educator,—all who possess influence on the minds of men, may find hints and admonitions:—their industry and perseverance are models for all humanity.

They labored indefatigably, and received their reward in a world-encircling power. From first to last, they were never in

obscurity. Like Minerva, sprung from the head of Jove, the Company of the Jesuits went forth from the brain of Ignatius, full-grown, ready for battle. In her infancy she was great—the world feared her when she won her position—the lust of conquest supervened—she exemplified the maxims of the very world which she went forth to reform—and dug the pit into which she fell, discarded by the popedom, for whose defence she was established.

It has been my object to enable the reader to judge for himself in the facts which led to that consummation. I have not indulged in the usual vituperation of the Jesuits: no animadversion will be found in this history unsupported by its fact. Neither have the apologists of the Jesuits induced me to believe their representations. From the nearly equal mass of rancorous denunciation and defence of the Jesuits, I have endeavored to arrive at the truth by a meditation of the times in which the Jesuits performed their part, their acknowledged method, and its results to humanity. The books written against the Jesuits would form an extensive library—so would their apologies:—even in the first century of their existence, the Jesuits put forth about one hundred works in defence of their Company or its men.

My object is simply to place a momentous subject in its truest possible light—would that all error were purely abstract—purely “indifferent”—so that we might cherish the *man* to our bosom, whilst we consign his *error* to its fittest abode.

According to the Jesuits themselves the Company was a band of angels; their friends are not less extravagant on the subject:—Vitelleschi, a General of the Company, is somewhat more reasonable and candid.

He compares the Society to the skies; the Society is Aurora; IGNATIUS is the sun; the members are the stars, “during so many years, and in so many lands, shining with the splendor of virtue, eminent and perfect. But if,” he continues, “any comet of disastrous result, compounded of the foul and pestilential vapors of

a world too near, should light its deadly flame among so many benign and propitious fires, we should not, on that account, condemn those skies, since even in the beautiful skies of nature we sometimes unwillingly behold the same anomaly.”* A bad Jesuit is therefore a comet; but a comet is a functionary in the celestial systems; it is a secondary cause, produced and propelled by a great Designer: then, may we substitute this Jesuit for the comet, and the spirit of Jesuitism for the great Designer?

Thus, then, much has been said in favor of the Jesuits—more against them; accusations have been denied, countercharges have been brought forward, and even questions of history still remain uncertain, undecided.

I am surrounded with books of every description about the Jesuits. They have all been written with one professed object in view—TRUTH. Truth has been contemplated by all; but in how many different ways have they gazed at her charms! Some have peered with one eye, others with half an eye; some “with spectacles on nose,” others with quizzing-glasses; and not a few with that vacant stare which sees *nothing!* It is thus with the affairs of the Jesuits; any and every mind may find something to praise or blame in these extraordinary men, and their extraordinary achievements.

Almost all the authors whom I quote, are in my own possession; and, in order to facilitate reference, I have preferred to quote works easily obtained,—but still due verification has never been omitted, when the original authorities could be procured. To Ranke I am under great obligations. His “History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” is a treasury of facts, collected with vast labor, discernment, and impartiality. Mr. Kelly’s translation is so faithful and accurate, that I must also express my thanks to him, for diminishing my labor in the numerous versions I have had to make, from all the languages of Europe, in building up this temple of Jesuitism.

* Epist. 4, R. P. N. Vitell., 1639.

But there is another writer to whom I am still more indebted for the facts of a most important section of this history—I mean the Rev. M. A. Tierney, in his admirable edition of Dodd's Church History of England. Mr. Tierney leaves us to regret that he did not completely recompose the whole history. What a frightful picture has he exhibited of the English Mission during the reign of Elizabeth and James I.! Awful, indeed, are the disclosures of the documents now, for the first time, brought to light by this conscientious Catholic clergyman. The English Jesuits of Stonyhurst lent him their documents—apparently unaware of their contents; and Mr. Tierney made good use of them in their damaging evidence: he laid bare the ghastliness of the Jesuit-scheme in England, and mortally offended the descendants of Father Parsons and Garnet. The consequence was, that the gentlemen of Stonyhurst peremptorily demanded back their documents! And yet, what was Mr. Tierney's motive? He expressly declares his honorable reason, saying: “We should recur to the errors or the weaknesses of the past only to provide more effectually against the failings and the disasters of the future. It is by defending the faults, that we become answerable for the delinquencies of our predecessors: it is by a prompt and honest condemnation of their misdeeds, that we prove ourselves uninfluenced by their example, and establish the integrity of our own views. We are to judge of actions by their nature and tendency, not by the accidental relation in which their authors may stand to ourselves. Perfection is not the privilege of any order of men; and if history, contemplating the events of earlier times, condemns the encroachments of some, the jealousies of others, and the faults of all, it is not for the purpose of reviving the disputes, or embittering the recollections, of the past, but solely with a view to point out those errors which each should be solicitous to avoid.”*

Precisely the same motive has actuated me throughout this history. I have neither a “party” nor a system to uphold.

In the plan of the work, the Missionary schemes of the Jesuits

* Dodd's Church History, ii. p. 176, *note*.

form a prominent subject—together with their training, their educational system, and literature. The main history of the Jesuits, however, belongs to the first century of the Order; thenceforward it was all retribution and downfall. Still it was my intention to enter deeply into the history of the last years of the Order before its suppression—to evolve the human mind of the age as exhibited particularly in France:—but the formidable *finis* cut short my meditations.

There are ten Books in the History, each being named after one of the *first ten Jesuits*, in the order of their *accession* to the scheme of Ignatius.

Unquestionably the work has been rapidly put forth. Nevertheless, I have no apology to make—no favor to beg. Ample preparation preceded the mere composition: what I undertook to produce, is, I believe, performed. Never will I insult the public by craving indulgence for offering of mine. Let it stand or fall by its merits or demerits. The motive which impelled me to the enterprise, will make me respectful of approval—but callous to vituperation. In the words of the unfortunate Jesuit Southwell—prefacing his “*Magdalen’s Funeral Teares*”—I may be permitted to say, “Let the work defend itself, and every one pass his censure as he seeth cause. Many carps are expected when curious eyes come a fishing. But the care is already taken, and patience waiteth at the table, ready to take away, when that dish is served in, and make room for others to set on the desired fruit.”

I shall conclude with the words of Dr. Wiseman: “I know not if there be a worse class of slander than that which endeavors to affix the most odious of stigmas upon any one who shall dare to think differently from ourselves upon matters indifferent.”*

ANDREW STEINMETZ.

GARDEN COTTAGE, FAKENHAM,
June 1848.

* Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, p. 185.

BOOK I. OR, IGNATIUS.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE POPE DOM, RELIGION, POLITICS, MEN AND MANNERS,—IN A WORD,
THE CHRISTENDOM OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the moral, as in the physical world, effects suggest their causes. Events, in the history of individuals and nations, are moral effects, whose causes must exist. To trace these events or effects to their most probable causes, enters into the philosophy of history. One of the most remarkable events in the history of the sixteenth century was, not the *establishment* of the Jesuits, but their wonderful success and rapid development. At first sight, their origin is somewhat ridiculous. A crippled soldier in the guise of a pilgrim in rags, after collecting nine companions, reaches Rome, obtains an interview with the Pope, offers him his services, his terms are accepted, a company is established, and within sixteen years, this company is spread all over the world, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; dividing into twelve provinces a regiment of a thousand veterans, with a hundred colleges for their head-quarters, numberless entrenchments in the walled cities of the Christian, or flying camps in the wilds of the cannibal, influencing, for good or evil, millions of earth's inhabitants. Many causes must have conspired to produce these effects to which the origin of the Jesuits lends, apparently, no adequate interpretation. Another example of rapid development may, however, lessen our wonder, though it will not, perhaps, explain the difficulty.

Mohammed, an ignorant man, as represented, with ten followers, went forth on his mission—and within twenty years from the moment of inspiration, his followers amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand—his sceptre triumphant from the shores of the Indian to the billows of the Midland Sea. The ambassadors who knelt before the throne of the prophet “outnumbered the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” Without assuming national excitement to be the result of “electric evolution,” (the curious “*Kyffrawd*”* of an ingenious modern theorist,) Mohammed’s *method*, in the evident *circumstances* of his career, fully

* The Geographical Progress of Empire, &c., by Rev. T. Price, 1847.

explains the causes of *his* wonderful success. War to the death—and fanaticism—in the midst of enervated Asiatics, bore down all before him; whilst the laws he framed for his followers made them at least comfortable in a sensual world—in wealth and strength, long to live, and cry *La Allah Il Allah*, and “Mohammed is the Apostle of God.” Here was the “word of God” to the sword of man most desperately united—and the result was commensurate.

Somewhat different was the method of Ignatius of Loyola; the crippled soldier aforesaid, in the guise of a ragged pilgrim, with his nine companions. Listen to the patriarch—the “man of God”—for his words will not beseem a soldier, though crippled and in rags. To his followers *he* said:—We are the company of Jesus. Under the banner of the Cross we do battle for God, and serve the pope, his vicar, on earth. You must vow perpetual chastity. You will have to labour for the advancement of souls in the way of salvation, and for the defence of the faith,—by public preaching, by the ministry of God’s word, by “Spiritual Exercises” in which you shall be duly initiated, and by works of charity. The young and the ignorant shall be the special objects of your ministry. You shall have but two objects constantly before you—God, and the design of this institute,—which you must promote with might and main, as the end proposed to you by God Almighty. But, observe, each member must confine himself to the grace vouchsafed to him, and the rank of his vocation: no one must aspire beyond his intellectual and spiritual powers, lest he be misled by the zeal of Ignorance. Consequently the rank that each shall obtain, the functions that each shall perform, will be left entirely to the judgment and discretion of the Head who shall be chosen to govern the company. This Head shall be elected by the majority of votes; and the election will invest him with the right of drawing up the constitutions or statutes of the company; but the whole right of command shall be vested in the Head. There is one point of immense importance to which your attention is imperatively called. All the members must know, not only in the very threshold of their probation, but as long as they live must daily bear in mind, that the whole company, and each member thereof, must fight in faithful obedience to our most holy lord, the pope, and his successors. Doubtless, all the faithful of Christ owe obedience to the Roman pontiff as their head, and the vicar of Jesus Christ; but *we* have judged it expedient, in all humility, and perfect self-denial (besides the common bond aforesaid), to bind ourselves by a *special* vow to go whithersoever the pope shall be pleased to send us for the advancement of souls and the defence of the Faith. Without excuse, without a moment’s hesitation, whether he send us to the Turks or other infidels, even to the Indies—to heretics or schismatics—in a word, to any and every place, without exception. In conclusion, you need not be told that all must vow obedience to the head of the company. Of course, all must vow perpetual poverty.*

* See the Bull establishing the Jesuits, *Litt. Apost. Paul. III. Soc. Jesu Approbatio.*

For God—for the Pope—for the Company:—a special vow of obedience to the pope:—absolute power vested in the chief of the company to whom obedience is vowed;—chastity and poverty, the additional vows of each member—public preaching, spiritual functions, works of charity, and a prospective glance at “colleges,”—such are the broad ways and means of the institute whose expansion was so wonderful. Assuredly they are not adequate to account for that wonderful development. Something similar, if not identical, had existed, and still existed, in the various institutions of monks—the Orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, St. Benedict. The design or scheme of Ignatius was not entirely original—unless we confine the peculiarity of his institute to the fact that the Jesuits were to be papal emissaries scattered over the world,—emancipated from convents, and yet essentially monks, by the obligations of their vows. But the pope could always insure the services of the monks: they were always ready to obey the Holy Father. Such being the case, why was this new order established? And being established, how are we to account for its wonderful success? It is evident that the secret of this Founder’s success is not contained in the proposals of his institute: there was nothing in them likely to captivate, by novelty,* the admiration of the pope—for even the promise of obedience to his holiness was but a promise depending upon individual dispositions for its complete fulfilment. Still, the fact of success suggests, at once, three probabilities—that Ignatius was an extraordinary worker—that circumstances favored his scheme—and that the state of the world at that time was exactly the medium best adapted to facilitate his advancement—like the peculiar fluid in which planets revolve round about their centres. Therefore, as in the case of Mohammed, we have to investigate the circumstances in which Ignatius went forth to fight, and conquer, and raise a shrine whereat to receive ambassadors from all the quarters of the habitable world, “outnumbering the dates that fall from the palm-tree in its maturity.” These circumstances may give the force of originality to the scheme of Loyola, or present its results as those of a skilful adaptation of old materials. The investigation must begin with the sixteenth century—some forty years before the rise of the Jesuits. The popedom—religion—politics—men and manners—in a word, the Christendom of those times must be understood, ere we accompany Ignatius and his followers in their wondrous expedition, sailing forth from the Apostolic port to invade the universe, under the most favorable auspices.

Ever memorable in the annals of art, science, and politics, the sixteenth century is equally remarkable for the position successively occupied by the popes of Rome. Alexander the Sixth began the century. He bought the popedom; and was fiercely ungrateful to the cardinals whose ambition and avarice he tempted. His whole pontificate exhibits an unequalled career of private vice and public atrocity. But Alexander

* Ribadeneyra, the Jesuit, proves this in his “*Tratado—De la Compania de Jesus,*” which will be noticed in Book III. of the present work.

was unquestionably a man of talent: his reign was prosperous. It is difficult to decide how far we are to hold the pope guilty of those public crimes in which his son, Cæsar Borgia, was most deeply concerned. The son was ambitious; the father was intent on the aggrandisement of his house:—let them share the infamy of their crimes. Their aim was to put down the aristocratical factions of Italy. That was the age when monarchs became jealous of rival power, and were struggling to crush the worms of pettier tyrants who crawled within their precincts. Dreadful times for aristocrats were those of Pope Alexander! His terrible son, Cæsar Borgia, was one of those many historical characters to whom ambition and fierce desires make all things lawful—such characters as throng on the page of history which is condemned to narrate the glorious deeds of the sixteenth century. Cæsar Borgia could brook no rival. His own brother stood in his way; he had him murdered one night, and thrown into the Tiber. They had both just supped together at their mother's! Their father, the pope, entirely connived at the dreadful parricide—for he undoubtedly dreaded the same fate from his ferocious son.* Cæsar Borgia killed his father's favorite Peroto—killed him beneath the very pontifical mantle; the victim clinging close to his patron: the blood spurted on the pope's face. Cæsar Borgia triumphed in his crimes. Rome, and the States of the Church, bowed to his sway. Think not that he lacked what many did think, and many still may think, redeeming qualifications in his dread depravity. Of surpassing beauty, and wonderful strength of arm, was this blood-thirsty villain: in the bull-fight, he would strike off the brute's head at a single blow. And he was liberal-handed withal—not without traits of magnanimity,—as if to prove, for the shame of humanity, that the most venerable virtues, or what seem such to the world, are not necessarily estranged from the most detestable vices; for, as we have seen, he was bloody, and Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar needed gold, and had enemies: every night the corpses of murdered men were found in the streets. Every man held his breath; for there was none who might not fear that his own turn would come next. Those whom violence could not reach were taken off by poison. There was but one spot where such deeds were possible; that spot alone where unlimited power, and the highest spiritual authority, were united in the same individual: this spot Cæsar occupied. Even monstrosity has its perfection. Many sons and nephews of the popes have attempted similar things; but none ever carried them to such a pitch: Cæsar was “a virtuoso in crime.”† The reader will be surprised, doubtless, to hear that this man was made *archbishop* of Valencia, and a *cardinal*, by his father. “He showed himself worthy of such a father,” says the Jesuit Feller, “by his guilty passion for his own sister Lucretia, and by the murder of his elder brother, who was his rival.”‡ The same authority calls him “a monster of debauchery and

* “Connivente prorsus ad immane parricidii scelus patre pontifice, qui et ipse vim sibi afferri ab efferato filio procul dubio metuebat.”—*Panvinius, Alex. VI.*

† Ranke's vigorous expression—“Cesar ist ein virtuos des verbrechens.” I. p. 52.

‡ *Biog. Univ. Alex. VI.*

cruelty ;” and every historian is of the same opinion as to facts, a few of which have been given.

Respecting the indirect influence of the great, by position or genius, on the mass of men, experience attests that the mere rumor of their guilty lives is sufficient, without actual proof, to supply those samples to which profligate hearts yearn to conform. Truly or falsely were the blackest crimes laid to the charge of Alexander the Sixth, it mattered little ; the influence of those rumors, with the conduct of his hideous son (whom he idolised), before them, was necessarily disastrous to the morals of the age. Was it not believed that the pope had purchased the tiara ? and did not opinion find in his subsequent conduct facts which tallied with that incipient simony ?

“ He sells the keys, the altars, Christ himself;
By right he sells what he has bought with pelf.”*

Every crime was attributed to him—murder, assassination, poisoning, simony, and incest.† “ He played during his whole life a game of deception ; and, notwithstanding his faithless conduct was extremely well known,” says Machiavelli, “ his artifices always proved successful,”—a proof that decided success proves not the decided integrity of schemes. Oaths and protestations cost him nothing, says the same authority ; never did a prince so often break his word, or pay less regard to his engagements. This was because he so well understood this chapter in the art of government, adds the political philosopher, with wonderful complacency.‡ Possibly Alexander the Sixth was the model of Machiavelli’s *Prince*—the all-famous *Principe*—that *gospel-book of the sixteenth century*.

Alexander the Sixth has thus been universally denounced : Catholics and Protestants have united in blasting his memory : the Jesuit Reeve styles him “ the infamous Borgia.”§ Some there are who speak and write of his vices and crimes with a sort of gusto, because they seem to reflect on the religion of Catholics. Cruel, unjust, absurdest of imputations ! Who charges the religion of Protestants with the vices and crimes of Henry the Eighth ? It is not the religion of Catholics that explains the impurity of an Alexander’s guilt, but the position of the popedom in the sixteenth century. Such a character at the head of the

* “ Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum ;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.”

† An epitaph was written for Lucretia, his licentious daughter, as follows :

“ Here lies Lucrece, a Thaïs in her life—
Pope Sixtus’ daughter, daughter-in-law, and wife.”
“ Hic jacet in tumulo Lucretja nomine, sed re
Thaïs, Alexandri filia, sponsa, nurus.”

This epitaph has been attributed to Sannazarius, but I have been unable to find it among his works : the following epigram, on the same subject, is certainly his :

“ Ergo te semper cupiet, Lucretia, Sextus ?
O fatum diri nominis : hic pater est.”
Sannaz. Epigram. l. ii. No. 4.

‡ Il Principe, c. xviii.

§ Hist. of the Christian Church, p. 428. Why is the title S. J. (Societatis Jesu) omitted in the title-page of this Jesuit’s book ? See Dr. Oliver’s Collections, p. 178.

faithful—such a striking deviation from moral rectitude, even assuming him to have been slandered in some points,—was more to be lamented on the score of inconsistency. It was a sad position for “the successor of St. Peter,” “the head of the church,” “the vicar of Christ.” But was it not, somehow, a natural position for an absolute monarch, as the error of the church permitted the father of the faithful to become, when the poverty (so beautiful and consistent) of the apostolic brotherhood first vouchsafed to humanity was no more? This was the prime error of the church—the error on which all others hung flapping to and fro as the winds of the passions listed—on a sunny sea of temptation. Temporal power assumed or received by the spiritual guides of men was contrary to the will of Him who sent them forth to be “ministers”—servants, not to “exercise dominion.”* In open defiance of the sacred counsel, the shepherd of the flock became a prince of many people, even as “the princes of the Gentiles,”—and how could the promise be kept, that “the gates of hell should not prevail against the church,” if its very head was in direct contravention of the most urgent of these conditions, *all* of which were to be complied with to eventuate that fulfilment? And, alas! how fearfully did the popes do as “the princes of the Gentiles!” They were kings—and the vices of kings had long ceased to be exceptions to the general rule; if not a matter of course, these vices were certainly a matter of notoriety. Long before Alexander VI. there had been popes of reprobate character, and yet enjoying, as heads of the Christian Church, the name and prerogatives of sanctity. But who could deem holy that Urban VI., who, to glut his revenge against those cardinals who opposed his election, had them tied up in a sack and drowned in the sea of Genoa.† Who could deem holy that Boniface VIII., of whom it was truly said that he entered the papacy like a wolf, ruled like a lion, and died like a dog,—the terror he lived of all kings and nations, and an insatiate lover of gold?‡ In the ages of faith flourished these “vicars of Christ.” Verily, notorious and infamous crimes have immortalised the memory of popes. And early did the human mind shrink back, horror-stricken at the aw-

* “But Jesus called them unto him, and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: but it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant—even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.”—Matt. xx. 25, *et seq.*

† “Quibus dum Genuam pontifex desertur, ex septem cardinalibus Nuceriae captis, quinque saccis involutis, in mare demersit.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 206.

‡ “Moritur hoc modo Bonifacius ille, qui imperatoribus, regibus, principibus, nationibus, populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur; quique dare regna et auferre, pellere homines ac reducere pro arbitrio animi conabatur, aurum undique conquisitum plus quam dici potest, sitiens.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 187; *Leti, Vit. de Sist.* V. i. 15. A curious anecdote is related of this pope by the same honest Catholic: “We certainly know,” says Platina, “what he said to Prochetus, the Archbishop of Genoa, who was kneeling before him on a certain Ash-Wednesday. For whereas it is customary for the priest on that occasion to say, ‘Remember, man, that thou art ashes, and into ashes shalt return;’ Boniface exclaimed, substituting the words, ‘Remember, man, that thou art a *Gibelline*, and with the Gibellines into ashes shalt return;’ whereupon he flung the ashes into his eyes, and not on his head, as is usual.”—*Plat. de Vit. Pont.* p. 186.

ful inconsistency. Even in the fourteenth century, when men had scarcely dreamed of shaking off the bonds of superstition—in the age of vagabond pilgrimages and hobgoblins—it was one of the first glad tidings of coming freedom, when the earliest promoters of literature, in bold and daring numbers, sang the crimes and punishments of lawless, godless popes. In the realms of woe eternal, the genius of poesy found them. Ineffectual wails, unsatisfying torments, embodied the poetic conception, the infernal merits of those who abused the sacred sentiment of religion in the human breast, to suit their selfish purposes, their guilty passions; at the sight of whom Dante invoked the name of *Simon Magus*, and sounded forth his terrible trumpet.* Pope Anastasius in the deep abyss by an inscription he recognised,† whilst his church on earth, as he found her, was “sunk under the weight of her crimes, and polluted with mire and filth.” In hell he found Nicholas III. planted with his heels upwards, waiting till Boniface VIII. arrives, who is to take his place—to be in his turn relieved by Clement V., *un pastor senza legge*, a lawless shepherd.‡ The milder spirit of Petrarcha is roused on this subject of Roman depravity, to a higher pitch of indignation. In one of his sonnets he assimilates the papal court to Babylon—

“ L'avara Babilonia ha colmo 'l sacco
D'ira di Dio, e di vizj empj e rei
Tanto, che scoppia ; ed ha fatti suoi Dei
Non Giove e Palla, ma Venere e Bacco.”§

To him, Rome is a fountain of grief, the dwelling of wrath, the school of error, and the temple of unbelief. He pours forth with wrathful energy every epithet of disgrace against the *putta sfacciata*—the unblushing thing of iniquity.||

Catholics easily account for their devotion to the holy see, in spite of its historical abominations, which, however, very few of them are aware of—their accredited histories in common use, “with permission of authority,” veiling the subject with painful dexterity. When the matter is alluded to, a specious argument, with its clever distinctions, satisfies at least the bold propounders of theory against fact. They will tell you : we distinguish the *holy see* from the *court of Rome*. The pope, when representing the former in the spiritual government of the church, cannot err, being inspired by the Holy Ghost, and having received his impeccability, in that capacity, from Christ, when he said : “*I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not.*” And when the pope goes astray, it is as prince of the *Roman Court*—the famous, or rather infamous, *Corte di Roma*—which is subject to all the passions, to all worldly interests, all the maxims of state policy, so often pernicious in their results—all

* “ O Simon Mago, O miseri sequaci,
Che le cose di Dio, che di bontate
Deono essere spose, e voi, rapaci,
Per oro e per argento adulterate;
Or convien che per voi suoni la tromba,” &c.—*Infern.* c. xix.

† *Infern.* c. xi.

‡ Ib. xix. 83.

§ *Sonn.* xv.

|| *Sonn.* xvi.; *Rosc.* Leo X. ii. 84. See also, Rosetti, *Disquisit. passim.*

the tortuous shifts of hireling machinations—the urgency of war—revenge, secret and public—display, pomp, factions, cliques—in fine, to all the passions notorious and infamous in the worst rulers of men.*

Why not, then, elect two popes? Let one be king of Rome and its court. Let the other be *Dairi*, as in Japan, only concerned with spirituals—faith, morals, bulls, and dispensations. By such a plan we might almost go back to the apostolic simplicity of church-government. The present time urgently requires something of the sort: already we begin to see how impossible it is, in spite of splendid promise, for a pope of Rome to shake off utterly his ancient self.†

The disreputable characters of the popes interfered not with their spiritual pretensions—their power over the nations of earth and her princes. These pretensions have sent down their names to posterity, coupled with the humiliation of kings and potentates, impelled by “public opinion” which was guided by the superstitions of the age, to kiss the hand that hurled them to the dust. Public opinion was led away captive by the arts which practised on the religious instinct of men. The acknowledged Father of the Faithful, Vicar of Jesus Christ, Temple of the Holy Ghost, and Keeper of the Keys of Heaven and Hell, triumphed aloft on the clouds of Public Opinion. That was the fact—the natural fact—for it is absurd to suppose that such spiritual domination could be simply usurped. It was the accumulated result of skilful management; and was finally dreaded, if not universally revered, or conscientiously conceded. The arms of that power were forged on the anvil of superstition, in the midst of barbarism—midnight darkness of mind. Scarcely remarkable in the first ages of the church, the See of Rome continued the struggle for supremacy over other Sees: but from the beginning of the seventh century to the middle of the eighth, the bishop of Rome was acknowledged the Head of the Church. From that period to the middle of the eleventh century, he was not only the Head of the Church, but a temporal prince of Italy:—and thenceforward to the present time, the pope has been the “Vicar of Jesus Christ,” and sovereign of the ecclesiastical states of Italy, with more or less of “temporal power” in other kingdoms, according to circumstances.‡

Gregory VII. led off the band of fulminating pontiffs. He founded his domination with these words: *I excommunicate thee.* With these

* Leti, Sisto V. lib. i.

† There is an old prophecy, known perhaps to the learned of the Catholic church, under the name of *Prophetia Malachiae*, professing to give, by symbols, the characteristic of each successive pope or his pontificate. The symbol of Pius IX., the present pope, turns out to be very striking; it is *De balucis Æthuriæ*, that is, *out of the drinking-pots of Etruria*. Perhaps some will find it as difficult to accord the “promises” of the present pope with what he can, or means to do, in the way of “regeneration,” as it is to explain the meaning of his mysterious motto, as conceived by Malachy at least It is, moreover, very curious to find that there will be only *eleven* more popes! At all events, there remains only that number of symbols. Whether we are approaching the end of the popedom, or of the world so nearly, is the serious question. However, after the last motto, we are told that “the Roman Peter will sit in the last persecution—and the tremendous judge will judge his people—Finis—the End.” See the Jesuit Arsdekin, *Theol. Trip.* p. 78.

‡ Zopf, t. i. 357.

words the old man changed the face of his world. With this weapon he forced kings to yield to the pope those domains destined for the support of his clergy and his own comfort and consolation.

Soon these papal troops were cantoned in every quarter of Christendom, whilst all the property of the monks—domains vast and well cultivated—became the appurtenance of the sovereign pontiff. Wherever priests were found they were the subjects of the pope. The wealth of Europe, from bound to bound, went to fill the coffers of the Vatican, and Gregory, the universal monarch, had, so to speak, a foot in all the kingdoms of Christendom. The clergy, the popedom, Italy herself, became, by a single stroke, the central point of Christian Europe; thenceforth Rome was the common country of the priesthood. This vast ecclesiastical confraternity, receiving directly from the Vatican their power, their splendor, their fortune, no longer belonged to any king or country. Rome gave the law to the world.* As a set-off against this splendid domination of the popedom, we are told that the papal power held in check the tyranny of kings, protected the weak by mysteriously overwhelming the strong in those darksome days of man's troublous history. The proofs of this assertion are required—proofs plain and unequivocal—bereft of the tinsel of poetry or the clap-traps of rhetoric. The stern page of history declares that popes have rarely interfered in the wicked concerns and encroachments of kings, when *ecclesiastical prerogatives* were not at stake. The Emperor Henry IV. was deposed by Gregory in 1076; Frederick I. was deposed by Alexander III. in 1160; Otho IV. in 1211, and King John of England by Innocent III., and Innocent IV. deposed Frederick II. in 1245. These facts seem to announce that the successors of Gregory possessed somewhat more than moderate power; but what Gregory gained by spiritual arms succeeding popes expanded in a manner more in accordance with that of "the princes of the Gentiles."†—Alexander the Sixth, more than any, "proved to the world what a pope was capable of doing by means of men and money."‡ His whole pontificate was spent in vice and spoliation and murder. Still he was endured by the Catholic Christians of those times; he died in prosperity, his coffers filled with more than a million of golden ducats.—He died by poison, as is commonly believed. He coveted the wealth of certain courtiers and cardinals, and resolved to poison them at a feast to which they were invited. The poisoned wine was given to

* Foscolo, *Dante e il suo Secolo.* Scelt. Op. i.

† The reader has been reminded of the positive command of Christ to his apostles, touching "temporal power." The following piece of claptrap by a modern Catholic writer is as curious as it is absurd: "If he (the pope) had remained a simple individual or private subject, he could not have enjoyed the liberty necessary for the discharge of his duties as head of the universal church. The circumstances, therefore, which raised him to the rank of a temporal sovereign, are to be attributed to the dispensations of a wise Providence (!) who regulates events for the good of religion; who saw how necessary it was that the sovereign pontiff should have temporal power enough to be independent (!) but not too much to divert him from the discharge of his spiritual functions, and give him exactly (!) that moderate power." *Dublin Review*, xl. The words of Christ are, "It shall not be so among you." Matt. xx. 25, et seq.

‡ Machiav. *Il Principe*, xi.

himself by mistake: he lingered awhile, and died in the seventy-second year of his age, and the eleventh of his pontificate, A.D. 1503.*

Whilst we shrink from reproaching his religion with his crimes, the fact of such a man being the head of the church, and suffered to remain so, is highly characteristic of the age. Nor was he deficient in those other qualifications in which that age, like every other since that time, delighted; his vices seemed to be compensated by talents by no means vulgar. He was fluent of speech, had a good memory, great application, and a natural fund of eloquence and persuasion, which proved to be the ruin of many. His art of captivation was irresistible. Better than any man of his time, he could accommodate himself to all, adapting his conversation with great dexterity, according to circumstances,—pleasant subjects for the gay, serious topics for the grave. The care and government of the Christian republic occupied his deliberations with the cardinals. With kindness and patience he subdued and fettered his opponents. The most implacable of his enemies he converted into his staunchest friends. At the destruction of the many barons whom he sacrificed, no public cry of indignation was heard, no insurrection occurred; he obviated resistance by his presence in every transaction, and in important matters he confided little in others.† Enough in these sterling qualities to account for Alexander's prosperity. He was remarkably temperate in eating and drinking, and indulged but a short time in bed. He admired and cherished the arts; he punctually paid the pensions of learned men, the stipend of his soldiers, and the wages of his workmen.‡ Such a line of conduct was decidedly calculated to make and insure many friends; vice is commonly winked at when it is not accompanied by meanness and insolvency. Alexander's brain was certainly one of extraordinary vigor and texture: it remained unimpaired to the last.§ Nor was this "infamous Borgia" (to borrow the Jesuit's epithet) devoid of *professional* instinct. He issued "a pompous Bull" to authorize the kings of Spain and Portugal, at their request, exclusively to hold their contingent possessions in the New World, "with a view of propagating the Christian religion among the savages by the ministry of the Gospel."|| If this was really Borgia's

* Panv. Alex. VI. The case of the poisoning has been denied: but not satisfactorily. See Rosc. Leo X. i. 469, for the authorities; and Ranke for a very interesting extract from Sanuto, touching the fatal supper, *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 339, App.; Sannazarius, a contemporary, wrote as follows:

"Mirum, si vomuit nigrum post fata cruento
Borgia? quem biberat, coquere haud potuit." *Epigram.* ii. 30.

† Panv. Alex. VI.

‡ Panv. Alex. VI.

§ Rosc. Leo X. i. Combe, the phrenologist, has pictured and spread Alexander's skull all over the world, to "illustrate" the horrid "animal propensities," but decidedly it had other "bumps" not to be sneered at. His *position and profession* were his spiritual ruin. No "developments" are to be despised of if we only learn to manage them. Nature can never be contrary to the Christian's duty. It is curious to note similar "developments" in Leo X.; certainly by phrenology, *sweepingly applied*, Leo and Alexander should rank together.

|| Reeve, Jesuit, *ubi suprad.* p. 428. This was considered a *bona fide* grant, or at all events acted upon as such, by the Spanish king subsequently, when he instanced the Bull in his complaint against Drake for plundering his ships in his papal seas. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 112, Camden, an. 1580. See also Pereira, *Pol. Ind.*, l. i. c. x.

motive, it proves, apparently, that although horrid vice was his nature as a man, clerical zeal was his instinct as a pope, and that the things are not incompatible. It is sometimes difficult to account for certain facts without assuming this probability. In effect, Alexander the Sixth blended spirituals with temporals—the spirit and the flesh—to an uncommon degree; in a picture, painted for him by Pinturicchio, the beautiful *Julia Farnese*, his mistress, is represented in the sacred character of the Virgin Mary, whilst Alexander himself appears in the same picture as supreme pontiff, paying to her the tribute of adoration.* This fact is strikingly characteristic of the man whose conduct must necessarily have had immense influence on the Christendom of those days.

Two other facts are not much less remarkable. Alexander made many cardinals for “a consideration” in money; and he actually gave a refuge at Rome to the *Marranos*, or “converted Jews,” expelled from Spain—thereby mortally offending the Catholic king. What a noble instance of primitive toleration, perhaps you exclaim: but the fact is, Alexander took advantage of Ferdinand’s tyrannical bigotry to increase his own revenue: he derived a large revenue from a capitulation tax which he imposed on the unfortunate children of Israel! Money paid for everything in the Holy City.† Panvinius, a Catholic historian, who wrote about sixty years after Alexander’s exit, thus sums up the pope’s character. His political talents were thrown in the shade by his more than Punic perfidy, his dismal cruelty, boundless avarice and rapacity, and his ever-craving desire of acquiring power for his son, *per fas et nefas*, without a scruple at the means employed. When not engaged in business, he gave himself to every kind of pleasure, without exception. He was particularly addicted to women, and had four sons and two daughters. Vannoccia, a Roman lady, was the chief of his mistresses. His favorite entertainments were comedies and other pastimes; and he would often take his stand on the Mole of Adrian, on festive days, to see the masks as they passed.‡ He gave a magnificent equestrian display, and a hunting party on the Vatican, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter. Never before had cut-throats and assassins enjoyed more license: never did the people of Rome possess less freedom. The number of informers was immense: for the slightest murmurs or malediction the penalty of death was awarded.§

* Roscoe, *ubi suprà*, i. 196. This *Julia Farnese* was sister to Alexander Farnese, afterwards *Paul III.*, pope of Rome. Amongst the credited rumors of those times, it was said that Farnese, her brother, bargained for his cardinal’s gown from the pope, with his sister’s honor—*Alexander Sexto . . . ad usum . . . pro rubro galero dedit.* Sleidan and Vergerius evidently fished in the muddy pools of scandal. However, rumors are historical *influences*, and they tend to account for events, or at least the opinions of men touching events. It was the same *Paul III.* who established the Jesuits. It had been better for the Jesuits had their origin been sanctioned by the good Pope *Adrian VI.*, whose character none but bad *Catholics* impugned.

† “*Omnia venditarentur, nihilque pecuniae negaretur . . . Magnum quoque vectigal ex his quos vulgus Maranos vocabat, à rege Catholico ex Hispaniâ pulsos, et ab se Roma, magnâ cum ejus regis indignatione, suspectos, colligebat.*”—*Panv. Alex. VI.*

‡ The expression is mysterious—“*si quid elegantius in hominum genere per viam præteriret?*”

§ This state of things accounts for a fact advanced in favor of this pope—that “dur-

Footpads swarmed in every street: bandits in every highway: it was unsafe to walk the city by night, or the suburbs by day. Rome was become a general place of execution and slaughter,—which the pope permitted to gratify his children and relatives, whom in all things he indulged.*

It is generally admitted that this pontificate is the darkest in the annals of Papal Rome. Details, abundant and disgusting, of the general demoralisation of those times, may be found elsewhere :† but that depravity of morals did not begin with Alexander's pontificate. Platina, a contemporary, a pious Catholic, befriended and honored by pope Sixtus IV., advertises with lamentation to the growing evil—the multiplied iniquity. He glances back to times anterior, when immorality, as he believed, deserved and brought down Pagan persecution on the Christian church:—when the ministers of the gospel, pale with envy, puffed up with pride, distracted with feuds, agitated by mutual hatred, seemed better versed in the principles of tyranny than the duties of the priesthood, utterly forgetful of Christian piety, profaned rather than celebrated the sacred mysteries.‡ This vivid contemplation of the third century of the Church—when a saint§ was the bishop of Rome —inspires the historian with prophetic fire, which bursts forth as follows. “But what do we think will happen in these our times, when our vices have increased to such an extent that they scarcely leave us any place for mercy with God! How great is the avarice of our priests, especially of those who possess supreme power! How great is their lust seeking its objects in every quarter; how great their ambition and display; how much pride and sloth; how great their ignorance of themselves and of Christian doctrine; how little religion, and that rather counterfeit than true; how corrupt their morals, (even such as were to be detested in profane men or seculars,) I need not declare, since they sin openly and publicly, as though they were seeking praise for their enormities! Believe me; and Heaven grant that I prove a false prophet!—the Turk, that foe of the Christian name, will come upon us; a more violent enemy than Diocletian or Maximian. He strikes at the gates of Italy. Slothful and steeped in sleep—more intent upon our private pleasures than the common welfare—we await our universal downfall.”||

ing his whole pontificate no popular tumult ever endangered this pope's authority or disturbed his repose.” Roscoe, *Leo X.* i. 195.

* Panv. Alex. VI. See Roscoe, *ubi supra*.

+ Burchard, “Diarium”—Fabre, “Contin. of Fleury's Hist. Eccl.,” and many others give details on the subject; it is sufficient here to call attention to the fact—

“*Hoc sat viator: reliqua non sinit pudor.
Tu suspicare, et ambula.*”

See his Epitaph in *Sannazar. Epig.* ii. 29.

† “*Hi enim livore, superbiā, inimicitiis, odiis inter se certantes, tyrannidem potius quam sacerdotium sapere videbantur, Christiana pietatis omnino oblii, ac divina mysteria profanantes potius quam celebrantes.*”—*In vita S. Marcellini.*

§ *Marcellinus*, considered a saint because he suffered martyrdom, although he was before induced by fear to worship the strange gods—“*deos alienos adoravit.*” Ibid.

|| In the Italian translation of Platina, published in 1703, *con licenza de' Superiori*, the whole of this most striking and remarkable passage is suppressed. It was perhaps

Pius III., Alexander's successor, reigned six-and-twenty days: his was a nominal pontificate, amidst strife and commotion, resulting from the feuds of the former. Then Julius II. assumed with the tiara the sword of Mars, which he wielded like a warrior. His heart was ferocious and wrathful, says the Jesuit Pallavicino: * he retained only the garb and name of pope—inveterate in simony and infamous immorality, says Guicciardini. † For a certainty by many proofs there was in Julius the greatest ferocity of mind, which neither his age nor his dignity could correct or moderate; he knew no bounds in any of his measures, but was blindly driven headlong by his passions, says Paruta. ‡ He stormed in person, and carried the town of La Mirandola against the French, whom he expelled from Italy. Julius triumphed for a time over his enemies: but it was a significant fact, a prognostic of coming events, when a body of cardinals and bishops cited their pope to appear before a council to answer the charges levelled at his exorbitant pretensions; and, finally, at his refusal to appear, pronouncing a sentence of suspension against the Father of the Faithful. Nor is it less remarkable that these “schismatics” actually “went through all the forms of a legal council, invoked the assistance of the Holy Ghost, chose a president, and called themselves the legal representative of the whole Church, whom all are bound to obey.” § This event took place in 1512. Of course these presumptuous mortals were severely punished: all were duly excommunicated—deprived of their benefices and dignities. The kingdom of France, whose king, Lewis XII., was their abettor, was laid under an interdict, with direst anathema, by the vindictive pontiff, who forthwith summoned the fifth council of Lateran, “to regulate with great care whatever concerned the state and welfare of the church, the reformation of manners, the extinction of schism, and the restoration

too honest a testimony against the patrons of abuses, to stand upon record. Here is the original. “*Sed quid futurum nostrâ èstate arbitramur? quâ vitia nostra èô crevère, ut vix apud Deum misericordiæ locum nobis reliquerint. Quanta sit avaritia Sacerdotum, et eorum maximè qui rerum potiuntur,—quanta libido undique conquisita,—quanta ambitio et pompa,—quanta superbia et desidia,—quanta ignoratio, tum suis ipsius, tum doctrinæ Christianæ,—quàm parva religio, et simulata potiùs quam vera,—quam corrupti mores, vel in profanis etiam hominibus (quos seculares vocant) detestandi, non attinet dicere, cùm ipsa ita apertè et palam peccent, ac si inde laudem quærerent. Veniet (mihi credite, utinam falsus sim vates), veniet Turcus hostis Christiani nominis, Diocletiano et Maximiano violentior. Italia claustra jam pulsat. Nos desides et somniculosi, interitum communem expectamus, voluptati privata potius quàm communi utilitati consulentes.*”—*Plat. in vitâ Marcellini, in fine.*

“It is certain,” says Muratori, “that the cardinals in those days, instead of electing the best man, as they ought to have done, elected the worst, in favor of human cupidity: the fault of bad example, and of the corruption then prevailing, through which some popes even went so far as to boast of having children.”—*Annali*, t. ix. p. 366.

* “Era Giulio di cuor feroce ed iracondo.”—Lib. i. c. l.

† “Non riteneva di Pontefice altro che l'habito ed il nome—inveterato nella simonia e ne' costumi infami.”—Lib. ii.

‡ “Per certo da' molti indici si pote conoscer in Giulio essere stata grandissima ferocità d' ingegno, la quale, nè l' età, nè la dignità fu bastante di corregere, ò di temperare. Non sapeva in alcuna sua operazione servare misura, ò temperamento; ma quasi cieco era le più volte da gli appetiti suoi portato à precipitare.”—*Hist. Vinet.* lib. i. See also Muratori, *Annali*, ix. 83.

§ Reeve, p. 430.

of peace amongst Christian princes.”* A mere bank-order without proceeds.

All these cardinals were, in the next pontificate, restored to their dignities. It is admitted that their object and hope were to place a good and holy pope over the Christian church; though we are also told that each of them secretly aspired to the dignity.†

In his difficulties the pope craved succor from Henry VIII. of England, which was granted by the future Defender of the Faith and destroyer of the Church in the “Island of Saints.” In defence of the popedom or its interests, Henry sent an army into France; but, pressed on all sides, in the midst of his tumultuous designs, Julius died of a fever, produced by mental exacerbation at the failure of one of his political schemes: “for he was greatly ruled by his passions, and continually agitated by his desire of glory, and could not long endure the grief of seeing his designs severely disapproved by all.”‡

Like his predecessor, Julius was a character of the age. He knew not what it was to entertain fear or irresolution; even in his advanced years he possessed that grand quality of manhood, indomitable courage. He made but small account of the princes of his time, thinking he could overlook them all. To the very tumult of a general war did he look with most hopes of gains; his only care was to be always in command of money, so as to seize the favorable opportunity with all his might: he desired, as was happily said by a Venetian, to be lord and master of the game of the world. He waited the fulfilment of his desires with impatience, but he kept them confined to his own breast. If we inquire what was the circumstance that enabled him to assume his peculiar attitude, we find it was, above all things, that he was free to avow his natural tendencies, nay, openly to profess them and make them his boast. The re-establishment of the state of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as ■ glorious enterprize: it even considered it a religious one: all the pope’s steps were directed towards this one end,—this was the idea that animated all his thoughts; they were, if I may so express myself, steeped in it.§ Julius succeeded for a time: he made France tremble, drove her armies out of Italy, and overwhelmed the Venetians, though before his time the princes of Italy, and even the poorest barons and most insignificant nobles, regarded the bishop of Rome with indifference in relation to his temporal power.|| No man can blame the pope for this ambition, considering him a king elected to defend “St. Peter’s patrimony,” particularly as it appears that Julius labored more for the good of the Church than his own private interest.¶ Alexander added to the dominions of Popedom; Julius followed his example: both were politicians adapted to the age when all who had power were striving to secure or enhance it, without a scruple as to the means applied.

* Reeve, p. 430; Dupin, iv; Hard. Concil. ix; Mosh. ii. † Panvin. Julius II.

† Panv., *ubi suprā*; Paruta, *ubi suprā*. It is said that his last words were,—“Fuori d’Italia Francezi—Fuori Alfonso d’Este!” “Out with the French from Italy —Out with Alfonso d’Este.” Muratori, Annali, t. ix. 33.

§ Ranke, p. 18.

|| Machiav. Il Princ. xi.

¶ Id. ibid.

If politicians of the Machiavellian school may find much to imitate in the method of Alexander VI., the admirers of art may look with complacency on Julius II.; for he "patronised" Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Bramante, if such men be not disgraced by the application of the term "patronised." "A warrior-pontiff as he was," says the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi, ci-devant Jesuit*,* "a warrior-pontiff, and totally intent on retrieving and extending the states of the Church, it seemed that he cared not much for literature and men of letters; but, man as he was, of a mighty soul and vastest ideas, he could with the same hand wield the sword and foster the arts and sciences. Julius began the erection of St. Peter's, opened a new library, favored the professors of the fine arts, and the cultivators of polite literature."[†]

A new era dawned with Leo X., the successor of the warlike Julius. Characteristic was the beginning. On the day of his coronation he gave an earnest of what might be expected from him, by distributing a hundred thousand crowns of gold to the populace. Bembo and Sadolet, the best Latin scholars of the day, he made his secretaries. To the University of Rome he united the most celebrated professors of all countries. Whoever was, or fancied himself a fine poet, an eloquent orator, a polished and elegant writer, hurried to Rome, and found in Leo a friendly reception and liberal rewards. On a triumphal arch at the *Ponte S. Angelo*, a glorious inscription proclaimed to gods and men that all was accomplished:—

"Venus anon was queen—then Mars held sway—
But now Minerva rules the better day."[‡]

In these presiding divinities, pointed allusion was made to the very peculiar characteristics of Leo's predecessors—Alexander's licentious court with its Lucretia Borgia, and the warlike reign of Julius. There is, therefore, *history* in that inscription: it was "tolerated" by the pope, which makes it authentic.

To enlarge on the magnificent pontificate of Leo X. would be here out of place. It kept pace with the revival of the sciences then universal, if the pope's patronage was not rather too exclusive in its predilections. Men there were who saw with regret that the pope took delight in listening to light poetry and jests not always decent, and frequented comedies in which good morals were not much respected. The consequence was, that he brought discredit on the pontifical dignity, and gave rise to suspicions reflecting on his personal integrity. But a greater disadvantage was the fact that the decided preference of the pope for poetry and other light pursuits caused the grave sciences to lie neglected at a time when defenders of the Faith were becoming necessary to the Church, heresy in arms being at the gates of Rome.[§]

* After the suppression of the Society, Tiraboschi was knighted by the Duke of Modena. He died in 1794. He will be noticed when I have to portray the *Literature of the Jesuits*.

[†] *Storia, tom. vii.*

[‡] "Olim habuit Cypri sua tempora,—tempora Mavors
Olim habuit; sua nunc tempora Pallas habet."

Tirab. ubi suprad.; Jov. Vita, iii.

[§] *Tirab. ubi suprad.* But see *Jovius, Vita, lib. iv.*, for a curious disquisition on the

The Jesuit Andrès is still more explicit on the subject. "The intimate familiarity," says he, "with which Leo honored the Quernos, the Britonios, Gazaldos, and other poetasters, rather than poets, and the ardor with which he sought the gross pleasure of listening to the most vulgar companies of comedians whom he imported with vast expense from Sienna, greatly diminished the honors which he liberally bestowed upon meritorious men of letters, and the glory that might have resulted to good poets in being invited to his court.* A Horace or a Virgil could little value those distinctions which brought them to the level of a Bavius and a Mævius."†

The political events of Leo's pontificate were in the line chalked out by his immediate predecessors: but they are insignificant in comparison with the moral demonstrations of his times. It is impossible not to identify this pope with the age to which he gave so striking an example. It seems to have been his intention to pass his time cheerfully, and to secure himself against trouble and anxiety by all means in his power. He sought all opportunities of pleasure and merriment, and indulged his leisure in amusement, jests, and singing;—either induced by a natural propensity, or from an idea that the avoiding of vexation and care might contribute to lengthen his days.‡

He was fond of music: he conferred the archbishopric of Bari on Gabriel Merino, whose chief merit consisted in the excellence of his voice.

The lowest species of buffoonery gave him delight:—his courtiers and attendants could not more effectually obtain his favor than by introducing to him such persons as by their eccentricity, perversity, or imbecility of mind, were likely to excite his mirth.§

Such pursuits in a king you would not think criminal: you would only wish he had possessed a better taste—more ennobling inclinations; but in "a man of God," as the pope ought to be, you behold them in a very different light. You look within them: you are forced to penetrate beyond their surface, into the heart's deep gulf; and you fear you perceive a dim eclipse of piety: you cannot reconcile outward dissipation with inward "recollection," or communion with God. You turn to the ascetic writers of Rome's church, and every man of them is of your opinion, from Thomas à Kempis, with his "Imitation of Christ," to the Jesuit Rodriguez, with his "Christian Perfection." You dread to seek the facts that will attest, as effects, the moral cause which you clearly perceive. You pause, and ask what was the *state* of that Church whose ruler was such as described by his panegyrists—if such was the head, you ask what were the members?

"What a spectacle," exclaimed right-minded prelates of the Roman court, "what a spectacle does this desolation of the churches present to the eyes of a Christian who travels over the Christian world! All the

score of the pope's morality; and Roscoe, Life, ii. 389, for a vindication. Tiraboschi, also, gives a defence in a note to the passage above given.

* Roscoe, ii. 179, gives an account of the poetasters alluded to by Andrès. Leo's taste, in this matter at least, was sadly at fault.

† Dell' Orig. t. i. c. xiii.

‡ Roscoe, ii.

§ Ibid. ii.

shepherds have abandoned their flocks, and have left them to the care of hirelings."* The incumbents of benefices selected the *cheapest* substitutes to perform their sacred duties: mendicant monks were eager to "suit" and serve. These monks occupied the bishoprics under the title of "suffragans," and held the cures as vicars. To these mendicant monks extraordinary privileges were conceded; they were permitted to perform the functions of the secular clergy—all under the prominent patronage of the pontiff. And yet the mendicant orders of monks were completely sunk into a state of total worldliness—that state so vividly described by Platina, as we have already seen—to which we have but to add that "murder by poison, the dagger, the sword, and fire-arms" was the climax of their depravities.† "Woe, woe!" exclaims one of the prelates before alluded to, "Who gives my eyes their fountain of tears? Even those set apart are fallen off; the vineyard of the Lord is laid waste. Did they perish alone, it were an evil, yet it might be endured; but since they pervade all Christendom, like the veins of the body, their decay must needs bring with it the ruin of the world."

Did Leo look with indifference on the growing—the *full-grown* evil? Speaking of the Holy Father, men would say "*è ben religioso—ma vuol viver*"—"he is religious enough, but *he has a mind to live*;" a poor testimonial for the Father of the Faithful. It is the "but" which gives the *character*. Jovially indeed he passed his days:—at Viterbo hawking, at Corneto hunting, and on the lake of Bolsena fishing. To his favorite resort at Malliana, improvisatori and men of nimble wit thronged to enliven every hour of his joyful days.‡ And when winter returned, Rome eagerly received the complacent Father, to whom she was grateful for her seeming prosperity. The number of her inhabitants was greatly increased; there was profit for the artisan, honor for the artist, security for all, since Leo had exterminated the bandits and footpads of Alexander's pontificate. All was gladness, animation, intellectual display. The luxurious genius of the pontiff beamed in every department. No cost was too great for spiritual or secular festivals, plays and theatrical entertainments, presents and favors:—nothing was spared—yet something was apparently wanting. Giuliano Medici proposed to reside at Rome, with his young wife. "God be praised," said Cardinal Bibbiena, in a letter to him, "for here we lack nothing but a court of *ladies!*"§ Alluding to one of the pope's houses of plea-

* Concil. dilect. Cardinalium. Apud Ranke, p. 18.

† "Si viene ad homicidi non solo col veneno, ma apertamente col coltello e con la spada, per non dire con schiopetti." Apud Ranke, p. 19.

‡ Let the reader reconcile, if he can, with this jovial existence the account debited by the Jesuit Pallavicino, ever eager to defend and flatter the popedom. According to this bold assertor, Leo fasted twice a week, and abstained from meat once a-week, in honor of the Virgin, and every Friday fed on herbs in honor of Christ's passion; and the Jesuit has the conscience to say,—"Such frequent *maceration* of the senses in a young prince, and in a mind eager for delights, *united as it was to the danger of shortening life*, which is cherished and fostered as a sort of divinity by kings, could not have been long protracted, except by the efficacy of the *strongest piety*."—Hist. Concil. Trid. l. i. c. ii. 5.

§ Apud Ranke, p. 22, and Roscoe, *ubi suprà*.

sure, Bembo thus describes it, in the name of Leo. "It is exquisitely adapted to gladden and rejoice the soul, owing to its admirable piazza, its many and most beautiful prospects—very commodious and roomy, with large hall and spacious chambers, beautifully adorned with a costly ceiling of gold, and tessellated pavement."*

Nevertheless, Pope Leo was a "diligent observer of divine things, and a lover of the sacred ceremonies," though he did not always maintain pontifical decorum. To the sore distress of his master of the ceremonies he sometimes left Rome, not only without the proper dress, but, as his officer has noted in his journal, "what is worst of all, with boots on his feet,"—just like any sporting gentleman not at all particular. "Desperately fond of pleasure, hunting and fowling, he gave whole days to luxurious enjoyments, the most splendid banquets, and musical entertainments. To raise money, (of which he had spent largely in his buildings, his profuse donations, and war-expenses,) he made cardinals for a price, and devised certain offices of state, which he sold."†

It is difficult to reconcile this pope's indulged propensities with that severe religion which beseems the Head of the Church: but that was the age of sensual enjoyment; and far from there being any one among the priesthood to stem the rushing evil, the very court of Rome joined to its sensualism the wildest notions in the matter of doctrine or belief. Men of intellectual tendencies easily frame a conscience to palliate the moral guilt of their passions: at the period in question, the Schools of philosophy endeavored to discover that the soul of man is *mortal*. Erasmus declares his astonishment at the blasphemies that met his ears: they sought to prove to him out of Pliny, that there is no difference between the souls of men and those of brutes.‡ Certainly the morals of the age corresponded with no other theory.

No sudden transformation from good to bad was that state of Christendom. Open Boccaccio's *Decameron* and behold the mirror held up to the nature of those times—man's good nature most horribly perverted. All ranks of society lend their infamy to spice his pages—whose burthen is "the duped husband, depraved and depraving monks," in an endless round of "laughter holding both her sides." He anatomises the fourteenth century, and saps the foundations of papal power. For, "what we violently abhor, we may still justly dread: but that which we have learnt to despise ceases to be an object of terror." His works were subsequently prohibited—but this only drove home the quivering shaft. Men's minds were alive to the truth of his pictures, and their prohibition was their last attestation. Other writers followed in his track. The Church was made a scandal on the house tops; her light, if she had any, was decidedly put under a bushel.

* Pet. Bembi, Epist. l. xiii. 10.

† Roscoe, ii.; Ranke, p. 22. "Voluptatibus, venationibus, aucupiis effusè deditus, luxu et splendidissimis conviviis, musicæque magis quâm tantum pontificem deceret totos dies impenderet. Pecuniaæ quærenda causâ (quâm multa tum ædificiis, tum effusis largitionibus et bellorum usibus, absumpsisset), pretio cardinales aliquot legit, et officia quædam venalia excogitavit, ut cubicularios," &c.—Panv. Leo X.

‡ Burigny, Life of Erasmus, i. 139; Ranke, 22.

Time rolled on:—no amendment. How could the people amend, when their teachers and preachers, bishops, popes, monks—all that were “anointed”—rolled in their godless Dead Sea of guilt? In the council of the Lateran, Pico, nephew of the famous Mirandola, held forth under the sanction of that assembly, inveighing with great bitterness against the avarice, the luxury, the ambition and misconduct of these ecclesiastics, who ought to have supported the dignity of the Church, not only by their intrinsic merit and virtue, but by the regularity and decency of their deportment.* If you doubt the fact, turn to the decree of the eleventh session of the same Council, attesting that the ministers of religion were accustomed not only to live in a state of public concubinage, but even to derive a part of their emoluments from *permitting to others* a conduct similar to that in which they themselves indulged.†

A reformation of morals was needed—but what did the guilty parties to counteract the scandal of their enormities? Why they—the cardinals and pontiffs of the church—resolved to silence reproach by severe denunciations and exemplary punishment. During the pontificate of Sextus IV., regulations were established for preventing the printing of any work, excepting such as was previously licensed by an officer appointed for that purpose. Even the penalty of excommunication was held forth against all who should infringe that regulation.‡

The vitality of religion was no more: without even pagan morality, the churchmen of those days engrafted the mythology of Paganism on the Christian faith—such, at least, as they possessed: the abstruse mysteries and peculiar dogmas of the Christian faith were elucidated, or enveloped, in the language of Cicero, or of Virgil; and even the divine persons of the Trinity and the Holy Virgin were identified with the divinities of ancient Greece and Rome. The Father was denominated Jove, or Jupiter *Optimus Maximus*; the Son, Apollō, or Æsculapius, and the Virgin, Diana.§ The poets of the day naturally im-

* *Fasc. Rer. Expet.* i. 417; Roscoe, *Leo X.* ii. 86. Viterbo, General of the Augustinians, made a long speech on the awful state of Christianity: “Can we see,” said he, “without shedding tears of blood, the disorders and corruption of the perverse age in which we live; the monstrous disorders which reign in morals, the ignorance, ambition, debauchery, libertinism, impiety triumphing in the Holy Place, whence these shameful vices should be for ever banished?” &c.—*Labb. Collect. Conc. Gen.*, xiv. p. 4; *Dict. des Conc.* 275.

† Roscoe, ib.

‡ *Id. ibid.*

§ Roscoe. The same writer gives, from the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus, the specimen of a sermon, preached before Pope Julius II., the cardinals and prelates of his Court. Erasmus was himself present, and his account of the matter will show the extent to which this extraordinary Catholico-paganism was carried. “The subject of the discourse was the sufferings and death of Christ. The orator commenced with an eulogium on the pope, whom he designated as Jove, and represented as vibrating in his omnipotent right hand the inevitable lightning, and regulating the concerns of the universe by his nod. In adverting to the death of Christ, he reminded the audience of the examples of the *Decii* and of *Curtius* [from the history of pagan Rome], who for the safety of their country, devoted themselves to the infernal gods; nor did he omit to mention, with due honor, Cecrops, Menæcius, Iphigenia [pagan worthies of classic story], and others who preferred the welfare of their country to their own existence. In moving his audience to compassionate the fate of the great author of their religion, he reminded them that the ancients had immortalized their heroes and benefactors by erecting statues

bibed the same spirit, or conformed, with the usual literary cleverness, to the taste of their readers; for, perhaps, writers are more influenced by the taste of the age than instrumental in its creation, as is commonly believed. Sanazzaro, the poet, and other writers of the age, constantly refer to the mythology or fable of the pagan world. On all subjects, sacred or profane, the pagan providence of gods innumerable, assumes in their sensual minds the place of that adorable Godhead, which only a simple but enlightened faith finds adequate to bestow every blessing we enjoy. Marullus wrote a series of hymns addressed, with every sentiment of piety and veneration, to the deities of ancient Greece and Rome. Bembo styled Christ a *hero*, and the Virgin Mary the goddess of Lauretto. Nay, the pope himself, Leo X., tells the kings and princes of Christendom, by Bembo's classic pen, that he was made pope "by the favor of the immortal gods—*deorum immortalium beneficiorum*;" and reproaching the *people* of Recanati for the bad quality of the wood they had sent for building the temple of Loretto, he commands them to send better, "lest they should seem to mock, with their donation of useless wood, both himself and the *Goddess*."^{*}

In the prevalence of doctrinal, as well as practical, extremes, there is always a middle course followed by the thinkers of every age. Intellect is more readily disgusted than sentiment: hence the mass of men are constantly the tools of influence, which enslaves them by the feelings. But the intellectual proudly shake off the specious charm—and in breaking the spell, rush to that extreme which sets the usual appeals to conventional *religionism* entirely at defiance. Hence there arose the *Platonists* of those days—so called from the pagan philosopher, whose doctrines seem to approach the ethics of Christianity.—The theory of these intellectuals is thus clearly expressed by an ingenious author: "Besides the various systems of ethics, physics, and metaphysics, which may be traced in the writings of Plato, and his followers, they also contain a system of theology, differing, as may be expected, in many important points from that of the Romish church. As opposed to the Christian idea of the Trinity, the *Platonists* assert

to their memory, or decreeing to them divine honors; whilst the ingratitude of the Jews had treated with every degree of ignominy the Saviour of mankind, and finally doomed him to the cross. The death of Christ was then compared with that of other excellent and innocent men, who had suffered for the public benefit, and reminded the orator of Socrates and of Phocion, who, without being guilty of any crime, were compelled to perish by the fatal draught; of Epaminondas, who, after all his glorious deeds, was reduced to the necessity of defending himself as a criminal; of Scipio, who was rewarded for his incalculable services by exile; and of Aristides, who was compelled to relinquish his country, because he had been dignified with the title of the Just."—*Leo X. ii. p. 88.*

* "Ne tum nos, tum etiam Deam ipsam inani lignorum inutilium donatione lusisse videamini."—*Bemb. Epist. lib. viii. ep. 17.* See Roscoe, 88; Feller, *Bembo*; Bayle, *ibid.* Sannazarius calls the Virgin "the certain hope of men—the certain hope of the gods."

"Tuque adeo spes fida hominum, spes fida deorum."

De Partu Virgin., i. 19.

A Greek, but Christian poetess of old, patched up a Life of Christ from detached verses culled out of Homer: Sannazarius makes Virgil and the Sybils do the office of the prophet Isaiah in a gallant strain.

the notion of pure Theism, expressly maintaining the unity of the Divine Being. Instead of the rewards of heaven, and the punishments of hell, the human soul is represented by them as having been united with imperfect matter, and placed here in a state of probation; where, by constant struggling to rise above the passions of sense, it is at length disengaged from its degrading combination, and restored to its original splendor.* The great patron, and perhaps the most powerful advocate of this sect, was no other than Lorenzo de' Medici, the *father of Pope Leo the Tenth*. His writings contain frequent allusions to the refined notions of the Platonists; and his pieces on religious subjects, instead of conforming to the dogmas of the Church, are evidently founded on, and greatly illustrate, the principles of this theology. It was, therefore, natural that the pope himself should be favorable to the *Platonists*, as was generally supposed. Men of talent and learning became the avowed teachers of those opinions, and the inculcation of them was established as a branch of education, in almost every university of Italy. Scepticism and indifference followed as a matter of course; and church-discipline was relaxed. The cause was apparent: but the remedy aggravated the evil. The Church spoke: it was declared by a solemn decree that the soul was immortal, and that different bodies are not actuated by a portion of the same soul, but that each has a soul peculiar to itself.† How could enactments stem the tendencies of an age—the strong impulse of society? The greatest sensualism was combined with high intellectual development.

Not alone to the classical enthusiasm of the times is this perversion of sacred things to be attributed. We must not forget the famous "Mysteries," and "Morallities," or religious comedies of preceding centuries. These were under the management of the clergy—and performed by the *people*. Their subjects were all the most solemn mysteries of the Christian faith, tangibly represented, and outrageously familiarised to the "meanest capacities." It was—*religion for the million*. A scaffold was erected with the three stages, one above the other. The highest was Heaven—the lowest was Hell—and the middle was Purgatory. To represent divine anger or displeasure, an organ was placed in "Paradise;" which also served to accompany the choirs of the "angels" in their song. Beneath the scaffold a monstrous dragon was constructed, whose mouth opened and shut as it belched forth the "devils" upon the stage, or received them at their exit. This was to represent the gulf of hell. To enhance the effect, culverins and cannons were introduced, *pour faire noise et tempête*—to make an infernal clatter and roar.‡ God the Father and God the Son, and the Holy Ghost were among the "personages" enacted.—The divine persons delivered speeches in octosyllabics. In one of these Mysteries, entitled, *The Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, the Creation of Man is represented; and we find the following directions:—"Here God takes some mud, and pretends to make Adam;

* Roscoe, ib.

† Id. 90. Vth. Lat. Sess. 8.

‡ *Mystères Inédits du XVème Siècle.* Preface. Paris, 1837.

and let Adam and Eve be covered up with a covering, and let God say: Adam, get up," &c.*

Such exhibitions were universal. They furnished *amusement* to the Christians of these days. All were invited to join in the celebration, which *materialised* spirituals.

In the sixteenth century, however, if the great, the learned, and the priesthood, had paganised their Christianity, as we have seen, what must have been the moral notions of the lower orders? In effect we are assured, whilst the higher classes adopted notions of an anti-religious tendency, the common people were sunk into almost heathenish superstition, seeking salvation in mechanical devotion. What was young Luther's amazement when he visited Italy! At the moment when the sacrifice of the mass was accomplished, the priests blurted out blasphemies in which they denied it! In Rome it was a characteristic of good society to dispute the fundamental principles of Christianity. "One passes no longer," says Bandino, "for an accomplished man, unless he entertain some erroneous and heretical opinion of the doctrines of the church."† At court they spoke of the institutions of the Catholic church, of passages of the Holy Scriptures, only in a tone of jesting: the mysteries of faith were held in derision.‡ Strange it is that it was at Rome where the mine was sprung, ready to engulf Church authority in ruin. It was *there* that religious doubt began—or at Florence, or at Venice: it was in these mighty strongholds of Catholicism that the human mind was shaking off all doctrinal subjection—disdaining every mental yoke—"caring for no man." Catholics admit the fact. "Gay, licentious, incredulous, the mind of these cities made a jest of all things—Christianity, morality, the clergy, and the popes themselves. Its organs were Dante, who hurls popes into hell—Petrarch, who calls Rome a prostitute—and even the monk Baptista of Mantua, who sang the *Loves of the Priests*.§ Their books, though forbidden by censure, circulated at Rome under Julius II. and Leo X., and were in the libraries of most of the cardinals: Sadolet and Bembo|| knew long passages 'by heart,'

* "Cy preingne Dieu du limon et face semblant de faire Adam; et Adam et Eve soient couvert d'un couvertour, et Dieu die: Adam, va sus, que je le vueil," &c.—*Mystères*, ii. 5. This curious work should be studied for the sake of its *Church History*. Rome is painted in her sport as much as in her sober sadness and fury. See Sismondi, i. 231; Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 416, *et seq.*

† "In quel tempo non pareva fosse galantuomo e buon cortegiano colui che de' dogmi della Chiesa non aveva qualche opinione erronea ed heretica."—MS. *Life of Paul V.* apud Ranke, p. 22.

‡ Ranke, p. 22.

§ Baptista wrote these verses:

"Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite;—Romæ
Omnia cùm liceant, non licet esse bonum."

"You who desire to lead a holy life, depart: at Rome, though all things may be done, it is not permitted to be virtuous." But see *Aegl. V.*, ed. 1503. Baptista died in 1516. He had been general of the Carmelite monks, whom he tried in vain to reform; and resigned his hopeless charge to devote himself to literature. Feller, Biog. Univ.

|| Bembo had been the lover of La Morosina, and *Lucretia Borgia*, Alexander the Sixth's licentious daughter. It is not quite clear that Bembo perfected his morality as much as his latinity (for which he was famous), when he became a cardinal. The contrary is more probable.

which they amused themselves by reciting."* The infamous Pietro Aretino was Leo's acknowledged friend.[†]

Other important elements of change arrest attention. Nobles and the "Church" had hitherto been leagued together in mastering the people. The latter were now to mount a step in the social creation—*middle ranks* were forming—that ever-powerful "interest" in every kingdom—the very bank of power, and the nation's heart. Meanwhile, recall the events that had just befallen in the history of man. The Spirit of Transition was walking the earth, apparently wild and reckless, but still guided by that adorable Providence which never permits man to do all the evil he would, and turns his very evil deeds into blessings, or, rather, mitigates evil, and expands good far beyond the intention of its instruments. At the epoch to which we are hastening, Heaven was nearer to earth: enlightenment was about to come down unto men. A momentous strife was about to commence. Man's destinies being suspended—dependant on his will. All might choose; but how many would choose aright? For themselves, selfishly, men seemed to work; but Providence beheld them in their labors; suffered them to work as they listed, but guided results for the universal good. In the strife of selfishness—that is, in the strife of the world—we see nothing but evil whilst we are present at the conflict, and are, perchance, sufferers: but a generation has no sooner passed away, than we perceive how a merciful good God can modify, nay, totally change the effects of evil with regard to nations as with individuals. Abuses grow, fester, and rot in the heart of society. Society, like nature, strives to shake off the slough of disease. In the effort there is suffering; but hope mitigates every human pang.

How to convey in a few words an adequate idea of this period in the sixteenth century—that century of novelties, or revivals of antiquities! Wonderful inventions or improvements in the implements of mind—startling discoveries of unknown regions, peopled with strange brothers of the human family! The discovery of a new planet, in its dim and distant orbit, produces even in this comparatively enlightened age, considerable excitement; but what must have been the effect of the discovery of a "new world" in the minds and hearts of men, then just announced, in those days of ignorance in the masses, and avarice and ambition in the great? What a subject for speculation! How it absorbed attention—exaggerated hope—multiplied schemes—expanded desire!

On the other hand, the chain of human events from the fourth or fifth century had passed onwards with its links of iron, brass, and silver, and had reached the point whence it must continue its course in gold, or something like it. The revival of knowledge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was only the result of a series: but events which thronged fast and vast in effects, expanded the movement. Any movement in society, when once begun, is sure to find a thousand motives in the hearts of men for its continuance, until another usurps its

* Audin, Luther, Introd.

† Sismondi, i. 433.

place in the restless mind of humanity. Expelled from the East by the conquests of the Turks in possession of Constantinople, the learned men of Greece had sought refuge in Italy. Once more did Italy receive the arts from Greece. Pagan Italy had been enlightened by pagan Greece, and now again, Christian Italy was regenerated by Christian Greece.* If this fact proves the innate tendency of Rome to degenerate, it also attests the bounty of Providence, which never tires in lavishing blessings on ungrateful and perverse humanity. Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici rose at Florence, the noble, generous, and enlightened lovers and benefactors of science. Popes and kings were dazzled by the light suddenly blazing around, and rejoiced in its manifestation, for they did not foresee consequences about to ensue in the misty future.† More than five-and-twenty universities in the various capitals of Europe were founded in the fifteenth century; beginning with that of Turin in 1405, to that of Copenhagen in 1497.‡ The art of printing, rapidly advancing from its rough beginning, soon multiplied the learned pages of antiquity, and students feasted thereon like bees after their winter-sleep. Their minds hitherto had scarcely felt hunger: there had been nothing to sharpen or tempt its appetite; but now, it was an honor to be learned, ignorance had lost its fascination. Men dug up the Herculaneum of antiquity, and feasted on the musty relics. Not like the school-boy at his task, nor the fireless modern commentator at his plodding, were the students of the Revival. *They* drank in the spirit of antiquity as they found it in the perfect page—free, noble, generous, gushing—and they strove to transform themselves into the minds which they so ardently admired. To them, antiquity was unveiled in all its elevated characters, its severe laws, its energetic virtues, its beautiful and engaging mythology; its subtle and profound philosophy, its overpowering eloquence, delightful poetry!§

Unquestionably the growing pursuit of knowledge was unfavorable to the spirit of the religion then established: simply because it generated the Spirit of Inquiry. Now it was impossible that the numberless abuses to which I have directed your attention, in the Church establishment of these times, could stand the test of inquiry. Paul II., therefore, who persecuted knowledge in its votaries, was wise in his

* See Roscoe, *Lorenzo*; Spalding's *Italy*, &c. ii.; Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i.; Andrès, *Dell' Origine—d'ogni Letterat.* I. c. xii.; Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* vols. V. VI.

† There was a curious exception. Paul II., pope of Rome, in the middle of the XVth century, became alarmed at the spirit of research and inquiry which characterized the new philosophers. He felt how greatly the rapid progress of knowledge might contribute to shake the authority of the Church; and he considered the devotion of these scholars to antiquity, as a general conspiracy against the state and the holy faith. The academy of which Pomponius Lætus was the head, and *Platina* a member, seemed particularly to merit his attention. All the members were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. One of them expired under his sufferings. The pope declared that any person who should even name the academy, either seriously or in jest, should be considered a heretic. The academicians were kept in prison a year, and when released their innocence was not acknowledged. Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i. 405.

‡ The rapid succession of their dates shows the intellectual movement of the age: University of Turin, 1405; Leipzig, 1409; Aix, 1409; St. Andrews, 1411; Rostock, 1419; Louvain, 1426; Poitiers, 1431, &c.

§ Sismondi, *Hist. View*, i. 316.

generation—was consistent. The popes who favored its pursuit were springing a mine under Rome : they knew not what they were doing.

That intellectual extravagance in the matter of religious opinion attended the development of mind is also certain, but it did not result from knowledge in itself. It was the result of a comparison. When the mind was trained to see and judge for itself, it made that dreadful discovery which proves that we have been miserably fooled by our self-appointed teachers and preachers: when we see no correspondence of practice with theory; when we see even in their theory nothing but flat absurdity, because irrational. Knowledge can never be unfavorable to true religion. To the abuses of religion it is always a death-blow. Privileges and prerogatives advance against it, and strive to extirpate it as the germ of "heresy" and "infidelity." At the period in question what found the student to feed his intellectual cravings, in the libraries of the monks? Absolutely nothing besides the works of ancient Greece and ancient Rome. The legends of the middle ages, amusing, or rather edifying, as they are to our modern sentimentalists, had no attractions for men who were completely sick of fooleries. Action, real action, was the stirring watchword of the times; good or bad, action was the aim of all. Models were preferred from Plutarch; "legends" were left for the moderns.* Existing abuses and inconsistencies disgusted the student with "spirituality;" the concerns of society and nature became his refuge. It was a reaction produced by the system that was doomed most to suffer from the result.

Another cause of this disgust was religious persecution, directed against those who ventured to attack the abuses of the Church. In the beginning of the century John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt at Constance; Savonarola and his two companions experienced the same fate at Florence, towards the end of the century. The followers of Huss were guilty of great excesses in striving to enforce liberty of conscience at the point of the sword; but the lot that awaited every "heretic," not a courtier at Rome, was certainly calculated to make men desperate. Ferdinand the Catholic introduced the Inquisition into Spain in 1478, to put down all manner of heresy, and scarcely was it established, when two thousand persons, chiefly Jews, were burnt by order of the grand inquisitor, John de Torquemada.†

This was very inconsistent conduct for "Christians." They ought to have remembered what their forefathers suffered under the Pagan persecutions. They should have also remembered the *result* of these persecutions—the futility of the attempt to enforce belief. But scarcely

* To wit, Alban Butler ("Lives of the Saints"), and Kenelm Digby ("Ages of Faith" and "Broad Stone of Honor"), works that may be called the *romance* of the popedom, compiled to veil its *history* at the present day, when it would be glad if men would all forget what it has been, and what it has done in the game of the world.

† Zopf. ii. 623. "The great number of persons condemned to be burnt, obliged the prefect of Seville to construct a scaffold of stone in a field near the town, named Tablada. This scaffold was called Quemadero, and still exists. Four statues of plaster were erected on it, and bore the name of the *Four Prophets*. The condemned persons were either fastened to these statues, or enclosed alive in them, and perished by a slow and horrible death."—*Llorente*, c. v.

had the Pagans ceased to persecute the Christians, than the latter began to persecute each other for “heresy,” or differences in matters of religious belief. From age to age similar manifestations called forth similar methods for ensuring orthodoxy; and although the human mind was destined ever to react against oligarchical authority in the matter of conscience, ever impelled to reject at the hands of man what it can receive from God,—still Rome continued to persecute, continued to defend her system in all its rigid exclusiveness, giving a hideous example to all ages, which we shall see too eagerly followed by those who should have shrank with horror from the Pagan model.*

Thus, then, we see something like indifference to the tenets of the Church, combined with a rigid maintenance of “the letter of the law,” amidst universal depravity in the pastors of the people; or, if that term be too severe, a pretty general falling off in the matter of morality amongst the clergy. This was not all. Of late years, it might be fifty, the popedom had been striving to assume a prominent attitude in the politics of Europe. This was evident to all the princes of the time. It was perhaps fortunate for the popedom, when Leo X. was elected, since he managed to create a sort of diversion to the game of politics, by favoring the intellectual tendencies of the age. Still the memory of the past was not obliterated. The political exertions of Alexander VI., the mad efforts of Julius II., were warning facts to the sovereign states of Europe, which had trembled anon at the sight of the papal sword—France, Venice, and Germany. Whatever movement might arise, likely to curb the pretensions of the Roman court, was sure to meet encouragement from the crafty politicians of the times—and all who hoped to profit by change—always eager to turn the tide of popular opinion,—that mighty Moloch,—against their encroaching, exclusive, and absorbing enemy. For.—

How stood the interesting matter of temporalities—“the loaves and the fishes”—in the time of Leo’s greatest magnificence? Beautiful to see, and highly tempting to taste. Divinely liberal, or desperately prodigal in his stewardship, no man more than Leo X. ever made so many friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness. He aggrandised his friends; he lavished wealth upon his favorites. It seemed as though the Church was honored—was made beautiful by the tinsel of magnificence which the Supreme Pontiff threw around her shoulders, and hung upon her members. It may have been so; but how defend the human heart in such boundless opportunities of enjoyment,—in the midst of such temptations? Consider the numerous benefices, rich abbeys, and other ecclesiastical preferments bestowed upon the cardinals and the great dignitaries of the church. They frequently amounted to a princely sum, and a prelate was considered comparatively poor, whose annual income did not amount to eight or ten thousand ducats.

* See Chandler’s “History of Persecution, in Four Parts, viz.: I. Amongst Heathen; II. Under the Christian Emperors; III. Under the Papacy and Inquisition; IV. Amongst Protestants.” A right good book it is, were it only for its last section, viz., “The Christian religion absolutely condemns persecution for conscience-sake;” and Chandler proves the proposition most triumphantly. I need not say that his argument is founded on the words of Christ himself.

On the death of Sixtus della Rovere,* the nephew of Sixtus IV., in the year 1517, Leo appointed his cousin, Giulio de Medici, vice-chancellor of the holy see; this office alone brought him annually twelve thousand ducats. Nor was it only within the limits of Italy that the cardinals and prelates of the church derived their wealth and dignities. *All Europe was then tributary to the Roman see.* Many of these fortunate ecclesiastics, whilst they passed their days amidst the luxuries and amusements of Rome, supported their rank, and supplied their dissipation *by contributions from the remotest parts of Christendom.* The number of benefices held by an individual was limited only by the will of the pontiff; and by an ubiquity, which, though abstractedly impossible, has been found actually and substantially true, the same person was frequently at the same time an archbishop in Germany, a bishop in France or England, an abbot or a prior in Poland or in Spain, and a cardinal at Rome. The example of the pontiff was the criterion of all, in magnificent display. The chiefs and princes of the church vied with each other in the grandeur of their palaces, the sumptuousness of their apparel, the elegance of their entertainments, the number and respectability of their attendants.† Such were the golden days of Leo's pontificate. Splendid indeed in the eyes of the world—admirable beyond expression—enviable without parallel—but the handwriting was on the wall—all might read who had eyes to see, that a judgment was impending on the abuse of the “sacred vessels;” the utter worldliness of those to whom they were intrusted. And the fatal hour was come—the dread hour of universal retribution, as far as the church was concerned.

The man who could squander away a hundred thousand ducats amongst the populace at his coronation, plainly told the world, by that wretched piece of prodigality, that the time would come when his pocket would be empty. Leo never deviated from that first example. Following up that beginning, he had lavished profusely enormous sums on public buildings, on his relatives, his courtiers, and the professors of learning, to say nothing of his buffoons and other minions. About the year 1516, Leo was in want of money. There was a deficit in his treasury.‡ In a very urgent letter to the king of England, he wrote, saying: “Since money is the sinew of war, to collect some, I have adopted that plan suggested by Maximilian in his letter, a copy of which I send with certain additions, which appear proper to expedite and facilitate the measure; so that you may give it your approbation,

* The annual income of this debauched ecclesiastic amounted to more than 40,000 ducats, although he was so ignorant as not to be able to write or read; to which it is added, in allusion to the disease under which he labored, that “ab umbilico ad plantas pedum totum perditus, ut nec stare nec incedere posset.”—*Fabron, Leo X.*, p. 287; *Roscoe, Leo X.*, ii. 440.

† Roscoe, ii. 81.

‡ This is universally admitted. Maimbourg, the Jesuit, adds a reflection: “His treasury was exhausted by the excessive expenses which he incurred by all sorts of display, which much more suited a powerful monarch of the earth than the vicar of Him whose kingdom is not of this world.”—“Qui étaient beaucoup plus d'un puissant monarque de la terre que du vicaire de Celui dont le royaume n'est pas de ce monde.”—*Hist. du Lutheran*, p. 18.

if you can ; or give me your reasons if you dissent, and suggest a better plan. But I think you will easily acquiesce ; for I know your disposition and liberality."* This letter proves the want of money for political purposes, at least ; so far it is conclusive, if it has no reference to the expedient adopted by Leo to collect money. From all that we have read in the foregoing pages, it must be evident that the pope needed money for other purposes as well. According to Catholic writers, the building of St. Peter's church was the pontiff's object in the expedient which we are about to consider. If so, it was an ominous fact that the honor intended for the supposed founder of the Roman see should give occasion to its greatest loss and utter predicament. Without entering upon the controversy, we will confine ourselves to the fact, for that alone is, in this history, of importance. The expedient adopted by Leo was to preach "Indulgences" to the Christian world, which would be "gained" by the faithful by their paying a certain sum of money. To the generality of readers an explanation is required.

"Many of you," says a distinguished dignitary of the Roman church, "many of you have probably heard that this word signifies a license to sin, given even beforehand for sins to be perpetrated : at any rate, a free pardon for past sins. This is, in fact, the most lenient form in which our doctrine is popularly represented. And yet, mitigated as it is, it is far from correct. For, I fear, many here present will be inclined to incredulity, when I tell them that it is no pardon for sin of any sort, past, present, or future.† What, then, is an Indulgence?"‡ The compact and nimble answer of the Jesuit, Maimbourg, shall have the preference to the doctor's long lecture. "The belief of Catholics," says the Jesuit, "has ever been that the Son of God has given to his church the power of absolving the penitent sinner, not only from the bonds of his *sins*, by the merits of the passion of Jesus Christ, applied to him in the sacrament of penance,§ but also from the bonds of the *penalty* which he ought to endure in this world or the next, in order to satisfy divine justice for the sins which he has committed after baptism. This is called an *Indulgence*, and it is never given except in making full satisfaction to God, by the infinite price of the sufferings of his Son, which are offered to him for the payment of that debt. Thus, St. Paul,|| at the prayer of the Corinthians, set aside, in the case of the incestuous sinner whom he had excommunicated, the remainder of the penalty which he ought to have suffered for so great a crime ; and thus the bishops of the first ages¶ gave peace to apostates, and

* "Deinde, quoniam nummi quasi nervi bellorum sunt, ad eos cogendos eam propè rationem inire nobis placuit, de qua," &c.—*Bembi Epist.* xiv. 31.

† And yet we find that one of the charges brought by the Council of Constance against Pope John XXIII., was "that he had empowered his legates to establish confessors who might give absolution from all sins and penalties (*absolvere possent à peñâ et culpâ*) on payment of a certain sum of money."—*Cone. Const.* Sess. 11, art. 22 ; *Maimb.* p. 20. Thus do polemics invariably fling plausible theory in the face of stubborn facts.

‡ Dr. Wiseman's *Lect. on the Princip. Doct.* ii. p. 71.

§ Matt. xvi., xviii.

|| 2 Cor. ii.

¶ Tertull. and Cypr. *passim*.

reconciled them to the church, by shortening the duration of the regular penances, through the intercession of the martyrs, and in consideration of their sufferings, united to those of the Saviour of the world, which made them precious before God . . . Clement VI., in his Decretal, or Constitution, generally received by the whole church, declares, in explanation of this dogma of faith, that Jesus Christ has left us an infinite treasury of merits and superabundant satisfaction of his passions, of those of the Holy Virgin, who was innocence itself, and of the saints, who have made satisfaction by their voluntary penances, or by their martyrdom, much beyond what they had deserved in penalties for their sins, remitted in the sacrament of penance. Moreover, the pastors of the church, and particularly the popes, who are the sovereign distributors of that treasure, can apply it to the living, by the power of the keys, and to the dead, by the way of intercession, to deliver them from the penalty due to their sins, by draining and offering to God, from that treasury, as much as is sufficient to pay that debt.”* Thus, we are assured, Christ and St. Paul were the original inventors of indulgences; we are now to be told, on the same authority, who were the abusers of that most curious prerogative. “We must admit,” continues the Jesuit Maimbourg, “that as the holiest things may be abused, considerably serious abuses have, from all times, crept into the distribution of these graces of the church, or these indulgences. In effect, St. Cyprian often complains of these abuses;—sometimes that the martyrs gave their letters [of grace] to all sorts of sinners;—sometimes, that the bishops gave these indulgences too soon, and too easily;—and sometimes, that martyrs and simple priests had the presumption to give the indulgence, which only bishops had the power to concede.” Tertullian and Novatian, and others of the early church, had lifted up their voices against this abuse, which seemed to them, very naturally, too closely allied to the use to be effectually forefended, and they attacked the doctrine itself of indulgences, wisely, as we believe, but “brutally,” according to the Jesuit.† As often as money was required for any object really or apparently connected with the interests of religion, they were offered to the people. As men give with less reluctance when they are left to their own option than when compelled by force, the expedient generally succeeded. But the money was frequently diverted from its original destination, and found its way into the private coffers of the pontiff, or into the treasuries of the secular princes. The office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents, called questors, whose interest it was—as they received a per centage on the amount—to exaggerate the advantages of the indulgence, and to impose on the simplicity and credulity of the people. “It is indeed true,” adds Dr. Lingard, “that, to prevent such abuses, severe constitutions, or mandates, had been enacted by several popes; but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse. Those who bewailed the evil saw little hope of a remedy from pontiffs,

* Maimb. Hist. du Lutheran, p. 15, *et seq.*

† “Comme ils ont fait brutalement.”—Maimb. Hist. du Lutheran, p. 18.

who seemed to have forgotten their spiritual character in their ardor to free Italy from the dominion of strangers, and to aggrandise, at the same time, their respective families.”*

Pope Leo X. was, perhaps, a great prince, without, however, possessing those venerable qualities which we should admire in a great, or rather, a good pope.† It is difficult to resist temptation when public opinion makes fruition easy. After the example of Pope Julius II., in a similar dilemma—want of money—he resorted to the inexhaustible treasury of which we have been reading, and announced its opening, for a “consideration.” Besides the graces *spiritual*, he offered permission to eat eggs and cheese during Lent, which were then prohibited—a *sensual* “indulgence” rather more tempting than the meat spiritual. Again, owing to certain delicate feelings, it was sometimes, and is still, perhaps, rather inconvenient for penitents to repeat the same sinful tale over and over to the parish priest. Leo craftily appealed to this delicacy: he would give permission to the generous faithful to choose any father-confessor they pleased; all provided they contributed to “the building of St. Peter’s,” which, by a very slight equivocation, might mean anything or any purpose selected by him who sat on the throne of St. Peter. In effect, it is positively asserted that Leo apportioned to his sister, Maddalena Cybo,‡ the products of the indulgence-sale in Saxony, and the surrounding country as far as the Baltic. His motive was respectable, though the means were scandalous; he wished to reward the Cybos for the great succors which they had granted him in his early adversity, when compelled to leave Florence and take refuge at Genoa.§ It is painful to behold gratitude, if that was the pope’s only motive, inducing the prostitution of a sacred thing to suit political purposes: but the practice is still inveterate; nor can we wonder at Leo’s conduct, if the highest dignities of the English church may, by prerogative, be conferred with motives similar, if not identical. The Jesuit Pallavicino treats the grant to Maddalena as a calumny sent forth by Guicciardini, and echoed by Sarpi; but, as though conscious of its truth, he labors at a justification, or at least an extenuation, if the fact be granted.|| According to the usual practice, decidedly it was “justifiable,” for amongst the prodigal benefactions lavished by Leo on the occasion of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s marriage with Madelaine de la Tour, he conceded to the king of France, in addition

* Ling. Hist. of Eng. vi. 89.

† “Il fit éclater toutes les perfections d’un grand Prince, sans avoir toutes celles d’un grand Pape,” says the Jesuit Maimbourg: but another Jesuit, Father Isla, in his very amusing novel *Fray Gerundio*, makes one of his characters call Leo “that crafty pope,” *aquel conchudo papa*: but he adds in a parenthesis, “God forgive me!” (Dios me lo perdone). T. i. lib. i. p. 191. However, see Roscoe’s estimate of Leo’s character, ii. 387, *et seq.*

‡ Her husband was the natural son of Pope Innocent VIII., who, in compliment or complement of that marriage, had made Leo a cardinal in his fourteenth year.—*Sarpi*, lib. i.

§ Dipl. Leon. lib. iii.; Dipl. Secret. lib. i., ii.; Sadolet. lib. i. ep. i.; Guicciard. lib. xiii.; Maimb. p. 19; Sarpi, *ubi supra*.

|| “Quod ipsum, si verum foret, fuisset vituperatione dignum ob speciem quandam potius fœditatis, non tamen quod ea inesset enormitas reipsa, quam species præ se ferret, ac supponit Suavis.”—Lib. i. c. iii. 2.

to the tenths of the French *benefices*, all the contributions that should be obtained in France towards the projected crusade against the Turks, the king promising to repay the amount when that expedition should be actually commenced: * a mere formal condition, which, however, gave the simony something like a right of being made the matter of a document, worthy to be placed in the archives and papal registers. But the grant to Maddalena could scarcely be made on any plausible conditions; consequently, no document existed to attest the fact. On the absence of this proof, Pallavicino, following Contelori, finds his denial; but the Jesuit, more than all other men, must have known right well that there was such a thing as a *vivæ vocis oraculum* among the pope's prerogatives—a "verbal oracle" by which the pope often conferred peculiar grants and privileges. This method is always a secret confined to the giver and receiver. The grant in question was doubtless of the kind; and, as Henke observes, "archives are not likely to give any information respecting the fact," which could not be excused by any one, except a partisan and a Jesuit. †

Whatever was to be done with the sacred proceeds of the indulgences, certain it is that they were duly published in Germany. Tetzel, a Dominican friar, was appointed to proclaim the boon. His brethren rapidly spread over Saxony. Some, not content with their sermons from the pulpit, offered indulgences in the streets and markets, in taverns and private houses. ‡ Tetzel executed his trust with the most shameless contempt of all decency. There was no sin, however monstrous, which an indulgence could not remit; "and even if any one, which is doubtless impossible, had offered violence to the blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God," cried Tetzel, "let him pay, only let him pay well, and all will be forgiven him." § Erasmus declared that the monks spoke of indulgences in a manner that even idiots could not endure. || The indulgences were farmed; they were sold in the gross to the best bidders, and were by them dispersed amongst retail pedlers of pardons, who resorted to public houses, exhibited their wares, picked the pockets of the credulous, and spent the money at the gaming-table, or in more scandalous objects which need not be mentioned. "These abuses are related by so many celebrated authors," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, "who have written on the subject in terms much stronger than mine, in all manner of languages, in Latin, French, Italian and German, that an historian who would undertake to suppress them would find it difficult to succeed in the attempt." ¶

* Roscoe, Leo X. ii. 194. Precisely similar is Pallavicino's special pleading on the present occasion: "Ita, si vere affirmetur ea largitio, Leoni contigisset, adnentiti rependere sorori, quidquid familia Cibo cui hupta fuerat, sibi jam impenderat in privatâ atque infortunatâ ipsius conditione."—*Ubî suprà.*

† Sarpi, lib. i.; Pallav. lib. i.; Rosc. ii.; Ling. vi. 90. Lingard says that the grant "is shown to be false by Pallavicino:" but the Jesuit only *denies* it, and on the grounds above given. Maddalena certainly appointed the avaricious Areimbaldo to collect her moneys; and the bishop (for such he was) performed his duty with miserly extortion. Guicc. lib. xiii.

¶ Ling. vi. 91.

§ See large extracts from his sermons in D'Aubigné's Reform. i. 241.

|| Epist. ad Alb. Mag. p. 422. See Ling. ii. 91; Maimb. 21.

¶ Hist. du Luther. p. 22. See Guicc. lib. xiii.; Thuan, lib. i.; Sarpi, lib. i.; Blunt, Reform. in Engl. 98; Henke, ii.; Chais, Lettres Hist. iii.

Tetzel and his indulgences roused Luther and his reformation. Luther was a monk, and would probably have died a monk, but for these same indulgences. Intellectual and religious freedom gleamed from amidst these abuses like the beams of the morning sun athwart the mist of the valley. We should forget the disgraceful abuses, thankful indeed for their issue. They brought to life a Martin Luther. A man he was laid up for a great occasion: a hard, indefatigable *German* student, working and waiting for he knew not what—but working and waiting still—for he felt his destiny. And who was this famous Martin Luther? “Not the son of an *incubus*—a foul demon,”—says the Jesuit Maimbourg, “as some assert, to make him more odious, without the least appearance of truth; and it had never been doubted until he became a leader of heresy, which he might well become, without its being necessary, for that purpose, to substitute a devil in the place of his father, John Luder, and to dishonor his mother, Margaret Lindermann, by a birth so infamous.”* And yet such a monstrosity was actually believed possible. Yes, it was believed, and inculcated by the learned casuists, that a devil could be the veritable father of a man. The case is specified in the code of the Jesuit-casuists.† Luther’s parents were poor: but he received a good education. At the age of twenty he surpassed all his companions in intellect and learning. He became a monk, scared, it is said, by a thunderbolt, or rendered thoughtful of the future by the sudden death of a friend. He proved to be a valuable acquisition to the monks, and honored the Order, which was that of St. Augustin. He preached with applause—taught philosophy with approbation—and transacted important business for his Order, at Rome, with so much skill and integrity, that, on his return, they made him a doctor. He was then in his thirtieth year—ready with his wits, subtle, naturally eloquent, elegant and polished in his diction, indefatigably laborious, and such a veteran in study that he passed whole days without sparing a moment to swallow a morsel. What did he study so intensely? The languages, the “Fathers,” particularly St. Augustin. Nothing in these, certainly, to lead him whither he was destined to go: but, with such a heart, and will, and mind, as he possessed, they served the effectual purpose of intellectual training capable of being fruitful on any and every occasion, which was all that was wanted for Martin Luther. Look at the man—strong, robust, adequate to any amount of labor—a bilious and sanguine temperament, whereof all heroes have been compounded—an eye piercing and all on fire—a voice sweet in the calm, but terrible in the storm of the soul. Would you hear an enemy’s description of this mighty man? You will smile, and through the mist of rancorous detestation, catch a glimpse of the vital rays which a jaundiced eye for itself bedaubes. “His look was haughty, intrepid, bold; but he could soften it down when he wished to counterfeit humility and austerity, which was very seldom. There was, above all, in his soul, a great fund of pride and presumption, which inspired

* Hist. du Luther. p. 24.

† Sa, verb. *Luxuria*, num. 6. The passages are totally unfit for quotation even in Latin.

him with contempt for everything that did not coincide with his sentiments, and that spirit of brutal insolence with which he outrageously treated all those who opposed his heresy, without respecting either king, emperor, pope, or all that is most sacred and inviolable on earth. He was incapable of retracting what he once asserted. He was irritable, vindictive, imperious, always wishing to be the master, and eager to distinguish himself by the novelties of his doctrine, which he wished to establish in his school on the ruins of those of the greatest geniuses, to wit, Aristotle, St. Thomas, Scotus, St. Bonaventure, and the other scholastics, who, he said, had corrupted true philosophy, and the solid truths of Christian theology. Such is the veritable character of Martin Luther, in which we may say there was a great mixture of some good qualities and many bad ones, and that he was still more debauched in mind than in morals and his manner of life, which always passed for regular enough whilst he lived in the cloister before his heresy, which gave the finish to the corruption of his mind and heart.”* I confess that this Jesuit-portraiture of Luther seems to me far more creditable to the man of history than all the panegyrics of his party. It is an original character: harshly, savagely expressed—“brutally,” if I may borrow from the Jesuit,—but the elements thus distorted were splendidly adapted to the sphere from which he was destined to uproot

Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimeras dire.†

There is no evidence to show that Luther had any intention, at first, to push matters to extremities; but his was not a nature to shrink from the flashing blade of defiance at any moment, in any place, at any disadvantage. *Fractus illabatur orbis—impavidum ferient ruinæ*: the pagan impiety of Ajax defying the gods was Luther's heroic unconquerableness—that neither men nor devils could disprove. Having once begun—and gently enough, in all conscience—the patrons of abuses, by their violent and haughty indignation, made it impossible for him to stop short with mild animadversions and thin elucidations. First, he traced the outline, and then he dug into the stubborn metal with his delving burin. His motives for this “interference” have been impugned by his subsequent opponents. Some think it the result of mere monkish envy, because his Order was not employed to preach the lucrative speculation! It was to be expected that his character would be fiercely assailed for his boldness in meddling with the beard of the mighty lion. He has not lacked defenders;‡ and, with all his faults, I would rather give Luther my hearty hand, than a smile of approval to his antagonists.

Luther stopped not at indulgences, as all the world knows. Right onwards he went, or was driven, by persecution, to the consummation. In 1520 he published his “Tract against the Popedom,” in which he

* Maimb. p. 26.

† Paradise Lost, b. ii.

‡ Read Maclaine's note (d) to page 15 of Mosheim, for some enlightenment on the subject. Vol. ii. ed. 1838.

drew the sword: and then his “Babylonish Captivity,” in which he flung away the scabbard. Measures were no longer kept by either party. Fierce passion dashed fuel into the general conflagration. In 1520, Leo issued his damnatory bull, excommunicating Luther, delivering him over to the devil, requiring the secular princes to seize him, and condemning his books to be burned. Luther, nothing dismayed, returned measure for measure; and, raising a huge pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, hurled the decretals, canon law, and bull, to the flames together, over against the flashing flame as he stood, the genius of reformation to the world.*

This “heresy” was destined to be a lasting blow to the popedom and all its prerogatives. Princes, nobles, and people favored the movement. Papal downfall was a providential decree, since every circumstance of the age hailed the event with exultation. The popes had few friends in Germany, nor did they deserve any. Catholic writers admit the fact. “The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times,” says Dr. Lingard, “had left a germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility; and the minds of men had of late years been embittered by frequent but useless complaints of the expedients devised by the papal court to fill its treasury at the expense of the natives.” The same writer attests the worldliness, ignorance, and immorality of the German bishops and clergy in general.† What wonder, then, that the people exulted at the hope of that destruction which would avenge their grievances at the hands of extortionate churchmen, or that princes and nobles should favor a movement which was likely to turn to their advantage? All had specific objects to gain from a common enemy; all, therefore, heartily joined in the onslaught. Then came the *new men* of the age—the literary men, looking forward to something more solid than mere intellectual triumphs over their monastic rivals. Their writings, winged by the art of printing, “enlightened” the people, and “popular rights” roused an echo in the nation’s heart. Besides, consider the novelty of the thing—that stirring principle of human encouragement. Over above these motives towered the spirit of religion, as it were, a muffled angel, trembling for the result, but still hopeful of the time when, dating from Luther’s movement, religious freedom, in its widest extent, would bless humanity. Only in the *present* age we begin to enjoy that blessed result; and even Rome herself, despite her own intolerance, finds that the descendants of Luther are amongst her most generous opponents, willing to grant her the boon which she *never* yielded without compulsion.‡ Dreadful contests, horrible crimes were in store,

* Blunt, 100; Milner, iv.; Ling. vi. 100; D’Aubigné, ii. 150.

† Hist. of Eng. vi. 97, which see for a very fair summary of the state of Germany at that period.

‡ In an enclytic letter of the late pope, dated August 15, 1832, and addressed to all patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, the principle of allowing liberty of conscience to the people is censured as “absurd, erroneous, and delirious, derived from the corrupt source of indifferentism. For the liberty of error,” says the pope, “is death to the soul.” There’s the rub. Who is to define “error?” It was in compliance with this declaration that La Mennais, in the following September, dissolved the society which

ere the fair face of Christianity would beam upon mankind; but Providence slept not: hope dried her tears and smiled through her anguish.

Leo X. died in 1521, by poison, as is very probable.* His predecessor was thought to have been taken off in like manner. That age scrupled at few or no atrocities. Money could buy every heart and hand in the Roman court. Who was to succeed the magnificent Leo? What an element of durability is that *electorate* of the popedom! A king—an absolute monarch elected by an oligarchy of churchmen. There was hope for each: the elect was the creature of faction. The reign of each pope was the ascendancy of a political system. For a time, opponents were silenced; but they did not despair, for their turn might be the next. To this principle of the popedom is to be largely attributed its duration. Soon would the kings of Europe be able to influence the electing conclave, and insure a creature of their own in the pontiff, "St. Peter's successor," "Father of the Faithful," and "Vicar of Jesus Christ."

Who was to succeed and govern the church in her dread predicament? Luther's movement was rapidly advancing; the enemies of Leo were rising from their humiliation. The Popedom was at war with the Dukes of Ferrara and Urbino. The latter had been spoiled of his state by Leo, who coveted that of the former as well. The cardinals were divided into factions; the whole State of the Church was exhausted and in disorder by the anarchy, of eight months' duration. Add to this, the war which had broken out between the Emperor and the King of France; the island of Rhodes besieged by the Turks, the constant terror of Christendom.[†]

In the conclave for the election of the new pope, the various factions could come to no choice; Cardinal Medici, an aspirant, flattered the rising star of Europe, Charles V., by dexterously proposing to the cardinals, Adrian of Utrecht, *ci-devant* co-regent of Spain, after having been the preceptor of Charles. It was made to appear that Adrian's election was a matter of chance. The excuse was probably the self-defence of the factions, when they experienced the man of their choice. But mere "chance" will account for nothing in these times; all was cool calculation and oily craft. It was by the influence of Charles V. that Adrian of Utrecht (as the honest man called himself) was called to ascend the papal throne. Doubtless some of the cardinals were taken by surprise in the matter, and when the thing was done, they scarcely knew how it came about. It is said that they were half dead with terror at Adrian's acceptance of the dignity; for they had per-

he had established for "advocating religious liberty."—*Affaires de Rome*, par M. F. de la Mennais, with copy of the "letter."—*Penny Cycl. "Popery."*

* Panvin. Leo X.; Roscoe, *ubi suprū*. Sannazarus gives him an epigram:

"*Sacra sub extremā, si forte requiritis, horā
Cur Leo non potuit sumere: vendiderat.*"

"If you ask why Leo did not receive the *sacred things* [sacraments] at his last hour, the answer is, he had *sold them*?"—Epig. I. iii. 8.

† Guic. lib. 15; Sarpi, i. c. 22.

suaded themselves that he would not receive the appointment. Pasquin, the Roman *Punch*, derided them, representing the Pope-elect in the character of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals as schoolboys, whom he was chastising.* If Adrian was not the “little log,” nor exactly the devouring “stork,” which *Aesop* tells us were conceded as kings, on a certain occasion, certainly the cardinals and the pandering menials of Leo became direful “Frogs” with a fearful clamor, when Adrian of Utrecht dropped upon them, scythe in hand instead of a pruning-knife, for *reform*—that terrible sound to the guilty men of Rome. In truth, a plough-share was needed. Adrian was a man of thoroughly unblemished reputation, upright, pious, active, serious. No more than a faint smile was ever seen upon his lips—but full of benevolence and pure intentions—a genuine clergyman.†

“I venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrine and whose life
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.”‡

It is gratifying, intensely so, at last to find a good pope, after struggling through the mire of his predecessors. Interesting it will be to see the proofs of every preceding page, in the results of Adrian’s efforts to do good in evil times.

Adrian was born at Utrecht in 1459. His father was one of the people—a poor man. Whether he was a weaver, or a brewer of small beer, as was said, matters not at all—he was an honest man.§ Educated by charity, Adrian lived in probity and application; and was advanced by his talents to the highest functions that mind and heart can deserve to fill and adorn. In philosophy, mathematics and theology, he ranked among the foremost of the age. The Emperor Maximilian made him the unavailing tutor to his grandson, Charles, afterwards the famous Charles V. Ferdinand of Spain gave him the bishopric of Tortosa. After Ferdinand’s death, he became co-regent with Cardinal Ximenes, and was made governor of Spain by Charles V.||

Adrian VI. (for he retained his original name) wept when informed of his elevation. No tears of joy were those. Too well he knew that evil times were around and before him. Not for joy he wept, as many would—

“No: he was serious in a serious cause,
And understood too well the weighty terms
That he had ta’en in charge. He would not stoop
To conquer those by jocular exploits,
Whom truth and soberness assail’d in vain.”¶

Adrian was to succeed *Leo the Tenth!* Let the *Cavaliere Abate Tiraboschi*, *ci-devant* Jesuit, describe Adrian’s advent to the *Corte di Roma*, the *Court of Rome*:—“This so brilliant a light which was

* Ranke, p. 26.

† Ibid., p. 27.

‡ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

§ “Vix ex ingenua plebe . . et ut alii audiunt, aulæorum textor, quamquam plerisque placeat coctoris cerevisiæ ministrum eum fuisse—probus tamen et frugi.”—Panv.

|| Panvin. Hadrian. VI.; Dupin, Cent. xvi.

¶ Cowper, *The Task*, B. II.

spread over polite literature in the happy times of Leo X. was obscured by a passing but murky cloud, in the short pontificate of Adrian VI. Could a Flemish pope,—*un pontefice Fiamingo*,—one who had always lived amidst scholastic subtleties, could such a one enjoy the epigrams of *Bembo*, or the elegant letters of *Sadolet*?* This significant introduction prepares us for a scene. It follows:—“Scarcely was he in Rome, when the whole tribe of poets seemed struck by a thunderbolt—scattered in every direction. Sadolet went first to his country-house, and then to his bishopric of Carpentras.” Why was he not there before? . . . Why did he decamp? We have the reason: “Monsignor Sadolet,” wrote Girolamo Negri to Micheli, “is well in the vineyard, sequestered from the vulgar herd, and cares not for favors; particularly as the pope the other day happening to cast his eyes over some elegant Latin letters, only observed: ‘*Sunt literæ unius poetæ*’—‘these are some poet’s letters’—as though he snubbed eloquence. And again, when he was shown the *Laocoön* as something excellent and wonderful, he said: ‘*Sunt idola antiquorum*’—‘these are the idols of the ancients.’ So that I very much doubt that he will not some day do what they say Saint Gregory did—and that out of all these statues, the living memorials of Rome’s grandeur and glory, he’ll make lime for building St. Peter’s!”*

We must now inquire who these unfortunate poets were, that crowd of poets,—*poetica turba*,—with their pleasant literature,—*amena letteratura*, whom the advent of honest Adrian unsettled and put to flight in a manner, and with results, so feelingly lamented by the Cavalier-jesuit Tirabosch. These gentle shepherds, or rather these flaunting Rochesterers, must interest us, since they interest a Jesuit. Andrès, a sterner Jesuit, has expressed, as we have heard (p. 32), an opinion, founded on facts, not at all favorable to the intrinsic worth of the *Leonine* poets most in favor, with whom not to sympathise, only befits “a Flemish pope nursed in scholastic subtleties,” according to the cavalier Tirabosch.

Their chief was *Pietro Bembo*, a first-rate scholar and admirable correspondent, as appears by his numerous letters on all manner of subjects and to all manner of persons. As secretary to Leo X., he is unsurpassed in his official despatches, composed *Leonis Decimi nomine*, in the name of the pope; as an intellectual voluntary in

* “Questa si chiara luce, che sull’ amena letteratura si sparse ne’letti tempi di Leon X. fu oscurata da una passaggiera ma folta nube nel Ponteficato di Adriano VI. Uno Pontefice Fiammingo, e vissuto sempre fra le scolastiche sottiglieze, poteva egli godere o degli Epigrammi del Bembo, o dell’eleganti lettere del Sadoleto. Apena egli fu in Roma, che tutta la poetica turba sembro percossa dal folgore, e quâ e là disperse; e il Sadoleto medesimo ritiratosi alla campagna, passò poscia al su Vescovado di Carpentras: Monsignor Sadoleto, scriveva Girolamo Negri a Marcantonio Micheli a ’17 di Marzo del 1523 (1); sta bene alla vigna sequestrato dal volgo, e non si cura di favori; massimamente che il Pontefice l’altro dì leggendo certe lettere latine ed eleganti, ebbe a dire: *Sunt litteræ unius Poetæ*, quasi beffeggiando l’eloquenza. Ed essendogli ancora mostrato in Belvidere il Laocoonte per una cosa excellente e mirabile, disse: *Sunt Idola Antiquorum*. Di modo che dubito molto un dì non faccia quel che si dice aver fatto già S. Gregorio, e che di tutte queste statue, viva memoria della grandezza e gloria Romana, non faccia calce per la fabrica di S. Pietro.”—*Lettere di Principe*, t. i.; *Tirabosch*. t. vii. P. i. 20, et seq.

retirement, he was equalled by many in his *Ansolani* or Conversations on Love, composed in the name of Cupid, or Venus, or any other goddess spiritual or human, which last Pietro Bembo lacked not for adoration. For some reason dissatisfied with his patron, Bembo retired from Leo's Roman court and took up his residence at Padua, accompanied by his mistress *La Morosina*, who remained with him to the time of her death, in 1535. Being then in his sixty-fifth year, it is possible that "for the residue of his life nothing of conduct or composition unfitting the sacred profession could be imputed to Bembo," as we are assured;* but eleven of his sonnets remain, attesting and bewailing *La Morosina*, whom it is said he regarded as his legitimate wife. She has the merit of having inspired Bembo with more pathos by her death than by the influence of her charms during life; these sonnets surpass all his other writings. *La Morosina* gave him a daughter and two sons, one of whom entered the church, and distinguished himself by his literary acquirements, for Bembo paid particular care to the education of his children. Devoted to his studies and pleasures, and enjoying, in the midst of his literary friends, the revenues derived from his church preferments, he seemed determined to avoid the temptations of the Roman court; but in 1539, Pope Paul III. (the friend of Alexander VI., and patron of the Jesuits), made him a cardinal, and invited him to Rome, to be highly favored by the pontiff (who "passed over" his former life), to be enriched with many wealthy benefices (two bishoprics among the rest), to meet once more many of his old associates, and finally, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, quietly to end his days in 1547.†

Bembo was perhaps the best moral specimen that the "poetic crowd" could boast. "All the poets, with scarcely an exception, all the literary men of that age resident in Rome, and even honored with prelacies, with dignities, and offices in the church, were infected with the same vice, or, as may be said, *besmeared with the same pitch*,—*tinti della pece medesima*."‡ Dismissing his dissolute life, even dismissing that remarkable incredulity so inconsistent with his profession, and of which, like many of the day, he made no secret,§ it will be only neces-

* Dublin Review, xxxix. p. 40.

† Rosec. ii. 144, 145; Bemb. Epist. Fam. L. Ep. vi. 66, 67; Lett. Vulg. ii.; lib. ii. Ep. 14; Feller, Biog. Univ.; Bayle, *Bembo*; Sismondi. i. 426, *et seq.*

‡ "Tutti quasi i poeti, tutti i letterati di quella età, comechè residenti in Roma, et insigniti ancora di prelature, di dignità, e di uffici nella chiesa, erano infetti dello stesso vizio, o come altri direbbe, tinti della pece medesima."—Bossi, Ital. v. vii. 268.

§ Melchior Adam tells us (in Vit. Theol. p. 360) that Melancthon sent Sabinus to Bembo with a letter of introduction. During dinner, Bembo asked Sabinus what salary Melancthon had? what number of hearers? and what was his opinion concerning a *future state and the resurrection?* To the first, the reply was 300 florins a-year. The cardinal cried out—"Ungrateful Germany, to purchase at so low a price so many toils of so great a man!" The answer to the second question was, that Melancthon had usually 1500 hearers. "I cannot believe it," replied the cardinal. "I do not know of an university in Europe, except that at Paris, where one professor has so many scholars." Still Melancthon had frequently 2500 hearers. To the third question, Sabinus replied that Melancthon's works were a full proof of his belief in those two articles. "I should have a better opinion of him," replied the cardinal, "if he did not believe them at all?"—*haberem virum prudentem, si hoc non crederet.* Apud Bayle, *Melancthon*

sary to observe that the licentious poems of his youth were not likely to be "passed over" by *Adrian*, as they were by *Leo*, and subsequently by *Paul III.* of Jesuit memory.*

One more specimen of the poetic crowd dispersed by *Adrian* may be mentioned: Pietro Aretino, whose name has acquired an infamous celebrity. Extreme licentiousness is the characteristic of this poet, if he be worthy of the name. He sold his pen to reigning sovereigns, and gave them for their gold the most base and degrading flatteries.—And yet, it is well known he wrote several *devotional* pieces; in the list of his works, among many abominations, appear the *Life of Saint Catherine of Sienna*, and a *Paraphrase of the Penitential Psalms*, which the author, an enemy to every religious faith and to all morals, wrote only because they brought him a larger sum of money. In spite of this profligacy of mind and heart, Aretino received from his contemporaries the epithet of *Il Divino*, the Divine! He had the effrontery to affix the title to his name. His life was sullied by every species of vice. Utterly without a sense of honor, personal chastisement was the only expedient capable of repressing his satirical venom; and that he frequently underwent at the hands of his enemies. On the other hand, in his dramatic pieces he paints undisguisedly the vices of the great as well as those of the people, and preserves, with singular truth and vivacity of coloring, the picture of the general dissoluteness of manners, and the loose principles of the age. "From no other source," says Sismondi, whose account of the man I have condensed, "from no other source can we obtain a more correct insight into that abandonment of all morals, honor and virtue, which marked the sixteenth century." This crowd-poet, Aretino, was the acknowledged friend of *Leo X.*, and subsequently of *Clement VII.*, and still later was recommended to *Paul III.* by his son, the Duke of Parma, as deserving a cardinal's hat, and had nearly attained that distinction, on the death of *Paul*, from his successor *Julius III.*† But it is evident that he could find no favour with *Adrian VI.*

[P.J. See also *Bembo* [F.] for other assertions of the like nature. On being informed that Sadolet was about to write an explanation of the Epistle to the Romans, *Bembo* said to him, "Leave off these fooleries; they ill become a man of gravity—*Omitte has rugas; non enim decent gravem virum tales ineptiae.*"—*Greg. Michel. Not. in Curios. Gaff.* p. 111.

* Scaliger reproaches him sharply for his licentious poems, particularly the Elegy beginning—

“Ante alias omnes, meus hic quos educat hortus,
Una puellares allicit herba manus.”

I dare not mention the subject of the Elegy. In Scaliger's opinion—and all must agree with him—the poem "may be justly called a most obscene piece of wit, or a most witty piece of obscenity." "There are many pieces of his (*Bembo*) extant, written in a very licentious way, agreeably to the corrupt taste of the time, and to the humors of the master he served." This is De Thou's verdict. See Bayle, *Bembo* (E.); Scalig. Confut. Tab. Burdonum, p. 323.

† Sismondi, i. p. 433; Feller, Biog. Univ. See also Tiraboschi, t. vii. p. 11, l. iii. c. 86, for a slashing account of Aretino; the Jesuit seeming to forget that this "poet" was a friend of *Leo X.* He says that *Clement VII.* expelled him from Rome for some obscene sonnets. He called himself the *Scourge of Princes*, and asserts that his income, arising from presents that they made him, and solid cash, amounted to 25,000 crowns in eighteen years. Even Charles V. and Francis I. purchased his silence!

The election of a man actually absent, and who was unknown to the cardinals and the Roman court, where he had never been,—a man who was thought hostile to the Roman maxims and the licentious lives of the cardinals,—so fixed attention, that Luther's movement was almost forgotten. He was even thought favorable to the Reformation ;* but nothing was further from his intention than giving encouragement to the movement in its widest acceptation. A conscientious believer in the doctrines of the Roman church, his ardent desire was to uphold it in its greatest integrity, and utterly to eradicate the thousand abuses by which it was besouled. He was consistently hostile to Luther's movement. His purity of intention and integrity of life gave him the title to this praise, whilst so many others concerned in the struggle had nothing but their corrupt desires and open vices to prompt resistance to a movement which threatened them with penury and ruin. Adrian longed to correct the abuses of the Church. In his instructions for the Nuncio whom he sent to the Diet, he exclaims,—“ We know that for a long time many abominable things have found a place near the Holy Chair, abuses in spiritual things, exorbitant straining of prerogatives—everything turned to evil. The disease has spread from the head to the limbs—from the pope to the prelates: we are all gone astray; there is none that has done rightly—no, not one.”† He charged his Nuncio to state, that in order to satisfy his inclination as well as the duties of his office, he was resolved to direct his whole mind, and to employ all means to reform, in the first place, *the court of Rome*, whence perhaps all the evil sprang; and that he would apply to this matter the more readily, because he saw that all the world desired it with ardor. The whole of this document attests at least the sincerity of Adrian's heart, and must deserve our admiration. But the Jesuit Pallavicino brings to bear upon it the dexterous *political* craft of his society, and says that it leaves us to desiderate in Adrian more prudence and circumspection; and he plainly expresses his opinion that government is better administered by a man of mediocre virtue, accompanied by great sense, than by great sanctity furnished with little sense.‡ The Jesuit in effect condemns almost every part of this instruction; but Panvinius, who judged more soundly than the cardinal Jesuit, and who was nearer the scene of affairs, does not hesitate to say, that by his integrity and kindness, Adrian rendered himself so agreeable to the Germans, that, had he not been surprised by death, there is reason to believe he would have remedied the evils of the Church.§ This was

Imagine the force of *influence* in those days. Remember the fact: it will explain how eagerly the services of the *Jesuits* were desired. Popes and sovereigns knew their danger from literary and other enemies, if they made such, or failed to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness. Aretino would not have been paid to keep silence on the characters and deeds of potentates, if his writings did not influence the people —then the “tools” of the great, to fight their battles and fill their pockets.

* Sarpi, lib i.

† *Instructio pro te Franc. Chiereg.*, apud Ranke; Sarpi, lib. i.

‡ “Una tale Instruzione ha fatto desiderare in lui maggior prudenza et circonspezione . . Il governo . . meglio si amministra da una bontà mediocre accompagnata da senno grande, che da una santità fornita di picciol senno.”—Lib. ii. c. 7.

§ Hadrianus I.

a futile hope, however: the evils were too deep—the circumstances were too much involved to give the least chance of success, either to the greatest integrity or the greatest skill. Too many stirring and important interests of humanity depended upon that movement which was originated by the abuses of religion; and it must be added, too many human motives were rushing to the contest, all destined to make it perpetual. Rome preferred her abuses: she hugged them closely as a miser his gold. At every step Adrian saw himself surrounded by a thousand difficulties. In a strange element at Rome, he could only suffer: action was out of his power. On the other hand, his inflexible integrity scorned to make friends out of the mammon of unrighteousness; and he stood alone, whilst his unpopularity increased daily round about the papal throne, at length, and too late, filled by an honest man. It passed from mouth to mouth that he had about 5000 vacant benefices to bestow; the hopes of twice as many hungry aspirants were on the alert; but never did pope show himself more chary and reserved in that important matter. Adrian would know *who* it was for whom he provided a salary: he would investigate the character of the man whom he appointed to preach morality. He set to the work with unscrupulous conscientiousness, and consequently disappointed innumerable expectations. The first decree of his pontificate suppressed the reversionary rights formerly annexed to church dignities; he even recalled those already conceded.* All the venal offices invented, established, and sold by Leo, he revoked without mercy, to the utter discomfiture of the beasts and birds of prey who fattened on the spoil. It was a severe measure, doubtless; but Adrian shrunk with horror from the thought of perpetuating those infamous abuses. General dissatisfaction was the result; for, observe, many had embarked all their fortunes in a speculation which filled for a time the hungry coffers of the prodigal Leo. They had risked all with the hope of large profit. Compelled by his exhausted treasury, to enforce the strictest economy, Adrian was accused of avarice. He bore the calumny as it deserved, and frequently observed that “it mattered much for his success what times a man of the greatest virtue fell on—*multum referre ad feliciorrem fortunam in quæ tempora alicujus vel præclara virtus incidisset.*” How striking was the comparison when the people glanced back to the times of Leo. Luxury, peace, and festivities rejoiced the sensual applauders of a corrupt administration—without a thought of the future—without a suspicion that the very state of affairs which was their glory and their exultation, was rapidly preparing the most certain and inevi-

* Some idea of papal prerogatives and abuses is conveyed by the following extract from Condillac: “They (the popes) kept up all the abuses which enriched the Apostolic Chamber; that is, the appeal on all affairs to the Holy See, the collation of all incumbents, reserves, expectative graces, annates, indulgences, dispensations, the tithes, and the spoils of dying incumbents. For the popes had established themselves the heirs of all incumbents; and not only did they seize the remaining proceeds of the benefice, but even the ornaments of the churches, or even the goods which an incumbent held from his family. If the family made any resistance, they were excommunicated. Giannoni observes, that these abuses reigned all over Italy, and even greater at Naples.”—*Hist. Moderne, Œuvres*, t. xxiii. 242.

table reaction or retribution. It came during the interregnum—with war, famine, and pestilence. The innocent pope bore the blame: they hated him for the penalties of their own recklessness, and his predecessor's voluptuous prodigality.*

It was the fatality of the Church to aggravate her calamities by the perversity with which she resisted the conscientious efforts at reform at the hands of the good Adrian. But he felt that inward impulse whose motives, if they come not from heaven, cannot be traced to evil. Adrian applied his religious mind to the purification of the Church, corrupted by foul abuses,—*fedis abusibus corruptam*. To aid in his efforts, he invited to Rome and the Vatican, Marcellus Cajetan, and Peter Caraffa, two eminent exceptions to the general rule of clerical profligacy—men of the strictest integrity, and not without knowledge—the stern and flinty products of a corrupt age, when the indignant hearts of “ten just men” burn with a holy fire to rescue a doomed world from imminent destruction. Sodom and Gomorrah lacked them—and sank for ever. Adrian, with Caraffa and Cajetan, declared war against all immorality. We are presented with the catalogue of the various delinquents:—they were the Marrani or hypocritical Jews, who might have been let alone; the blasphemers; simoniacs; usurers; and sodomites.† But he was doomed to die without reaping the smallest fruit from his efforts and good intentions. Innumerable enemies were the only result. He was reproached with hardness of heart, sordid economy, and grovelling sentiments; which charges only had in view Adrian’s integrity, frugality, and purity.‡ His death was eagerly desired. On one occasion the upper part of the door leading to the papal chapel, fell in, as the pope was about to enter. Several soldiers were killed: the pope escaped. The prelates witnessed his good fortune with undisguised regret: nor was an unfeeling prelate in the least blamed for his impious wish, that death had rid them of the hated pope!§ One would almost believe that the catastrophe was no accident. Results strengthen the surmise. Colonna gave a splendid feast to the cardinals, and other eminent persons: the pope retired to a neighboring church to avoid the heat, which was oppressive. “There he took,” it is said, “a slight disease, which being neglected by the physicians, became mortal, increasing fever being the result.”|| He died soon after. An inscription was seen on the door of his physician—“To the Liberator of his Country.” The usual phrase, “not without suspicion of poison,” is omitted by the historian: but assuredly there never was reason better supported by circumstances for believing that Adrian was helped out of a world unworthy of his virtues. He had reigned only twenty months. The following epitaph on his tomb chronicles his good intentions, and their

* Ranke, *ubi supradictum*; Panvin. *ut antea*.

+ Maranos, blasphemos, simoniacos, feneratores, et adversæ veneri deditos.—Panvinius, *ubi supradictum*.

‡ Ber. Bercast., Hist. Eccles.

§ Conclavi de’ Pontefici Romani, p. 151.

|| “Ibi levem ab initio, mox à medicis neglectum, letalem contraxit morbum, ita ut sensim invalesceret febris.”—Panvinius. Again, still more strikingly, he says: “Levi, sed tabifica febre quam decubuisse, adulatio medicorum, eò perductus est, ut pænè prius quam venæ tangerentur, improvise morte perierit.”—Clem. VII.

result—"Here lies Pope Adrian VI., who deemed nothing in his life more unfortunate than the possession of supreme power."*

It is pleasant to dwell on the character of this good pope. There is a letter of his extant in which he says, that he would rather serve God in his priory in Louvain than be pope. He continued in the Vatican the life he had led as a professor. It was characteristic of him, observes Ranke, that he even brought with him the old woman, his attendant, who continued to provide for his domestic wants as before. He made no alteration either in his personal habits: he rose with the dawn, read his mass, and then proceeded in the usual order to his business and his studies, which he interrupted only with the most frugal dinner. It cannot be said of him that he was a stranger to the general culture and acquirements of the age: he loved Flemish art, and prized that learning which was adorned with a tinge of elegance. Erasmus testifies that he was especially protected by him from the attacks of the bigots of the Schools; and that although he favored scholastic pursuits, he was, nevertheless, well enough disposed towards polite learning. Even the cavalier Tirabosch, despite his evident prepossession against the sternness of Adrian, flings him the following admission:—"Moreover," says he, "Leo's prodigality had so exhausted the treasury, that Adrian not only had nothing to give to the learned, but was even in want of money for the most pressing necessities."† But he disapproved of the almost heathenish tendency to which they gave themselves up in Rome, says Ranke, and he would not so much as hear of the Sect of the Poets—the poetic crowd whom he routed. His conduct was a constant antithesis to that of his predecessor, the luxurious Leo. The Jesuit Feller observes, that Adrian was as simple in his manners, and as economical, as Leo was prodigal and extravagant. When the cardinals urged him to increase the number of his domestics, he replied, that he desired before all things, to pay the debts of the Church. Leo's grooms asked him for employment. "How many grooms had the late pope?" asked Adrian. "A hundred," was the reply—whereupon the pope made the sign of the cross, and said, "Four will be enough for me—but I'll keep twelve, so as to have a few more than the cardinals."‡ Nepotism, or the advancement of his relatives, was at a discount during his pontificate. One of his relatives came to Rome from his college in Tuscany: Adrian sent him back forthwith, telling him to take from his own conduct an example of modesty and self-denial. Others, in like manner, who had travelled on foot to Rome from Germany, with the hope of promotion, he very severely rebuked, and dismissed back to their country with the gift of woollen garments, and a frugal viaticum, but on foot, as they came a fortune-hunting. Evident proofs are these of his disapprobation of the contrary practice which was followed by his predecessors—so serious and pernicious to the state; but to his friends and domestics, whom he selected with the greatest care, he very liberally conceded what he had to give, and desired to enrich the good

* "Hadrianus Papa VI. hic situs est, qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita duxit quam quod imperaret."—Panv.

† Storia, tom. vii. part i. p. 22.

‡ Feller.

and studious with a moderate and lasting liberality.* He invariably said, that he would give men to benefices; not benefices to men. Adrian's example is a model. It may be useful to all who hold power in any church, and in any country. One curious remark will conclude this pleasant subject. In a work which he published when professor at Louvain, occurs the proposition "that the pope may err even in matters of *faith*."[†] There is little doubt that in spite of the severity with which he would resist Luther's movement, Adrian had right views of Christianity, and would have purged the Church of many abuses the most important.

A sharp contest in the conclave occupied the factions of the Roman Court ere a successor could be given to Adrian VI. and "St. Peter." The leading candidates were Giulio de' Medici, and Cardinal Colonna. A simoniacal compromise between them settled the matter, and the former was elected, and assumed the name of Clement VII.[‡] A natural relative of Leo X., who legitimated him by a public decree, his talents and aptitude for business procured him a large share in Leo's administration. His name was a talisman to the frivolous, who vainly imagined a return to the "glorious" days of the Medicean pope: his prudence and abilities gave hope to the wise, who trembled at the prospects of the Church and Popedom. It seemed to be the pope's resolve to avoid the extremes of the last pontificates—Leo's instability, profuseness, and objectionable habits—and Adrian's discordance with the temperament of his Court. Every department was controlled by sound discretion; at least in himself nothing was apparent but blameless rectitude and moderation. But he was a politician of the age, driving, as he thought, most cleverly to his objects, which, however, he was not destined to attain. Clement VII. was a man of extensive information, great acuteness and sagacity, and a skilful debater:[§] but action would be the watchword of his reign—and there his schemes recoiled upon himself, the Church, and the Popedom, with terrible disaster.

The increasing success of Luther's movement surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. It was a torrent to which a thousand rills, from every hill-top and mountain-side, gave length and breadth as it swept along—not without destruction. We shall soon compute its results. Turn we to the anxieties of the Church in her predicament. The remedies applied to her disease were like plasters and lotions, and unguents, to a critical skin-disorder. Her malady was internal; her doctors would treat only the outward eruption, Adrian would have gone to the inmost source of the disease; it would not be listened to; wealth,

* Panvinius.

[†] Comment on the IVth Book of the Sentences—quoted by Feller, with a bungling explanation and distinction; he actually insinuates that Adrian *must* have changed his opinion on the matter when he became pope, by stating that the book containing the proposition was republished subsequently, during his pontificate, without the pope's permission. *Ubi supra.*

[‡] Mendoza. Lett., Guicciard. lib. 15. Pallavicino quotes anonymous memoirs in proof that the pope's *modesty* was the motive of his election. "Charity," observes Courayer, "may induce us to believe it: pity that we have no other proofs." Modesty in the Conclave would certainly then seem a phenomenon.

[§] Ranke, p. 28.

and power, and domination were too sweet to be resigned, even for the sake of Mother Church, which all theoretically defended, though practically few would adorn with her best ornament—the virtues of her children. The method devised to stem the Reformation was the creation of swarms of monks—a feature as remarkable as any of the sixteenth century. The object in view was ostensibly the reformation of manners, but effectually the aim was by influence to counteract the furious tide of papal unpopularity. Luther had shorn papal power of its terrible beard, and all the world was growing bold enough to stroke its chin. Those who govern men, however profligate themselves—and some of the popes were bad enough—love to see virtue cherished and practised by their subjects, simply because it is easier to govern when men obey from principle, than when compelled by force of arms or the fear of penalties. Hitherto ignorance or indifference had been the basis of a wide-spread papal domination—very pleasant to behold by those who enjoyed its solid results. Luther's sledge-hammer had done, and was doing, fearful work on the battlements of tithes, privileges, and prerogatives. Then came the idea of Mother Church succumbing to the “heretic!” It was frightful. Thousands rushed to the rescue—as well as they could. Although the sword was at work—and would soon be more desperately engaged—still “argument” was in requisition. Who were to supply it—by their *lives* as well as their wits, which are not always as man and wife united? Swarms of teachers and leaders there were: Franciscans, Benedictines, and Dominicans—time-honored monks, all of them: but their day was passed. The world had got *used* to them—and *they* to the world, which was worse still. “Scandals grave and manifold, and known to the world, were found among them,” says the Jesuit Bellarmine, in his *Groan of the Dove*.* Now, in the morn of the Reformation, if it was desirable that the “heretics” should not be able to point the finger at such and such a monk, priest, or friar, leading a sorry life; it was also much to be wished that the same jealous opponents should not, with justice, reproach the orthodox on the score of ignorance at a time when the epithet of “learned” was something like “sainted” in appearance, and much more in reality. Concerning “Grammar,” “Art,” “Physics,” and “Dialectics,” there was, and had been, wrangling enough; and Aristotle’s shade was in higher estimation with the infants of the Church, than his mind had ever been with his royal pupil—but the Thomists, Scotists, Realists, and Nominalists (the professional theorists of these days), taught without informing, and crammed the brain of their pupils without satisfying its wants.

The spirit of the times required a new order of things. The Reformation called forth virtue and talent from the drowsy Church. The human mind, somehow and somewhere, if not everywhere, had broken from her fastness, and like a giant was prepared to run her course. It was necessary that the “orthodox” should “keep pace” with the run-

* De Gemitu Columbae. See also the Jesuit Keller’s *Cavea Turturis*, the Cage of the Turtle. There never was a Jesuit’s book without a catching title. ’Tis half the battle, say the publishers.

away. Thus the religious and intellectual wants of the Church arrested attention—two exigencies of immense importance in the state of affairs. The first was the first attempted. The *Franciscans* were among the first candidates in the difficult struggle of self-reformation—difficult indeed, since one may reform a thousand without being much the better for his success.* One of these monks felt himself called to restore the degenerate Order of St. Francis to its primitive austerity. Bassi, that was his name, and his reformed *capuchins*, would fall back on the terrible old custom of midnight worship, the scourge, silence, and all the bristling horrors of hair-shirt and skin-and-bone fasting.† All this was very good in its way: for *consistency* is no insignificant virtue in all professions: but a moment's consideration will suggest that neither midnight worship, self-scourging, hair-shirt, nor fasting, was exactly the thing to insure or restore papal ascendancy. Moses on the mountain praying, was necessary: but Joshua in the sinewy tug below, was no less requisite—some will say more so—in the plain, doing desperate battle with Amalek. In fact, the great want was an efficient secular clergy. Other candidates appeared. These were Gaetano da Thiene and Caraffa, who are remembered with Adrian VI. They were the founders of a new order, called the *Theatines*. The former was afterwards made a *saint*—as every founder of a religious order is sure to be, and has a right to be—and the latter became a pope, by name Paul IV.—a man of nine-and-seventy years, with deep sunken eyes, very tall and thin—all sinew and orthodoxy, except what was bone and austerity. The object proposed by the *Theatines* was chiefly to inspire the priesthood with the spirit of their profession, to battle with heresy springing up on all sides, and apply themselves to the corporal works of mercy. One regulation of their Institute was, neither to beg alms nor demand payment for their services. How then were they to be fed and housed and clothed? They passed a resolution that the new members should be of noble descent, and consequently rich. But the experience of the Church doubtless suggested to them that “virtue” was never suffered to be entirely its own and only reward: the charities of the pious always rained upon monks until they were “found out.” It is well to know some of their peculiarities. The *Theatines* would have no particular color and form of garb—leaving the fashion to be regulated by the local custom of the clergy; and the forms of service should correspond with national usage. Thus were they freed from the external obstacles which blocked the way of the monks, at a time when the cowl and girdle inspired anything but veneration.‡ These were *innovations*—a step in advance—progress, as the French would call it.

* Cardinal de Retz, for instance, who describes his moral conduct so philosophically, concluding with the resolve “to be as virtuous for the salvation of *others*, as he might be wicked for *himself*.”—*Memoires*. He converted a Protestant, and preached with vast applause, though at the time one of the most profligate dignitaries of the church. Balzac actually called him a *Saint Chrysostom*!

† Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Mon. vii.; Mosheim ii. 88. These Capuchins, so called from their *capuche* or cowl—were sadly persecuted by their sinful brethren, and compelled to fly from place to place, until the pope took them under his wings.

‡ Ranke, p. 46; Feller, Biog. Univ.; Bromato, Vita di Paolo IV.

The order was something new, and found the usual favor of novelty when it appeals to a prominent sentiment, failing, or passion of the times. The Theatines became in vogue. By their street-preaching and other public functions they won applause—not a little enhanced in the estimation of human nature by the fact that these holy and zealous men were mostly of noble birth, and had resigned the pleasures of the world for the good of religion, the service of the poor, the sick, the condemned of men in prisons, or on the scaffold of death. They made their vows in St. Peter's or the Vatican on the 14th of September, 1524. Clement VII. had given them a Bull of ratification. But troublous times were coming on: the pope was a politician as well as a patron of religious reformation.

There was a "Young Italy" in these times, as at the present day; and if she had no Austrians encumbering her mighty patriotism, she had Spaniards as detestable; and if she had no *Pio Nono* of the print-shops, she had a Clement VII. as belligerent as the same paper-hero. And they *talked* as loudly then as in these degenerate days. "Regeneration" was, as now, the pouting war-cry—just as if it were as easy to "regenerate" a nation as it is to manufacture Bulls and Archbishops. Nevertheless, in the summer of 1526, the Young Italy of these days went to work with their own strength. The Milanese are already in the field against the Imperialists—the warriors of Charles V. A Venetian and a papal army advance to their support. Swiss aid is promised, and the alliance of France and England has been secured. "This time," said Giberto, the most confidential minister of Clement VII., "the matter concerns not a petty revenge, a point of honor, or a single town. This war decides the liberation or the perpetual thraldom of Italy." There was no doubt of the successful issue. "Posterity will envy us that their lot had not been cast on our days, that they might have witnessed so high a fortune, and have shared it. He scorns the hope of foreign aid." "Ours alone will be the glory, and so much the sweeter the fruit."* Big words indeed, but pregnant with nothing. The vast enterprise was far from being universally popular in Italy; and as now, there was nothing like perfect unity among those who actually took part in the senseless scheme. Clement hesitated, wavered, thought of his money. His allies failed in their engagements. The Imperials were in Lombardy. Freundsberg crossed the Alps with an imposing army, to bring the contest to an end. Both general and men were full of Lutheran sentiments. They came to revenge the emperor upon the pope. The latter's breach of the alliance had been represented to them as the cause of all the mischief then felt, the protracted wars of Christendom, and the success of the Turks, who were at that moment ravaging Hungary. "If I make my way to Rome," said Freudsberg, "I'll hang the pope."

"Painful it is," exclaims Ranke, "to witness the storm gathering, and rolling onwards from the narrowing horizon. That Rome, so full it may be of vices, but not less full of noble efforts, intellect, mental

* Lettere di Principi, i. p. 192; Ranke, p. 29.

accomplishments, creative, adorned with matchless works of art (such as the world had never before produced),—a wealth ennobled by the stamp of genius, and of living and imperishable efficacy,—that Rome is now threatened with destruction!” Down on the doomed city poured the hostile army, forty thousand strong; a motley and ferocious band of Germans, Lutherans, Spaniards, and Italians, rushing over the bridge, panting for slaughter, hungry for food and gold. The pope fled; and bitter was the night that darkened over Rome. Men were butchered, noblemen tortured, women and nuns violated. None were spared without surrendering all they possessed. Churches were pillaged; the priests killed or tortured; and the very citadel in which the pope had taken refuge was besieged.* Old Freundsberg was no longer at the head of the army: he had been struck by apoplexy, in a disturbance with his troops; and Bourbon, who led them to the gate, fell at the first attack. “The splendor of Rome fills the beginning of the sixteenth century; it distinguishes a wonderful period in the intellectual development of mankind. That day it came to an end; and thus did the pope, who had sought the liberation of Italy, see himself beleaguered in the castle of St. Angelo, as it were a prisoner. We may assert, that by this great blow the preponderance of the Spanish power in Italy was irrevocably established.”†

No greater blow could have been given to the Catholic cause, and from that astounding event—*independent though it was of religious impulse*—unquestionably the Protestant movement was impelled with tenfold impulse in Germany. A year before, at the Diet of Spires, the cause was at least ratified—granted a legal existence; and soon, under the auspices of Philip of Hesse, preponderance was given to the Protestant cause of Germany. Clement, the pope, with his tortuous and selfish policy, aided the development and establishment of that ascendancy, by uniting with the Protestant princes against their common foe, the emperor. And triumphantly did Protestantism advance with the impulse. Würtemberg, which had been taken, was reformed forthwith; the German provinces of Denmark, Pomerania, the March of Brandenburg, the second branch of Saxony, the branch of Brunswick, and the Palatinate following soon after. Within a few years the Reformation was spread over the whole of the lower Germany, and obtained a permanent footing in the upper. “And Pope Clement,” says Ranke, “had been privy to an enterprise which led to this result—which so immeasurably augmented the desertion from the ranks of the Church—nay, he had perhaps approved of it,”‡ because it seemed to suit his interests in his contest with the emperor, to make him *enemies!* Such is *policy!*

In this position of affairs—flowing as the river from its source—what prospects had the Popedom? Where was the Roman Catholic religion *established?* I ask not where it was professed, but established in the minds and hearts of mankind. Half-a-dozen years sufficed to rout it from the greater part of Germany; and the influence of its rival was tinging every mind that thought—in every kingdom of Europe, even

* Panv. Clem. VII.

† Ranke, p. 31.

‡ Ranke, p. 35.

in Italy.* How easy was the downfall! As it then existed, Roman Catholicism was based on popular opinion, social and political interests. And by the same popular opinion, social and political interests, it was driven from the kingdoms, whence it was expelled forever. No violent, sudden result was that in theory, though such it was in practice. A thousand causes had preceded, eventuating the result. I have touched on many. I believe that Providence watched that result, and mitigated the evil to man, by which it was accompanied. Let those, therefore, who pant for change, for reform, in existing religious and social and political abuses, be at rest. They will eventuate their own correction in the time appointed. Meanwhile, let the minds of men be enlightened, and their hearts made hopeful of good. Teach unto men their exalted destiny. Point to that divine example, and His doctrines, so perfectly designed to insure that bond of human brotherhood which is knit together by man's best social, political, and eternal interests. It was the absence of such and similar sentiments that made the religious struggles of the sixteenth and succeeding centuries the darkest epoch of man's eventful history.

Popular opinion everywhere prepared the way for the Reformation. Had events continued in the same direction for a few years longer, it is probable that Protestantism would have been preponderant in every kingdom of Europe at the present day, not even excepting Spain, Portugal, and Italy. Changing his policy, Pope Clement, when his allies the French were defeated, threw himself into the arms of the hated Spaniards, and gave his hand to the emperor, whose troops had ruined his capital. With the activity of a restless mind, he stipulated in the treaty of peace for the re-establishment of his authority in Germany. Yet what seas of blood must be passed ere that result could gratify his cruelly ambitious and selfish heart. But alas! how painful it is for human nature to resign what it loves or covets. Clement VII. pledged his friendship to the Catholic emperor, and the latter, a devout son of the Church, promised all things to the Holy Father.† The result of this alliance was another fatal blow to the Papedom. It follows.

Home to the shores of Britain my theme advances. Early was the year of Grace when papal power and papal doctrine shaped the Christianity of Britons. Simple then were the habits of men—semi-barbarous—or those of children, that fear the rod, which is laid on when deserved, and that in right good earnest. There was a king, and there was a Church—but there was not a people. Slaves or children blocked up its place, or were welded to the powers that were, as a mass of useful metal. Times of social mists and “miracles”—times of “saints” and savageness. Venerable Bede! How fortunate was thy pen in selecting thy interesting theme—the *Anglo-Saxon Church*; whose history modernised, comes not up to thine as a faithful picture—telling us all with blessed credulity. What a time of miracles was that, when

* See Ranke, p. 40, *et seq.*, for a most interesting section on the subject.

† See Ranke, p. 31, *et seq.*, for a precious document presented by Cardinal Campeggi, of the Roman court, to Charles V., suggesting the means for exterminating Protestantism. Nothing can exceed its cold-blooded atrocity.

Heaven even showed by a shining light where the bodies of holy nuns should be buried ;—when a little boy dying called upon a virgin that was to follow him : and how another nun on the point of leaving her sad body, saw some small part of future glory ; how a sign from heaven was vouchsafed when Ethelberga, the pious mother of an holy congregation, took her flight to the realms of bliss: it was nothing less than the body of a man wrapped in a sheet and drawn up to heaven by shining cords; and how the blind saw by intercession ; pestilence dispelled by prayer ; an earl's wife cured by holy-water ; how the palsied walked from the tomb of St. Cuthbert, and how a bishop delivered from the jaws of death one of his clerks, “with his skull cracked, lying as dead.”* If Brahminism, Buddhism, Fetishism, or any other primitive superstition supplied the place of a better, then was the superstition of these times a tolerable substitute for the Christianity of Christ.

Down to the memorable Norman Conquest, or rather, successful invasion—and, after a bloody battle, reckless possession, what crimes, what baseness, what brutality in the pages of history that follow—and what grinding oppression round about a fattened Church, proud and sensual ! How restless we feel as our children read to us the horrid examples of royal and noble crime and cruelty and reckless profligacy ! And if they ask us, “Were they *Christians* then?” What can we answer? How can we reply without a homily that would make them yawn ? The Church existed in these days triumphant ; though ever and anon checked in her prerogatives, still she triumphed, and ruled the British Catholic hierarchy with the iron rod of the Roman Court: so that the most hampered branch of Roman hierarchy was, and ever has been, the Catholic hierarchy of England. Such was, “through the ages of ignorance, the absorbing vortex of the Roman See.” These are the words of a Roman Catholic.†

How fared the masses, emerging slowly from the bondage of servitude, but still the menials of power and superstition ? Their religion was inculcated by “miracle plays :” they were instructed to salvation by religion in sport. The clergy were not only the authors of the pieces exhibited within the churches, but were also, without any liability to ecclesiastical censure, the actors in or managers of the representations. But they did not long confine the exercise of their histrionic powers either to consecrated subjects or within the consecrated walls. They soon partook of the dramatic passion which they had indirectly awakened, and at last liked both plays and playing for their own sake. In Burnet’s *History of the Reformation* we find that so late as 1542, Bishop Bonner had occasion to issue a proclamation to the clergy of his diocese, prohibiting “all manner of common plays, games, or interludes to be played, set forth, or delivered, within their

* See Bede’s Ecclesiastical History, of which Mr. Bohn has given an excellent and cheap translation.

† Berrington, Memoirs of Panzani, p. 292 (*note*). See also Supplement, p. 459, and the Mem., *passim*.

churches and chapels."* And we have a specimen of the clergy in the following description : the author is describing how the clergy neglect their duties: "He againe posteth it (the service) over as fast as he can gallop ; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon, as lying for the whetstone, heatenishe dauncing for the ring, a beare or a bull to be bayted, or else jack-an-apes to ride on horseback, or an enterlude to be played; and if no place else can be gotten, it must be doone in the church." In proof also, that in the early part of the sixteenth century ecclesiastics still exhibited themselves as *common players*, we see, among many other evidences, that in 1519, Cardinal Wolsey found it necessary to insert an express injunction against the practice in the regulations of the Canons Regular of St. Austin.[†]

And luscious was the life of monkhood in generous Britain. Think not that the ruins of their snug retreats which you see here and there mantled with the ivy-green, were simply the abodes whilom of modest prayer and holiness, midnight study, and daily industry. That time soon passed away, and the "men of God" naturally resolved, like many others since, to enjoy the fruits of their labor and reputation. Old Chaucer, like Boccaccio, made them a jolly theme in the fourteenth century. Imagine the time when

"A Monk there was, a fayre for the maistre
An out-riider that loved venerie [hunting],
A manly man, to ben an abbot able,
Full many a deinte horse hadde he in stable;
And when he rode, men might his bridle hear
Gingling, in ■ whistling wind, as clear
And eke as loud as doth the chapell bell."

Here, in these few verses, are the state and pomp of monkhood vividly presented from the life in the days of its glory in England. Power, influence, enormous wealth, and the enforced veneration of the masses fill the picture. And Mother Church from the papal court was busy with her little matters—but lucrative catchpennies. Chaucer describes a Pardoner—"a gentil Pardonere of Rouncevall."

"A vernicle† hadde he sewed upon his cap—
His wallet lay before him, in his lap,
Bretful of pardon come from Rome all hot :
A voice he had as small as hath a gote:
No beard had he—he never none should have,
As smooth it was as it were never shave."

We must see what he has to sell, this gentil Pardonere.

"But of his craft, fro Berwicke unto Ware,
Ne was there such an other Pardonere :
For in his male [trunk] he had a pilvebere,
Which, as he said, was *Our Lady's veil*:
He said he had a gobbet of the sail
That St. Peter had when that he went
Upon the sea, till Jesus Christ him hent.

* See Penny Cyclopædia, ix. 427.

† Ibid.

‡ A copy of the miraculous handkerchief, impressed with the bloody face of the Redeemer—kept at Rome, I believe.

He had a crois of laton full of stones;
 And in a glass he had pigs' bones.
 But with these reliks, when he found
 A poor person dwelling upon land,
 Upon a day he got him more money
 Than that the person got in monethes twie.
 And thus with fained flattering and japes
 He made the person, and the people apes.”

Doubtless some cast-a-way monk, getting his bread as well as he could, and living by his wits—perhaps you exclaim. Not the least in the world:—

“ But truly to tellen at the last
He was in church a noble ecclesiast:
 Well could he read a lesson or a storie;
 But best of all, he sang an offertorie:
 For well he knew when that song was sung
 He must preach and well afife his tongue—
 To win silver, as he right well could—
 Therefore he sang the merrier and loud.”*

And, finally, in his description of a Good Parson we glance at existing abuses:—

“ He never set his benefice to hire,
 Leaving his flock acomber'd in the mire,
 And ran to London cogging at St. Pou'l's
 To seek himself a chauntery for souls,
 Or with a brotherhood to be enroll'd:
 But dwelt at home, and guarded well his fold
 So that it should not by the wolf miscarry—
 He was a shepherd, and no mercenary,
 He waited not on pomp or reverence;
 Nor made himself a spiced conscience.
 The love of Christ and his apostles twelve
 He taught: but, first, he followed it *himself.*”†

Luxury was attended with many other evils and abuses: the monks envied and hated others of rival congregations. In a manuscript which once belonged to a learned Benedictine, and is now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is a drawing of four devils hugging as many mendicant friars, one of each Order, with great familiarity and affection. They propagated schism. They split among themselves. Mutual abuse was their maxim. The poor ploughman seeking instruction in his creed at the hands of the Friars Minors, was told, as he valued his soul, to beware of the Carmelites; the Carmelites promoted his edification by denouncing the Dominicans; the Dominicans, in their turn, by condemning the Augustinians. The frailty of human nature soon found out the weak points of the mendicant system. Soon had the primitive zeal of its founders burnt itself out; and then its centre was no longer lighted with fire from the altar;—a living was to be made. The vows of voluntary poverty only led to jesuitical expedients for evading it—a straining at gnats and swallowing of camels. The populace were to be alarmed, or caressed, or cajoled out of a subsistence. A death-bed was a friar's harvest;

* Canterbury Pilgrimage.

† Compare Cowper's Task, Book ii., “ But loose in morals,” &c. &c.

then were suggested the foundation of charities, and the provision of masses and wax-lights. The confessional was his exchequer: there hints were dropped that the convent needed a new window, or that it owed "fortie pound for stones." Was the good man of the house refractory? The friar had the art of leading the women captive, and reaching the family purse by means of the wife. Was the piety of the public to be stimulated? Rival relics were set up, and impostures of all kinds multiplied without shame, to the impoverishment of the people, the disgrace of the church, and the scandal of Christianity.*

Then ensued the final preparation for the grand result to which I have alluded in a previous page. The final preparation of ruin to papal power in England was *popular opinion*. Against that no tyrant, even Henry VIII., could advance with impunity; but in accordance with popular opinion, or with its indifference, any measure may be carried as easily as the subversion of papal power in England.

Soon those friars and other monks of whom we have read became as rottenness to the bones of the Roman Church. By the time of Erasmus and Luther, they were the butt at which every dissolute idler, on every tavern-bench, discharged his shaft, hitting the establishment and religion itself through their sides. They were exhibited in pot-house pictures as foxes preaching, with the neck of a stolen goose peeping out of the hood behind; as wolves giving absolution, with a sheep muffled up in their cloaks; as apes sitting by a sick man's bed, with a crucifix in one hand and with the other in the sufferer's fob.† Add to all this the usual effects of papal encroachments, privileges and prerogatives, interference, and legal abuses in the ecclesiastical courts, emanating directly from the Roman "custom" in its grasping selfishness.‡

Against this state of matters men had risen heretofore, with the boldness of conscience impelled by religion. The Waldenses, Wickliffe, and the Lollards, had left more than a memory behind them—rendered still more vivid by the successful achievement of Martin Luther.

To the learned of England, pointed suggestions of reformation were made by no other than Sir Thomas More. If he knew not what he did, pity it was that he did it at all—for the sake of his church. I refer to his famed *Utopia*. It was written about the year 1513, when he was yet young, and is the work of a man alive to the corruptions of a church of which he lived to be the champion, the inquisitor, and martyr.—Through the medium of his ideal republic, *Utopia*, and by the mouth of an imaginary speaker, he censures the monks as the drones of society; reduces the number of priests to the number of churches; removes images; advocates the right of private judgment; exhorts that the work of conversion should be done by persuasion, but not by coercion; holding the faith of a man to be not always an affair of volition, he banishes as bigots, from his imaginary republic, those who con-

* Blunt's Reform. in Eng. p. 42; Erasm. Colloq. *Francisc.*; Chaucer.

† Erasm. Colloq. *Francisc.*; Blunt, p. 44.

‡ See Blunt's Reform. in Eng. (Family Library) for an excellent account of these matters, chap. iii. It is a most interesting little book.

demned all heretics to eternal torments, and extends his principles of concession even far beyond those afterwards adopted by the author of the *Liberty of Prophesying*—Jeremy Taylor.* More, very consistently, styles these hints at reformation, visionary; but if he did not believe them right and justifiable, the inference is, that they were opinions mooted at the time, and somewhere in the minds of men. However, More was one of the first to attack Luther's inculcations, and that with considerable acrimony. In fact, he proved himself sternly orthodox—clung to the old faith—was an admirable man—and perished cruelly by command of the ruthless tyrant, Henry VIII.

Meanwhile the doctrines and deeds of the German reformers circulated throughout England. The press was active. Its wonderful influence was first made known upon this great question. It seems to have been given to men to aid in the development of these results, the security and permanence of which depended upon their rapidity. Luther was on every lip. Ballads sang of him. His writings, with those of Huss, Zwingle, and many anonymous authors whom the time evoked, were clandestinely dispersed. Tracts with popular titles, such as “A Booke of the Olde God and New;”—“The burying of the Masse;”—“A, B, C, against the Clergy,”—made their appeals to the people. The confessions of some of the more eminent Lollards, and expositions of particular chapters of Scripture, which were thought to militate against the errors of Rome, were industriously scattered abroad. Above all, Tindall's translation of the New Testament was now in the hands of many—and a “cheap edition.”† In all these measures all was not justifiable to a right mind and a right conscience. Partyism was running high: human passions were swelling with the tide of triumph in expectation. Then followed the usual and best aid of every and any movement connected with religion—I mean *persecution*. Tonstall, the Bishop of London, bought up all the copies of Tindall's Translation, according to Fox, and burnt them at Paul's Cross. But already had the industrious Hollanders begun to trade in books for all parties, and Antwerp supplied the English market with a new edition, corrected and amended. A contraband was laid upon the foreign wares. Demand consequently increased, and they were smuggled into the country. Proclamations followed against the possessors of all heretical writings. Of course they were set at naught. Spies were encouraged; the husband was tempted to betray the wife, the parent the child, and a man's foes were literally those of his own household.‡ And many were burnt for their faith, as we are assured by Fox, whose ponderous and venerable volumes present us with awful engravings in illustration of the horrible and useless expedient. Thus was public *feeling* added to public opinion rising infallibly with persecution. One martyr will any day make a thousand. The sight of blood continually is a specific to harden the nerves and fortify the heart. The burning

* Utopia, ed. 12mo, pp. 117, 248, 233, 237, 243, 253, 224, 234, 262; Blunt, p. 105.

† Wordsworth, Eccles. Biog. i. 286; Blunt, p. 109.

‡ Fox; Wordsworth; Blunt, p. 110; Burnet, Ref. i. 48, *et seq.*

of a brother intoxicates the soul with unearthly fumes, and during the paroxysm of that heroic exaltation, death, in any shape, will be braved unflinchingly. All will be well with any movement as soon as it has achieved a martyr. We shall soon see how martyrdom operated on the Catholics of England with the Jesuits to "stir" them. That men were found to suffer martyrdom at the period here in question, is a matter of surprise, or speaks strongly for the intensity of the convictions infused by the undercurrent of the Reformation in England. Without a leader, books impelled them to die in defence of their convictions. It is difficult to conceive the fact asserted, particularly when we know that the morals of the nation at large were of a piece with those of their superiors in church and state, as in all parts of Europe—and very abominable. That men had ample reason to be disgusted with the machinery of Romanism is evident: but that this disgust should at once inspire sublime virtue in the feelers of that disgust, is not quite so evident. The most natural result of the stand against "Papistry," and of the severe measures applied in its vindication, would be the formation of *partyism*—which seems to be evident from the flood of tracts that deluged the country with "the Word of God" and rancor. More important events followed from a quarter least expected to favor the German movement.

King Henry VIII. had received the title of "Defender of the Faith" for a book to which he lent his name, written against Luther.* Leo X. conferred the distinction, which has ever since been retained by the sovereigns of England, as a glance at a shilling-piece shows by the Latin initials, F. D., contracted like its present import among the titles of the Protestant sovereign. The book was a defence of the seven sacraments; but Henry was a very gay liver,† and, therefore, nothing but partyism could exult at its appearance. For him there were no sacraments. He was a man of licentious passions, which subsequently became ferocious—a horrible character without one redeeming feature. Henry was married to the virtuous Catherine, aunt of Charles V., whose troops devastated Rome, and whom, by the turn of events, the political pope, Clement VII., was compelled to propitiate in his sad predicament. The pope's fate was in the hands of the emperor. Imperialism was dominant in Italy. These facts must be borne in mind.

Henry's prime minister was the Cardinal Wolsey, as licentious as himself, but somewhat of a politician, said to have "certainly had a vast mind." His vices were notorious and scandalous: his pride and love of pompous display extravagant. His state was equal to that of kings. Only bishops and abbots attended him at mass: dukes and earls, during the ceremony, handed him the water and the towel. This man resolved to reform the clergy. He was scandalised at their cor-

* "After it was finished by his grace's appointment," says Sir Thomas More, "and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter of it, and placer of the principal matters therein contained." It was ascribed to Erasmus. See note to Burnet's Ref. i. 51.

† He had many mistresses, one after the other. It was but a matter of satiety and selection among great "ladies," in that licentious age. See Lingard, vi. 110, for a list of the same, with notes by no means honorable to the Defender of the Faith.

ruptions. Their ignorance gave him offence. Such were the motives alleged, and Rome gave him the power of visitation by a bull. Rome entered into the measure to his perfect satisfaction. The bull abused the English clergy, "who were said in it to have been delivered over to a reprobate mind;" and yet their "faults were neither so great nor so eminent as the cardinal's." But "the cardinal was then so much considered at Rome as a pope of another world, that whatever he desired he easily obtained." In 1524, Clement gave him a bull, empowering him to suppress a monastery or two, and there followed other bulls, with the same import and effect.* Certainly, if the pope obliged the cardinal by this complacent swing of his prerogative, he disengaged the clergy and the monks, and must have made a very unsatisfactory impression on the mind of clerical orthodoxy. Call a man a rogue, and it may be borne with a shrug; but tear off his shirt in a frost, and you make a sensation. In truth, the Roman court should have kept in with the clergy and the monks, as its motive for gratifying Wolsey was not a whit more respectable than would have been its winking at corruption and ignorance. However, such are the facts. A college at *Oxford* emerged out of the proceeds, and that was a consolation to science and morality. But what fierce displeasure against the source of their calamity must have rankled in the hearts of the clergy and monks—a feeling which they would be sure to communicate to thousands who are always ready to sympathise with anything and anybody "oppressed." No nation exceeds or equals the English in this noble propensity. The inference from all this is, that amongst the orthodox themselves a strong party was created against papal authority.

Henry "fixed his eyes" on Anne Boleyn. She was a "maid of honor." A French-English woman, with a prominent, pointed, and massive nose, a round and fleshy chin, full lips, the upper curling with gentle craft, and a receding forehead, over a slight fringe of eyebrows and prominent eyes, which last remind us that her tongue was not the least of her charms.† Henry had played false to her sister Mary, whom, however, he "provided with a husband,"‡—a practice royal which was much in vogue subsequently among the orthodox kings of Europe, with Jesuit and other confessors beside them, sighing and winking. Now, Anne Boleyn was not to be "served that way." But—"she would be happy to be his wife."§ Henry urged and protested; Anne smiled, but resisted. "She was cunning in her chastity," says Fuller. A pitiable state for a man; but, for a king, intolerable—I mean, for Henry VIII.;—for Henry IV. of France, in similar circumstances, exclaimed, "I find you a woman of honor: you shall remain such, and a 'maid of honor:'" to which post he appointed the lady, and treated her ever after with becoming deference and respect. But Henry VIII. burned with inextinguishable lust. Prayers could not avail. Violence was impossible—with a woman strong with a bright idea. "She might be happy to be his wife." But he *had* a

* Burnet, Ref. i.

† See her portrait by Holbein, or an engraving from it in Burnet, i. 68.

‡ Lingard, vi. 110, and note.

§ Id. ib. p. 112, with authorities.

wife, and polygamy was out of the question, even in the Roman court. But he *must* have Anne Boleyn, and so he resolved to divorce his queen, to marry her maid.

Catherine had been espoused to Henry's brother, Arthur, who died prematurely—a mere child. There was a law made to forbid such a marriage, but there was also a power existing to "dispense" with that law, and almost every other. Certain conditions were required—a disgusting inquiry was satisfactorily effected—the lady herself gave evidence—and the pope granted a "dispensation" for Henry to marry his brother's wife, which was duly done, Catherine being "dressed in white, and wearing her hair loose," and with the ceremonials appropriated to the nuptials of maidens.*

Seventeen long years rolled away; the queen bore him three sons and two daughters. Only one daughter survived, afterwards Queen Mary. For several years, says Lingard, the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort; but Catherine was older than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities. The ardor of his attachment gradually evaporated; and at last his inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children, and her subsequent miscarriages. Yet even while she suffered from his bad usage, he was compelled to admire the meekness with which she bore her afflictions, and the constancy with which she maintained her rights. The queen had lost his heart; she never forfeited his esteem.†

Seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union;‡ but now, furious to have the Lady Boleyn in marriage, since she would not be served any other way, Henry found out that "he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother." Furious, as I have said, and reckless of the consequences to his daughter, the lascivious tyrant resolved to put away his wife. A divorce must be had. Wolsey, the pope of another world, offered his aid, and promised success. Political motives have been ascribed to Wolsey for his concurrence; they are unworthy of notice, and nothing to the purpose. A treatise was written, at the suggestion of the Hebrew professor of Oxford, in favor of the divorce; the king labored at the claptrap assiduously; resting his "cause" on the prohibition of Leviticus; and fortifying his "case" with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.§

The pope had to decide the matter. Pope Clement VII., as Dr. Lingard would say, "found himself placed in a most delicate situation." The terrible emperor, Charles V., the arbiter of his fate, had professed a determination to support the honor of his aunt, Queen Catherine;||

* Sanford, p. 480; Lingard, vi. 3, note.

† Lingard, vi. 109.

‡ See Hallam, i. 60, for some curious facts relating to Henry's marriage with Catherine.

§ Lingard, vi. 123. Lingard gives a note. "Henry, in one of his letters to Anne Boleyn, writes, that his book maketh substantively for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day;" and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.—Hearne's *Avesbury*, p. 360.

|| Lingard, vi. 127.

the imperial troops were in possession of St. Angelo, and kept the pope prisoner; he escaped to Ovieto, only to meet the English envoys craving for their master the detestable divorce. On the other hand, when Clement was besieged and abandoned by all, Henry furnished him with aid; and the pope was "most deeply obliged to that serene king, and there was nothing of such magnitude that he would not willingly do to gratify him; but still there was reason that his holiness, seeing that the emperor was victorious, and having reason, therefore, to expect to find him not averse to peace, should not rashly give the emperor cause for a rupture, which would forever obliterate all hope of peace; besides, that his holiness would undoubtedly bring down ruin and destruction upon his whole house."*

It is needless to state that, with the *people* of England, the fate of the unfortunate queen found sympathy. The defenders of the royal cause—the titled and patronized panderers to his guilty appetite—were drenched with merited opprobrium, and were in danger of being stoned to death, in the popular indignation at tyrannical oppression.† Never was pope in greater difficulties and harassments than Clement VII.; although we shall find a successor of his, and with the same name, in a similar condition—Pope Clement XIV., in the matter of suppressing the Jesuits. Besieged with arguments and entreaties by the English envoys, Clement sent over to England Campeggio, a cardinal, "an eminent canonist, and experienced statesman." He advised the poor queen, in the name of the pontiff, *to enter a convent!*‡ A precious piece of advice to an injured woman. It was intended, however, as a dexterous attempt to get out of the difficulty;—for, by complying with that advice, Henry would be made free to gratify his passion, and the emperor would not be justly offended. The pope's advice was declined by the unfortunate queen; Campeggio's dexterity failed in the issue.§ Time rolled on; nothing was done—so much might be said on both sides of the question. At length the king made his last attempt on the pontiff—consisting of the offer of a considerable present—warnings against the emperor—the proposal of a general confederacy against the Turks. Charles was with the pope at Bologna. Henry's ambassador had a word for him likewise—stating the arguments for the divorce, with a hint of the great power of the English king, who would follow his own judgment, and not submit to the arbitration of the pope, against whose authority he had many good grounds of exception.|| At home, and to his confidants, Henry was more explicit. He avowed that if his last attempt failed, he would withdraw from the obedience of

* Letter of the pope's secretary to Campeggio. Apud Ranke, p. 35, note.

† Pole, fol. lxxvii.; Knight's Erasm. App. xxviii.; Le Grand, iii.; Lingard, vi. 127.
‡ Lingard, vi. 143.

§ A curious instance of this Italian's dexterity is apparent in the fact that by some means unknown, he actually got possession of Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, and sent them to Rome, where they are still in the Vatican Library, seventeen in number. Lingard, vi. 157, note. The object of this theft was probably to discover how matters really stood between Henry and Anne—so as to shape the papal course accordingly. According to Burnet, Cardinal Campeggio "led a very dissolute life in England—hunting and gaming all day long, and following—all the night," &c. Ref. i. 111.

|| Lingard, vi. 169, with authorities.

Clement, as a pontiff unfit for his station through *ignorance*, and incapable of holding it through *simony*. Further, that he might have no occasion to recur to the papal see in beneficiary matters, he would establish a bishop with patriarchal powers within his own dominions—an example which he had no doubt would be eagerly followed by every sovereign in Europe.*

The pope was compelled to hold out for political reasons, and talk of his "conscience." For the man who could, as he did, express the wish "that the king would have proceeded to a second marriage without asking papal consent,"† wished for the accomplishment of evil, and showed that fear only withheld him from permitting the expedient measure. Charles V., his master, wrung from him a Breve, forbidding Henry to marry before the publication of his sentence.‡

Then was English gold sent forth on a mission of splendid bribery. Then was the morality in the high places of the age exhibited to admiration. Charles himself was tempted! Three hundred thousand crowns were offered him—with the restoration of the queen's marriage portion, and a suitable maintenance. The German told them that he was not a merchant, to sell the honor of his aunt. All the learned morality of the age was asked its opinion, with bags of gold before it—like a footpad demanding your money with his dagger at your throat. In England, the queen's popularity, if nothing else, made it requisite to employ commands, promises, threats, secret intrigue, and open violence, to extort a favorable answer from either of the Universities. It was obtained, however, though coupled with a qualification. The king's agents spread over Italy, begging subscription to the measure, and gingling the ruddy tempter. The Universities of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, supplied some hundreds of subscriptions. The University of Paris yielded to the "dexterous management" or *hard* impeachment.§ Orleans, Toulouse, and Bourges and Angers, by their theologians or civilians, responded to the voice of Henry's lascivious nature.

And then he tried Germany and its reformers. "Not one public body," says Lingard, "could be induced to espouse his cause." "Even the reformed divines," adds the Doctor, meaningly, "even the reformed divines, with few exceptions, loudly condemned the divorce; and Luther himself wrote to Barnes, the royal agent, that he would rather allow the king to have two wives or queens at the same time, after the example of the patriarchs and kings, than approve of the divorce||—a

* Le Grand, iii. 409, 418; Ling. *ibid.*

† Ling. vi. 169; Le Grand, iii. 400. Burnet asserts that Campeggio had actually brought over a Bull, by which he was empowered to grant the king all that he desired, if he could not bring him to a more friendly conclusion; but that Campana was despatched after him to order Campeggio to destroy the document. Ref. i. 93, 99. "Of this instrument no copy is now extant; but of its existence and purport, though apparently questioned by Dodd, and certainly denied by Le Grand, there can be no doubt," says Mr. Tierney in one of his excellent notes to Dodd, i. 185.

‡ *Idem.*

§ "Et Parisienses, quidem, videbantur approbare, non sine largitionis suspicione, sicut alii plerique."—*Sleidan*, L. ix.

|| "Antequam tale repudium probarem, potius regi permitterem alteram reginam quoque ducere, et exemplo patrum et regum duas simul uxores seu reginas habere."—*Lutheri Epist. Halæ. 1717*, p. 290. *Apud Lingard*, vi. 171.

permission which he subsequently granted to the Landgrave of Hesse, with primitive notions or pitiable expediency. Melanchthon was of the same opinion.* Crooke, in his letter to the king, complains "that all Lutherans be utterly against your highness in this cause, and have letted (hindered) as much with their wretched power as they could and might, as well here (Venice) as in Padua and Ferrara, where be no small companies of them."[†] But the same gentleman also wrote: "I doubt not but all Christian universities, if they be well handled, will earnestly conclude with your highness." On the other hand, he says: "Cæsar, by threats, prayers, money, and sacerdotal influences, terrifies our friends and confirms his own."[‡] Finally, the royal cause triumphed in England—a letter of remonstrance was sent to the pope—not without reproachfulness and a decisive menace, prospective of a coming event—*ut aliunde remedia conqueramus*—and signed by two archbishops, four bishops, two dukes, two marquises, thirteen earls, twenty-five barons, twenty-two abbots, eight doctors of divinity, and several knights. These were "the lords spiritual and temporal, and certain commons in parliament."[§] It was a demonstration evident and prophetic of papal downfall in England. And the Houses of Convocation—those precious things of nothingness—gave the king whelming majorities—such as two hundred and sixty-three against nineteen, and forty-seven against six!^{||} Peter-pence, annates or first fruits, and other papal revenues in England, were not worth a year's purchase.

But the mighty emperor of Germany was the pope's conscience—remonstrances and even threats were vain in the hearing of his Doom, whose voice, grating harsh thunder, boomed from the imperial mountains. "The cardinal elector of Mentz had written to him to consider well what he did in the king's divorce; for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out since the beginning of Luther's sect, that would so much strengthen it as that sentence. He was also threatened on the other side from Rome, that the emperor would have a general council called, and whatsoever he did in this process should be examined there, and be proceeded against accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his birth—that he was a bastard, and so by the canon incapable of that dignity, and that thereupon they would depose him."[¶] Truly,

* Lingard, vi. 170—173; Burnet, i. 137, *et seq.* See Hallam, i. 68, note: "Clement VII," says this writer, "recommended the king to marry immediately, and then prosecute his suit for a divorce, which it would be easy to obtain in such circumstances." But at a much later period he expressly suggested the expedient of allowing the king to retain two wives. It is altogether denied by Mr. Tierney, who says that Clement proposed the matter "for the purpose of amusing Henry, or raising an argument against him!" This is certainly putting the matter in a very amusing light. In general, Mr. Tierney's judgment is, however, admirable.

[†] Apud Dodd, i. 202. [‡] Apud Burnet, i. 145, note. [§] Ibid. p. 203.

|| The question in this last was most extraordinary; the convocationers were actually to declare "whether the consummation of marriage between Arthur and Catherine was sufficiently proved." Here was a question! See Dodd, *ubi suprà*, p. 205. See in Burnet, i. 158—171, "An abstract of those things which were written for the divorce." It will suggest strange thoughts on the utter prostitution of religion to serve the basest of purposes.

[¶] Burnet, i. 97. This threat of summoning a council of the Christian Church to which Luther had appealed, was the great bugbear of Clement. To him it was always

this pope had more reason than Adrian, his predecessor, to deem nothing more unfortunate in his life than the possession of power.

In the midst of these humiliating, disgraceful negotiations, the pope sickened, but died not. He relapsed "insomuch, that the physicians did suspect he was poisoned." The factions were stirring; secret caballings and intrigues set about making a head for the dismembered Church. Wolsey was the man whom the king honored. Wolsey was the man of hope. Proud, sensual, unscrupulous Wolsey aspired to guide the "Church of God." And the kings of England and France, who sided with Henry, immediately united their efforts to place him in the chair of St. Peter; and their respective ambassadors were commanded to employ all their influence and authority to procure in his favor the requisite number of votes.* But Clement baffled the hope of simony, and rose to live for fresh humiliation—and more disasters. They besieged the sick man's bed—they cajoled—they threatened—they actually told him that "his soul was endangered if he died without doing justice to Henry!"† What think you of that in the matter of an adulterous marriage? And if such were the *Christian* sentiments round about the very chair of St. Peter, where are we to look for Christianity?

And now five years of this divorce-agitation have tempested all Christendom, disgraced the Catholic Church, humbled its head, endangered the Papedom, and brought its English branch to the verge of separation. Preliminary measures had passed, suggested by Cromwell, who had succeeded to "the pope of another world," the fallen Wolsey, now disgraced, and lower than the lowest of men, for his self-respect was gone for ever.‡ A precious convocation had acknowledged his majesty to be "the chief protector, the only and supreme lord of the church and clergy, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the supreme head." The *annates*, or yearly offerings to the pope, were abolished; "they had insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation," and amounted to 4000*l.* per annum—about four times as much of present money. And further, it was ordained that the very constitutions agreed upon by the precious convocations should be under control of royal authority. Of course this measure was intended to establish Henry's papacy—the manufacture of a faith for the million.§ It was Cromwell's invention, and evidently prospective—"prelusive drops" of the coming shower, or rather cataract.

Then did "gospel-light first beam from Boleyn's eyes," as the poet Gray declares? It were an humiliating thing to think of—a stinging thought for humanity. Yet, to that base passion all the disgraces of

a cause of alarm. Papal prerogatives would be endangered in the present aspect of affairs, and lucrative abuses would sink in the ravenous gulf of reforming energy, bent on papal humiliation. See Guicciardini, l. xx.; and even Pallavicino, l. ii. c. 10. Of course Sarpi, i. c. 46.

* Lingard, vi.; Burnet, i.

† Lingard, *ubi suprad.*

‡ "Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogance; for I assure you in his time, he was the haughtiest man, in all his proceedings, alive, having more respect to the honor of his person, than he had to his spiritual profession, wherein should be showed all meekness and charity."—From his *Life*, quoted by Burnet, i. 132.

§ See Ling. vi.; Hallam, i. These antagonist historians should be read together.

Christianity which we have witnessed owe their origin. Not *Christianity*, indeed, but the Christendom of those days, professing to hold the religion of Christ. It was not Christianity then, but a time-serving, political, sensual, lascivious, avaricious system, formed by the passions and intellect of man. It is instructive to mark the progress of events. The tantalised appetite of Henry first impelled him to the divorce. Absurd, criminal, as the scheme appears to our present sentiments, there can be little doubt that in other circumstances of the popedom, in more prosperous times of the church, the divorce would have been granted by the pope, and the wishes of the guilty couple would have been gratified "for a consideration." Nothing could be more stringent than the law which prohibited a man from marrying his brother's wife. Yet a "dispensation" was granted by a predecessor of Clement VII., to enable Henry to marry Catherine, his brother's wife. The same power and prerogatives existed in Clement, and "considerations" would not have failed to make him undo what his predecessor had done in like manner. On the first notification of the matter, the pope held out a prospect of compliance; but he was not his own master: the emperor dashed his gauntlet at his face: the pope trembled for his power, his reputation, perhaps his life; and Henry, the sensual and proud tyrant, was baffled by Italian trickery. Opposition only called forth his bad energies; every step he took aggravated the matter, until, with the stimulating approval and aid of interested and aspiring churchmen, a "system" grew up around him, prospects of greater power glimmered to his ambition, and he clung to the scheme as fixedly and violently as he had hungered for the maiden. But he never ceased to talk of his "conscience" notwithstanding.

In 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn in the west turret of Whitehall. She had been induced to relax in her cruelty, and it is quite natural. She had cohabited with Henry for the last three years; but now being "in a condition to promise him an heir," he expedited the ceremony to legitimate the child: * it is said that he deceived the priest

* Lingard, vi. 188. This is the version of the Catholic party. I have adopted it, because it seems to me the more probable. There could be very little moral sentiment in a woman who so recklessly promoted the misfortune of another; and though she may have resisted, at first, to stimulate desire, and achieve her prime object, these motives no longer defended, when so many other impulses drove Henry onwards in prosecuting the divorce. In that stage of the affair, Henry's guilty passion gained an advantage, and could "turn the table" on the woman so "cunning in her chastity." For it was evident that he must be freed from Catherine, and then a rival might, and doubtless would, step into her place. Henry was not the man to refrain from acting on that vantage-ground: besides, it is absurd to suppose that such a man would have waited five years for the accomplishment of his desires; and to talk about his being "stimulated by impatient love" in his marriage, is tantamount to translating five years into as many days. Mr. Hallam (Const. Hist. i. 62, note) is very severe on Dr. Lingard for his "prurient curiosity" and "obsolete scandal," as he expresses his objection: but it is necessary to know all, if we are to form a right judgment in the matter of history. Dr. Lingard's reply to Mr. Hallam is worth transcribing: he says, "This charge of cohabitation has given offence. Yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman of one-and-twenty listens to declarations of love from a married man who has already seduced her sister; and, on his promise to abstain from his wife and to marry her, she quits her parental home, and consents to live with him under the same roof, where, for three years, she is constantly in his

who married him, by affirming that Clement had pronounced in his favor, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.* But Rowland Lee, the priest on the occasion, was afterwards made Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,† and this fact by no means attests the deception. Who will believe that Henry could not find a priest to marry him? Particularly when we know that he found an *archbishop* to pronounce his divorce from Catherine, which came on immediately after, as it were, “the cart before the horse.” Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury for the express purpose, and boldly pronounced the sentence already given in by the precious convocations, declaring the marriage with Catherine to have been only *de facto*—a matter of fact, but not *de jure*, a matter of right, pronouncing it null from the beginning.‡ All that had been so long contended for was now effected, and all that subsequent events and their suggestions had matured in the minds of politicians followed with the greatest ease and whelming energy. Act after act derogatory from the papal claims was debated and passed in parliament; and the kingdom of England was severed by legislative authority from the communion of Rome. An act of parliament gave a new head to the English Church; Peter-pence, annates, papal rights, and prerogatives, all were abolished with inexpressible facility; the Popedom found no defenders, no sympathy, except in a few crafty fanatics who, with the aid of a poor creature, “the Maid of Kent,” frightened Henry with visions and prophecies, and were gibbeted at Tyburn.§ The first measure of parliament, in 1534, enacted that the king, his heirs and successors, should be taken and reputed the only supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, without the saving clause before added,—“as far as the law of God will allow.” I need not state that severe penal statutes were framed to carry out that measure and its endless consequences—as to the deeds and thoughts of men and Englishmen.|| Heretics were to be burnt.

All who refused to acknowledge the king’s supremacy were visited with the severest penalties. They were hanged, cut down alive, em bowelled, and dismembered. Sir Thomas More and the venerable Bishop Fisher were tried, condemned, and executed by command of the ruthless tyrant, pampered by the time-serving spirit of obsequious churchmen and selfish politicians, into the development of all the hideous passions that festered in his bad nature. But the religion of England, be it remembered, was still Catholic, excepting of course the points relating to papal supremacy and its adjuncts.

These events filled up the last year of Clement’s life: they were the more bitter to him, inasmuch as he was not wholly blameless with regard to them, and his mischances stood in a painful relationship with

company at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candor to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers?” Vol. vi. p. 188, note.

* Ling. vi. 189; Le Grand, ii. 110. † Burnet, i. 205; Ling. *ubi suprad*, note.

‡ Burnet, i.; Lingard, vi.

§ Ling. vi.; Burnet, i. 249, gives the maid’s speech; she throws all the blame of the imposture on “the learned men.”

|| Lingard, vi. 214.

his personal qualities.* Unfortunate in all his enterprises, his abilities seem to have cursed him with invention, whilst his own desires and his circumstances were such as never to permit success. He was praised for his natural gravity and admirable economy; blamed for his great dissimulation, and hated for his avarice, hardness of heart, and cruelty, still more remarkable since his illness.† Incessantly harassed by the emperor, who urged a General Council of the Church, to reform abuses and settle faith—the pope exhausted all his art to put off the measure, against which, as I have said, he had, for many reasons, the greatest objection. But now the emperor would no longer be put off with pretences, and urged the summoning of a council more pressingly than ever. Family discords swelled the catalogue of his troubles. His two nephews fell at variance with each other, and broke out into the most savage hostility. His reflections on this catastrophe—his dread of coming events—“sorrow and secret anguish brought him to the grave.”‡ Clement VII. died in 1534. He was, says Ranke, the most ill-fated man that had ever filled the papal chair. He met the superiority of the hostile forces that surrounded him on all sides, with an uncertain policy, dependent on the probability of the moment; and this was his utter ruin. His predecessors had devoted themselves to found an independent temporal power: it was *his* fate to see the opposite result—the subservience of the Papedom—its utter dependence on the will of a potentate, one of whose predecessors had been humbled to the dust, chastised, insulted by a pope of Rome. In the pride of his heart, it seemed to Clement that he could wrest Italy from the grasp of the hated barbarian foreigners;§ his plans and his schemes, his boasts and his measures only served to consolidate their dominion in Italy for ever. Frozen fast by the winter of calamity, he could neither evince his gratitude to his friend, nor indignation to his enemy. Henry he would have fondled, Charles he would have shattered: for his fate (which was his own making) compelled him, through life, to truckle to the latter, and exasperate the former.

Triumphantly and unremittingly before his eyes, the Protestant secession proceeded to its certain consummation. His curses against it came “to roost on his own head:” his adverse measures helped it along: Luther was in a more enviable position than himself, for kings gave power to the Reformer, whilst they wrenched it from the pope.

He left the Papal See infinitely sunk in reputation—shorn of its thunders—poor, shivering, cold in a wintry night—its spiritual authority questioned and contemptible—its temporal power crushed, annihilated.

Germany, its fortress of old, land of simple faith and home-affections, land of intellect with sentiment combined, land of severe thought with gay imaginings, land of the heartfullest men—Germany had resigned, scornfully expelled that religion which for ages seemed inextricably rooted in the minds and hearts of her men. Its feasts and festivals,

* Ranke, p. 35.

† Sarpi, i.

‡ Soriano,—Ranke, 35.

§ It was actually expected that his reign would prove another like Leo X.’s, *altre tanto felice come fu quello di Leone!* Conclavi de’ Pontef. p. 160.

so dear with many recollections in the chronicle of every poor man's heart ; its fasts and penances, so meritorious in this world and the next ; its guardian saints, so prodigal of miracles ; its priests, so able and eager to wipe away every foulest stain from the guilty conscience, and give it rest and certain hope ; its influence over all—the thrilling charm of the words "son of the church"—all is gone ! As a dream of the night, it lingered a moment : men rubbed their eyes—and it was forgotten. And shall it be so ? Shall Germany be resigned without an effort to reclaim the sons of the church ? Shall Scandinavia, England, Switzerland, France, nay, even Italy and Spain—all tainted with heresy—shall all be resigned without a struggle ? The man is born who will answer the question by his deeds—Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. We shall meet him anon.

There was no difficulty in the Conclave to elect a successor to Clement VII. By unanimous consent Alexander Farnese was named pope ; he took the name of Paul III. His name has been mentioned before in connection with *Alexander VI*. His age was sixty-seven : he had been a cardinal forty years ; and only just missed the pontificate after Leo and Adrian. Clement kept him waiting twelve years ; and then he grasped the object of his ambition.* Born in the preceding century, he pursued his studies under Pomponius Lætus, at Rome ; and in the gardens of Lorenzo de' Medici, at Florence, he imbibed a taste for the liberal arts, refined luxury, and magnificence. His earlier private character has been represented in very dark colors—probably exaggerated : for we must always remember that the champions on either side of the religious strife, are generally painted as monsters by antagonist historians.† Like Bembo, he had indulged in the license of the age, had tasted the pleasures of life, incurring by disgraceful wounds some of its retributive pains, if he was not slandered ; and lived to exalt the witnesses of his early misdoings to the highest rank. His execrable son, Pier Luigi, came to a violent end in punishment of his misdeeds ;‡ and the conduct of his grandson, militating with his private interests, was, it is admitted on all sides, the cause of that anguish which consigned the pope to the grave ; for, "pierced with anguish," says the Jesuit Feller, "for having tarnished his soul in behalf of his ungrateful relatives, his dying exclamation was *Si mei non fuis-sent dominati tunc immaculatus essem*," &c.§

He had been an intimate friend of Leo X. The reader remembers the lake Bolsena, where Leo angled : he was then the guest of the no less magnificent Farnese, whose hereditary estates were in the vicinity, where superb villas and palaces, and extensive plantations of fruit

* Ranke, p. 63; Panvin. Paul. III. *Conclavi de' Pontef.* p. 161.

† Compare Sleidan, Quirinus, Keisling, "Ochin," Du Chêne, Ranke.

‡ Botta (*Storia d' Italia*, i. p. 236, *et seq.*) expatiates on the horrible life of this wretch, and describes the dreadful crime he committed on a young bishop, who died in consequence, of mental anguish. It was sarcastically called *a new way of making martyrs*. But Pier Luigi's father, Paul III., only called the unspeakable crime *youthful frivolity—leggerezza giovenile*, and made light of the matter. For his death, see Botta, iii. 46.

§ Biog. Univ.; Paruta, Hist. Venet.; Ranke, p. 70; Eggs, Pontif.

and forest trees had ornamented and enriched the surrounding country, planned by the taste of the sumptuous cardinal,* who in these pleasant retreats, and amid these brilliant habits of life, bided his time, which came at last. There was much in Farnese to recommend him to the great and the little of Rome, and all the world besides. Deeply conversant with human nature, consummate in the management of affairs, living in royal splendor, a liberal friend and protector of the learned, whose services he patronized, he inspired the highest hopes of his pontificate.† He was a man of easy, magnificent, liberal habits; and was compared to Leo as a pope, and placed above him as a man of learning, by no other than Cardinal Bembo in a dedication—"for the truth should be honestly spoken," adds the gentle flatterer.‡ The cavalier Jesuit, Tirabosch, is exuberant in his laudation of Paul III. (who ratified his society), and the roseate hues of the memory of Paul III. and Ignatius of Loyola console the suppressed Jesuit in the day of humiliation.§ Ariosto, also, lauds Farnese and his "learned company."||

Among the liberal arts which Paul III. patronised was astrology, the art of prognosticating the issue of events by the configuration of the stars and planets at birth, or any given moment of a man's life. You smile at the fact; it is nevertheless certain. "We meet with the most unquestionable particulars respecting the pope himself," says Ranke; and nothing is more certain than the great repute and practice of this wonderful art in the sixteenth and following centuries, not excepting the present age of enlightenment. "The matter has come to such a pitch," says a respectable authority, "that there are very few cardinals who transact any business, though it be only to buy a load of wood, except through the medium of some astrologer or wizard."¶ Panvinius, a Catholic historian of the popes, attests the fact reproachfully in the case of Paul III.** In effect, Paul held no important sitting of the consistory, nor even made a journey, without having first consulted the stars on the choice of the fitting days. An alliance with France was broken off, because there was no conformity between the nativities of the king and the pope.†† To those who are utterly unacquainted with the pretensions of astrology, who have not given it a quiet thought, it seems absurd to believe that a man of sense and learning should place faith in so vain a prophet: but a good dip into the thing will show that it is much like Romish controversy—a very entangling and fascinating matter. The more vanity you have, the more likely you are to be en-

* Roscoe, ii. 393.

† Botta, i. 2; Conclav. 167.

‡ "Qui et pontifex maximus es ut Leo Decimus fuit; et in optimarum artium disciplinis multo quam ille habitus doctior. Vera enim fateri omnes non solum honeste possumus, sed etiam debemus."—Pet. Bemb. Epist. Leon. 4.

§ Storia, vii. Pl. l. 23.

|| Orland. xlvi. 13.

Ecco Alessandro, il mio signor, Farnese.
O dotta compagnia, che seco mena, &c.

¶ Mendoza. "Es venido la causa á que ay muy pocos cardenales que concierten negocios, aunque sea para comprar una carga de leña, sino es ó por medio de algun astrologo ó hechizero."

** "Eorum tamen studiorum, quod occulta et exitu plerumque vana sint, et alioqui sacratis viris param digna, culpam sustinuit."—Paul. III.

†† Ranke, p. 64.

trapped. Learning is no antidote or specific against either infection. Who more learned than the Jesuits? And yet they favored the pretensions of astrology. They favored it in the seventeenth century—they favored it in the eighteenth. With the Jesuits it was only a matter of distinction as to the *form* of prediction. They would have these predictions only as *conjectures*—not as downright certainties. The reason is obvious—the Jesuits were staunch sticklers for *Free Will*—and were the very antipodes of Calvin. “You incur a grave sin,” says Arsdekin, “if from the configuration of the stars at birth, or the lines of the hand or face, you profess *with certainty* to predict future events, which depend on the free will of men—such as a happy or unhappy marriage, a violent death, hanging, and the like:—*but*, nevertheless, if from the influence of the stars, together with the disposition of men, their mind and morals, you affirm by conjecture only that such a one will be a soldier, a clergyman, or a bishop, such divination may be devoid of all sin—because the stars and the disposition of the man may have the power of inclining the human will to a certain lot or rank, but not of constraining it.”* This philosophical view of the matter is in accordance with the theory of the most respectable astrologers: nay, more, they even let in a fortunate outlet, by God’s mercy, for the direst nativity, or birth-prediction. They make the human will dominant to choose or reject, and fail not to warn and advise. Pope Sixtus V. summarily condemned astrology: but the above view of the “art” is still inculcated by the theologians of the Roman Catholic Church with St. Thomas Aquinas at their head.

The Jesuit doctrine still prevails. “All men,” says Salmeron, “follow their passions, with which the heavenly bodies may co-operate; but few men are wise enough to resist these passions, and, therefore, astrologers, *as in many cases*, can predict the truth, and particularly in general events [wars, seditions, &c.], but not in particulars.”† “The question, then,” says Ligorio, the Catholic theologian, (in the latest edition, 1845,) “the question is, whether astrology, which predicts the disposition of a man from the horoscope [star-configuration at birth], and the moment of birth, be allowable? Distinguish—if it predicts as *certain*, it is certainly not allowable, since all things are uncertain.—This is the opinion of Salmeron, Sanchez, Trullenches, Suarez, and others generally; but they think it only a slight sin. But if it predicts as only probable and conjectural, it is allowable.”‡ No wonder,

* “Quia astra et indoles hominis potest habere vim inclinandi voluntatem humanam ad certum statum, aut eventum; non tamen illi necessitatem inferendi.”—*Theol. Trip.* ii. P. 2, T. 5, c. i. n. 4.

+ “Plures homines sequuntur passiones, ad quas cooperari possunt corpora cælestia. Pauci autem sapientes qui hujusmodi passionibus resistant; et ideo, astrologi, *ut in pluribus*, vera possunt prædicere, et maximè in communi, non autem in speciali.” Apud Ligorio, ii. p. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

† “Quærerit inde, an licita sit astrologia quæ prædictit ex horoscopo, et puncto nativitatibus inclinationes, temperamenta alicujus? Distingue, si prædictit ut certa, certo illicita est, cum omnia sint incerta. Ita Salm. *ibid.* § 3, n. 50, cum Sanchez, Trullenches, Suarez et alii communiter; putant tamen esse tantam peccatum leve ut num. 52, cum Laymann, Suarez, Sanchez, etc. *Contra*, Fill. et. Trull. Si verè prædictit ut tantam probabiliter seu conjecturaliter, licita est, ut Salm. *ibid.* num. 53, cum S. Th. Suar. Pal. Bon.”—Liguor. *Theol. Mor.* i. 198. Ed. Mechlin, 1845.

then, that, in the sixteenth century, men ate, drank, slept, bought and sold, made journeys and treaties, by the hints of astrology. It became in fashion, and fashions are social epidemics. Events the most astounding bewildered the minds of men; they yearned for guidance; where could they find it? Religion, politics, morals, all was chaos—bleak, black—or the fumes of burning pitch. And yet they yearned for guidance. Their wants were supplied by those who, in every age, turn to their own account the ignorance and passions of the times.—But the art of fortune-telling has misled mankind in all ages and countries, and of all ranks: but never the truly wise. Its credit arises from want of analysis. Any future event, and every event, says Sir Richard Phillips, is within a certain range of probability, as 2 to 1, 3 to 1, or 50, or 500 to 1. If, then, 100 events are foretold by any conventional signs, and these events are not improbable, it is 2, 3, or 4 to 1, that they come true. If 2 to 1, 33 may come true; if 3 to 1, 25; and if 4 to 1, 20 may come true, and so on. Herein, then, lies the whole mystery. The astrologer, or fortune-teller, does not invent, but is governed by certain signs, as cards, planets, tea-grounds, &c. &c.; but these only guide him in announcing probability, and because they afford the key, according to certain rules of his art, and are not his invention, the announcements, nevertheless, come equally within the range of mere arithmetical probabilities. The events are not controlled by the cards, the stars, or tea-grounds; and, in truth, they are merely the passive machinery which blinds both the fortune-teller and his dupe. At the same time, clever fortune-tellers never foretell improbabilities. They do not tell a boor that he will be a king, nor an old woman that she will have five or six children. They shape their prognostics to the sphere, age, and circumstances of the parties; and hence, if clever, raise the probabilities to the highest, as equal 1 to 2, or 1 to 3, and seldom mention circumstances 5, 10, 20 to 1 against happening.* Still, in spite of all reasoning against the practice, in spite of all ridicule and denunciations, astrologers, like Jesuits, will ever exist. They supply a want in human nature; they appeal to feelings and sentiments which will always exist, to whatever point of “enlightenment” men are destined to arrive. Besides, some of their best guesses having become astonishingly true, they can always dazzle the vulgar, and sometimes the “learned” too, with the seeming infallibility. In the fifteenth and following centuries events were so striking and stirring, that the mind was kept constantly on the alert, calculating, fearing, hoping, despairing. That was the time for astrologers, and they swarmed accordingly.† Almanacs were their great vehicle of pro-

* Walk to Kew, Arts of Life, p. 727.

† In the century before, Cardinal d’Ailly actually calculated the horoscope of Jesus Christ! By the English law, astrologers are ranked among “rogues and vagabonds,” and are punishable by any magistrate with three months’ imprisonment and hard labor. See *Penny Cyclopædia*, for an excellent article on Astrology. It is a curious fact that a book, even now in great repute, on the “art,” was written by a Spanish monk, *Placidus de Titus*, about the middle of the 17th century, and entitled the *Primum Mobile* or First Movement, founded on Ptolemy’s mathematical calculations. The “art” will be long in considerable repute with a certain class of humanity. I have been told by

phesy. Weather, disease, social and political commotions were boldly announced by the month, as at the present time, and if the predictions did not come true, the clever astrologer had always his outlet, before alluded to, to explain how fate was changed, opposed, or modified benignly. But it was scarcely possible for a political astrologer in those times not to hit on something like the truth in the matter of wars, seditions, factions, conspiracies, revolt, treason, circumventions; the most fearful dissensions in schools and churches, and changes in religion, with consequent persecutions, dreadful and bloody, so that some, and the best of churchmen, would perish through grief and anguish of heart. This is an abstract from a work of the kind, predicting the events of the year 1597, by an eclipse of the moon in the IXth House, as occurs in the present year 1848.*

Paul III. needed guidance in his difficult position. The false position of the Popedom with reference to the emperor—the affairs of rebellious England, were not all that he inherited from Clement VII. His constant neutrality in politics had been his recommendation: he would be now compelled to “pronounce.” The great conflict that agitated the world—the strife between those two parties between whom he had just assumed so important a station—the necessity of combating the Protestants—and the secret connexion with them into which he was led by their political attitude—his natural inclination, arising out of the posture of his Italian principality, to weaken the ascendancy of the Spaniards, and the danger involved in every attempt to that end—the urgent necessity of Church reform, and the undesirable circumscription with which it threatened the papal power.†—

one of its artists that his door is besieged from morning to night. He told me some strange “facts” of his experience, evidently with the view of influencing my “credulity.” Lawyers consult him. Even a murderer in intention, he said, had stood before him! . . . On the old book-stalls of London—those gulfs in which the student swims delighted—works on Astrology find a ready sale, as the booksellers will tell you; and Raphael is not the only successor of the prophet *Samuel*, as an astrologer calls himself. Doubtless, the “new planets” lately discovered, will produce some perturbations in many a horoscope, and celestial virtues are now being invented in conclave, to correspond with the names vouchsafed to the wanderers by Leverrier and Mr. Hind. *Astræa* will probably preside over the birth of a young King Solomon for England, and *Iris* will further develop the first rate politician “with all the variegated and beautiful colors of the rainbow.”

* *Prognosticon Astrologicum*, by Valentine Steinmetz; Erfordt. “Sie bedeut auch hierbeneben grosse Auffrurh, Krieg, Entpörung, und allerley listige Practicken durch Verrätherey, Betrug, Vervortheilung, Verleumbdung, und allerley felschlich Beschuldigung, die dann nich allein unter gemeinen Leuten, sondern auch unter grossen Herren und Potentaten werden sehr gemein sein, und derwegen ihrer viel in eusserste Gefahr Leibes und Lebens bringen. Ratione Loci aber, als das diese Finsterniss geschicht im 9. Haus des Himmels, bedeut sie ferner grosse Zerspaltung und Zerrüttung der Schulen und Kirchen, der Religion und der Geistlichen Gütern durch Verfolgung, damit ihr viel werden belestigt werden, auch wol vor Leidt und Bekümmernuss dahin sterben, und ihren Geist aufzugeben müssen, und werden also diesem nach hin und wider entstehen viel Rotten, Secten, Ketzereyen, und Verfelschung in der Religion, wie ein vortrefflicher Mathematicus hievon schreibt mit nachfolgenden Worten.” “Si aliqua Eclipsis extiterit in 9 domo tum plerumque inducit disceptationes, lites ac dissensiones acerrimas, et mutationes in Religione horrendas, et consequenter persecutiones funestas ac cruentas; dehinc experientur Ecclesiastici statum infelicem, adeò quod nonnulli et quidem maxime præcipui præ tristitia ac animi mærore interibunt.”

† Ranke, 63.

These were the problems he had to solve, these were the difficulties in which he found himself, out of which to achieve deliverance he would require all the dexterity of the politician. Add to this, that his paternal partialities would constantly hamper his best laid schemes and react on his exalted position. His first declarations referred to the reform of abuses, particularly in the court, and the college of cardinals; and yet among his first public acts, he created cardinals two boys of fourteen and sixteen years of age—one the child of his natural son, Pier Luigi, the other of Constance, his natural daughter. And when the matter was talked of, he wittily said, that he made up for their ages by his own decrepitude! However, after that transaction, he ceased talking of reform.* The Jesuit Pallavicino tries to excuse this promotion as well as he can—that is, very badly, by saying that such an excess of tenderness could not be a defect in any other *prince*—the usual special pleading of the Jesuit: but minds of a sterner morality would ask, in whom should we not condemn the choice of two children to occupy a dignity, whose function consists in nothing else than the participation in the government of the universal Church, and in giving advice in the most important matters in the world?†

Meanwhile the Catholic question was to be discussed, and measures adopted to promote its ascendancy. Kingdoms, and, above all, the Papedom were deeply concerned in the issue, which was shrouded in darkness. There was bewilderment in the councils of religion—there was bewilderment in the cabinets of kings. The ancient religion, which had become a second nature to the men of Europe, was contemptuously cast off; and there were thousands, the priests of that religion, with their chief, at one fell stroke, impoverished—made desperate by despair. The fiend of religious persecution unscabbarded the sword, and flung it to those who were so naturally disposed to flesh it in the cause wherein their “all” was at stake. And kings and princes who sided with Rome, were either too bigoted, or too little skilled in the arts of policy, to waive the question of *religion*—so utterly impossible to decide—by resting satisfied with the contingent, if not actual *utility* of their subjects, though differing in opinions. The subsequent experience of three hundred years was to teach that wisest of axioms to blundering politicians. Hence war to the death was declared against the votaries of the “new doctrines;” naught but their annihilation would secure the prerogatives of orthodox royalty, against which it was easy to show that the Protestant movement was outrageously advancing,—although it was evident that revolt, in every instance, was the result of persecution, actual, or undoubtedly impending. Besides, these kings and princes, by attempting to shackle the minds of their subjects, were the allies of the pope—that object of execration and source of all op-

* Sarpi, lib. i.; Pallav. iii.; Panv. Paul III.; Fleury, liv. 134.

† Courayer. He adds: “Would it not be a defect in others, as well as a pope, to make such a choice? And what is the morality of the Cardinal Pallavicino, if he thought not so? It must be avowed that he has a gospel quite expressly made for the popes, and that it is as difficult to excuse *him* for his excess of flattery, as *Fra Paolo* sometimes, for his somewhat excessive malignity.”—*Hist. du Conc.* i., 136, note.

pression, as represented at least, to the Protestant world. The crimes, the licentiousness of the late popes, and even of Paul III. himself, have been alluded to, not as undeniable facts, but as the reports, the rumors of the age; as such they were sufficient to fan the flame of execration; as such they became historical data of immense importance; for, even admitting them to be false, did they not influence the minds of men? And what more could they have done had they been undeniably true? The actions of men are infinitely more biased by falsehood than by truth.

Meanwhile, the shock given to papal power by the Reformation, seemed to become a death-blow by the increasing success of the cause; and whilst the Catholic powers of Christendom seemed to rejoice in the good-will of the pope, it was evident that they availed themselves of his supernatural influence, only with the view of promoting that political unity so likely to result, as they thought, from the unity of faith. There was nothing cordial in that amity. The pope might aid them; but he could neither make nor mar them. The Vatican was shorn of its thunders; it lightened anon, but the cause of the phenomenon was too evident to the minds of men to strike terror as of old. Other methods must be tried—other means must be developed to protect the infirm old man of the mountain—to prop the crumbling pile of the Vatican. Those means demand consideration. Its spiritual prestige had been always the bulwark of the Papedom;—even in the case of the historic infamy, Alexander VI., and the ferocious Julius II. The spiritual army of the Papedom—the *Orders of Monks*—were the spiders that wove the entangling network for the minds of men held captive unto death:—the flimsiest of textures is beyond the power of the weakest of insects to break. But now the network of prestige was broken through; a fierce bison had rushed by and borne it along triumphant; on his horns its remnants sported in the breeze. These remnants were—papal power and right divine—which had weighed too heavily on the backs of men any longer to remain an article of faith.

How to withstand this upsurging tide of disobedience? That was the problem. It was a difficult problem; nothing less than to reform the priesthood and monkhood, expressly for the purpose of doing battle with the Philistines of heretic-land, a land like the floating islands they tell of—here, there, and everywhere—its latitude constantly increasing north and south of its Germanic equator. Paul III.'s very heart was deep set in the mighty problem. If religion was not his darling, ambition was his imperious mistress. Power he craved; power for himself, and his son, and his grandsons, and all his holy blood. Victory promised him everything; defeat was too dreadful to think of; all means and methods must be tried to insure the former. If a remnant of the religious sentiment remained, on *that* the papal sovereignty and omnipotence might once more be raised to rule God's world below. Now, about the year 1537, there was much talk about a General Council of the Christian Church, for the purpose of settling disputed points of doctrine, and the reformation of abuses. The subject, as you are aware,

had been long before the world : all seemed interested in the accomplishment ; but Pope Paul III. seemed disinclined to venture his prerogatives to general arbitration. There was evidently a tendency in the age to curtail these prerogatives of the Popedom. Various surmises were afloat respecting the pope's motives in his apparent unwillingness or delay to promote the general demand for a reforming council. The political pontiff was certainly more intent on temporal affairs —the establishment of his house—than the spiritual interests of the church, properly so called.* It seems but natural to conclude, that, to such a character, the interests of religion were of little moment ; and although we may not “unhesitatingly assert that his own personal feelings were never once enlisted in favor of the Catholic movement,”† we may certainly believe that he made it subservient to the ruling passion of his soul. As far as it was his policy, he gladly promoted that movement, as his public acts so amply testify. Urged by the pressure from without, Paul announced a General Council of the Christian Church. He had sent Vergerius, as legate, into Germany, with a special commission to sound the views of the Protestants respecting the method to be observed in the council, and to act accordingly. Vergerius went to Wittemberg, in 1533, and had an interview with the redoubtable Martin Luther. “I went up to the castle,” says Luther, “where he was ; he cited us, and gave a summons to us to proceed to the council. ‘I will go,’ said I, adding, ‘you papists are taking a great deal of pains very uselessly. If you resort to a council you will not open the questions respecting the sacraments, justification by faith, or good works ; but you merely resort to child’s play and idle words, such as fixing the length of robes, or the breadth of a priest’s belt, or the extent of his tonsure,’ &c. The legate turned away from me, and observed to his companion : ‘This man goes to the point at once,’ ” &c. Some one asked when the pope would convoke a council. Luther replied : “It seems to me that we shall have none before the day of judgment. Then our Lord God will himself hold a general council.”‡ It is evident that Luther saw the futility of the proposed measure. There could be no doubt that the prominent and essential doctrines of Protestantism would be condemned by “authority,” leaving the main question at issue still in litigation, and never to be decided—the question which may be expressed as follows: How much may *men* add to the doctrines contained in *Christ’s Gospel*, and yet be Christians? Vergerius gave a bad account of his mission : he affirmed that the Protestants would never receive the Council, if it were not free, and held in a befitting place of the empire, according to the promise of the emperor ; and that as for Luther and his “accomplices,” there was no hope of their submission ; and there was no other means of reducing them to subjection but *by arms*. He was rewarded with a bishopric for his pains.§

* “Portato da disordinato appetito a vasti e irregolati pensieri, ò non conosceva, ò non istimava l’esporre se stesso, la sua casa, la chiesa, e l’Italia tutta in sommi travagli e pericoli di evidente ruina.”—*Paruta*, 569.

‡ Hazlitt, *Life of Luther*, p. 278.

§ Sarpi, i. 53 ; Sleidan, l. x. ; Pallav. l. iii.

† Ranke.

And now, whilst Henry VIII., in his popedom of England, was constructing his church—altering, without a whit amending—dissolving monasteries and driving out monks for their ignorance and *corruption*, not half as great as his own, and pocketing their revenues, or sharing them with his minions in church and state—celebrating the death of the virtuous Catherine by beheading his new queen Boleyn, on a charge of adultery, Archbishop Cranmer pronouncing *another* divorce—close upon these transactions, clamors for church reform rang in the ears of Paul III., who had promised, but did nothing in the matter, conscious as he was that the thing was next to impossible. To the storm, however, he yielded, and resolved sturdily to set about the Augean labor, like another Hercules, in the matter of the filthy stables. He resolved to reform himself (think of that, for a veteran pope) and his cardinals, and the interesting court of Rome. Four cardinals, five other prelates he selected, to investigate and report on the matter, and to suggest the most applicable and expeditious remedies for universal disorders. Both the matter and the method of reformation were to be their solicitude. The result presented a picture of the “Church of Christ,” after fifteen hundred and thirty-seven years had given her ample time to reach perfection. What a picture was that report! It was a diagnosis of the ecclesiastical epidemic. It proved that Pope Adrian’s words were still too true—that “the disease had spread from the head to the limbs, from the pope to the prelates.”

Their report was heart-rending. They began with the Father of the Faithful. The source and origin of all the abuses, said these conscientious investigators (*Caraffa* was one of them)—the source and origin of all abuses consist in the fact that the popes too easily listen to flatterers, too easily dispense with the laws, and do not observe the commandment of Jesus Christ, forbidding them to take money for their spiritual functions. Then they came to details. They challenged twenty-four abuses in the administration of church affairs, and four in the particular government of Rome. They spoke of ordination, the collation of benefices, pensions, permutations, reservations, and pluralities. They laid a stress on residence and exemptions. They fell foul on the depravities of the religious orders, the ignorance of preachers and confessors. They did not forget pernicious books, apostates, and usurers; nor did they stop there. Dispensations stuck in their conscience:—dispensations for persons in orders to marry; dispensations within the prohibited degrees; dispensations to simoniacs; dispensations of vows. And finally they said:—the goods of the church are made a matter of inheritance; wills are commuted, mistresses are kept, hospitals are neglected. They entered into particulars, ferreted abuses to their sources, chased them to their consequences, and finished with offering a plan of reform, to induce the Court of Rome to lead a *Christian* life for the future.*

No man in the world better knew the truth of all these allegations than the pope himself. He received the document, gave it to some

* *Fascic. Rer. expet. ii. p. 230*, analysed in *Sarpi*, i. 57.

cardinals to read, and proposed it in full Consistory for deliberation. Imagine the rising of eyelids, the shrugging of shoulders, the sighs and exclamations, and the yawnings of the sacred cardinals assembled. And the "fitting of caps" of each on his neighbor. And the fear of one or two simple ones, in a mortal perspiration at the idea that matters were come to a crisis, whilst the veterans stroked their beards, and waited for the speech of *Cardinal Schomberg*, who said that the time was *not* come for such a reform. Then all was light. All breathed freely, as he continued, saying: The corruption of men is such that if you wish to stop the cause of one evil, you give rise to another. It is less irksome, said he, to tolerate known abuses, by custom made less remarkable, than by reformation to introduce others which by their novelty will be more evident, and consequently more exposed to censure. And he followed up his argument by a most striking appeal. By reforming, said he, you will give cause to the Lutherans to boast that they have forced the pope to the measure; in fact, the proposed reform being a sort of admission that the Lutherans were right in denouncing the abuses which ought to have been corrected, will only serve to foment the rest of their doctrine. Strange sentiments for a Christian man! But nothing can be truer than the fact he feared to establish—that Luther's movement did prove, in time, a blessing to the Catholic Church, by rendering reform imperative; and if at the present day that Church is more honestly, more honorably administered in its head, its shoulders, and its arms, Catholics must thank the *Protestant* movement for the desirable consummation. To Luther, every honest Catholic, anxious for the integrity of his Church, owes a lasting debt of gratitude.

Caraffa, the founder of the rigid Theatines, was not the man to side with this execrable worldly policy. At once he took the high position of an honest churchman. Reform is necessary, he exclaimed, and you cannot resist it without offending God. It is a law of Christian morality, he added, that as we cannot do evil to procure good, we ought not to leave undone the good which we are bound to do, for fear of the evil that might ensue. Admirable sentiments, and worthy of a better age; but the fact is, that people in these times knew well enough what was right, but they clung to the suggestions of their perverse passions in preference: it is the habit of transgression that moulds a conscience to suit any case of guiltiness.

The result was—nothing. Opinions were divided; much was said on both sides of the question; it was resolved to defer the matter to another time.* *A demain les affaires*—to-morrow for business! exclaimed these men so interested in unrighteousness, whilst it seemed to make them more comfortable in the part they had chosen. To them, the Catholic cause was as nothing, compared to the wages of iniquity. The best guarantee of its duration they rejected—cast away as of no moment. And then, by one of those striking coincidences which give us friends—destined to become benefactors to an incalculable amount—

* Sarpi, i. 57; Pallav. iv. c. 5.: Sleidan xii.; Fleury, 118.

at the very time in question, the staunchest champions of the Catholic regeneration were journeying to Rome, perhaps already arrived.

In the year 1537, three men craved audience of the pope ; their request was granted. The spokesman of the party was a Spaniard ; rather short of stature—complexion, olive-dark : eyes deep-set, but full of fire—broad forehead, nose aquiline : he limps, but it is scarcely perceptible. He has travelled far and wide, and has had many strange adventures. He is now in the prime of life, full of energy, deep in things spiritual, which fit him well. He has studied mankind closely, has borne persecution bravely, has clung to his purpose firmly, and is perfectly versed in the art of captivation. He throws himself at the feet of the Holy Father: there is a great idea in his soul: this is no ordinary man ; he is Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Company of Jesus.

How much depends upon the result of this interview ! How intensely is the Protestant movement concerned in its issue ! In that ragged pilgrim, prostrate at the pontiff's feet, there is a spirit whose expansion and development will find the universe too narrow for its grasp. His bosom heaves ; “**FOR GOD AND THE POPE,**” in tones of superhuman energy, solemn and deep, are the words of his covenant. **CATHOLICISM**, a thing of bones, gray, enervated, decrepit, palsied, shivering, bides the result, in the rear of the pontiff, and she sighs disconsolate on her bed of Bulls, Cowls, Mitres, and Relics. Towards the *first*, vainly she strives to move her palsied fingers ; but she cannot grasp them, though close beside her !* Full in front stands the stripling warrior **PROTESTANTISM**—glancing defiance—his right arm advanced, his massy spear upstaid—the Book in his left, clutched as a flaming sword, whilst he scornfully overlooks the pilgrim, and measures his strength with the pontiff. A rustling of bones is heard, the pontiff turns his head and beholds the Thing of Bones, with arms outstretched, wordless, but gasping a prayer ; she smiles to the pilgrim, her ready saviour and deliverer. **RELIGION** is there ; but how describe her ? Her hues change like the chameleon’s, smiling anon, then frowning darkly ; pale with affright, red with indignation ; whilst round about her throng, circle, and pass away myriads of earth’s habitants—each with his victim-gash, each pointing to the pilgrim—passing on, and rapidly succeeded ;—the red Indian, the swarth African, the sons of Confucius, Buddh, and Brahma, the children of the Sun from the mines of gold, Gauls and Britons—all from every land of earth inhabitable, and each has a history to tell.

And the shades of **KINGS** and **POTENTATES** flapped through ; and some said Hail ! and others Malediction ! but the latter prevailed, and

* Paul IV. had been induced to frame a terrific Bull against Henry VIII., depriving him of his crown ; but in the present prospects of the Papedom, he repented of his precipitancy. “To publish the Bull,” says Lingard, “could only irritate Henry, and bring the papal authority into contempt and derision. It was therefore resolved to suppress it for a time ; and this weapon, destined to punish the apostacy of the king, was silently deposited in the papal armory, to be brought forth on some future opportunity, when it might be wielded with less danger, and with greater probability of success.”—Vol. vi. 226.

their voices roused a thousand echoes, stunning humanity; but the pilgrim, firm as the wave-beaten rock, was unmoved to terror or despair.

And SCIENCE and the ARTS rushed in, wild, running to and fro; digging here, digging there; building up, pulling down, turning every soil, sowing, and planting, and reaping with a magnificent harvest home. The pilgrim, innocent of both, smiles and wonders at the fruits not his own. Enough! Fiat! Let there be JESUITS, and there is hope for Rome, her Bulls, and Relics, but not for *Cowls* or *Mitres*, and these shall be dispensed with. "Give me but light!" said Ajax: "Give me but *Ignatians*, and I'll fire the world with orthodoxy," said the Thing of Bones, and the wily Paul consented.

Turn we now from the pilgrim and the pope, and glance prospectively into the future about to follow—that we may not be strangers to its workers and their deeds.*

The struggle for religious unity—the unity of faith—will agitate the Christian world. The triumph of Catholicism or that of Protestantism will be hope's proposition to the respective parties who will fret and strut their hour on the stage of life. Catholicism and Protestantism will be roused by an impulse, a conviction or sentiment, whose uncompromising tendency will be the destruction of every obstacle which will respectively stand in the way of the former, or thwart the progress of the latter. A terror or a monster to each other, resistance on both sides will become a battle of desperation.

This will be the result of the human, or, rather, inhuman passions, which will be enlisted in the strife, with the imposing banner of religion unfurled. If God will not be for all, every man will be certainly for himself—all his social and political interests will be deemed at stake in the battle of religion.

If we examine the theoretical expositions of the parties, giving an account of the faith within them, both will seem strong in motives of resistance and destruction, it is so easy to justify conscience when the heart is possessed by desire: but this very evidence will give us the key to that box of Pandora, the human heart. The motives of human action will leap forth in succession, the history of events will become credible, and if we sigh at the discovery, we shall still be consoled—if it be always a consolation—with the possession of truth.

Protestantism will have advanced, Catholicism will have suffered in the conflict. In every kingdom of Europe the unity of faith will be menaced, if not destroyed. It had seemed at first, as it seems to many

* In order not to encumber unnecessarily the text of this prospective glance with special references, I will state the chief authorities for its facts, premising that most of the events will subsequently demand deeper attention, when special references will be appended. Ranke, Hist. of the Popes; Browning's Huguenots; Ranken's Hist. of France, vi.; Robertson's Hist. of Amer.; Raynal, Hist. of the Indies, iv.; Brantome, *Cœuvres*; Tallement des Réaux, *Historiettes*; Montaigne, *Voyage*, iii.; Garnier, Hist. de France, xiv.; Botta, *Storia d'Italia*, i.; Capefigue, *La Reforme*, &c.; Thuanus, xvi.; Millot, Hist. de France, ii.; Audin, *Luther*; Mosheim, *Ecccl. Hist.* ii.; Kohlrausch, Hist. of Germany; De la Place, *L'Estat de la Relig.*; Castelnau, *Mem.*; De la Planche, *L'Estat de France*; D'Aubigné, *Mem.*; De Thou, *Mem.*; Montluc, *Mem.*; Condillac, *Hist. Mod.*; Ligue des Nobles; and many other works; for I have labored to arrive at right opinions, at least such as seem to me such.

now, a strife of mere opinion, a conflict of words, a battle of croaking frogs. Had that been the fact, it would soon have been drowned in the marsh of oblivion. But *solids* were equally the bone of contention: the *loaves and the fishes* were never forgotten by those who feasted thereon, and laid by the fragments.

Protestantism struck at the root of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection—time-honored enjoyments of popes, monks, bishops, and priests. Indulgences would no longer be craved and paid for; dispensations would be dispensed with; bulls, breves, anathema, and excommunication would be only parchment, calf-skin, or foolscap; and the result would be painfully inconvenient. The stream of pious benefaction and church-profit would be turned from its prescriptive gulf—so broad and deep; for it is certain that the gratitude or childish terror of mankind had, from time immemorial, more than rewarded Mother Church for her care and solicitude. A kingdom, with broad lands for the pope—vast revenues for cardinals, pets, minions, and bishops—fertile districts, for comfortable monks—endowments, grants, and foundations for mass-priests and father-confessors; in a word, the estate of the Church, in the day of her glory, attests the natural gratitude of man, if not the modesty and moderation of his teachers, and his liberal payment to his prophets, who did little or nothing without a “consideration.”

Now, however, things were different; *thought* had changed whilst *matter* was inert, and went as men listed. Many of the great had changed their opinions in matters of faith, but not their natural appetites in the matter of body. Men there were who considered themselves the “Church,” and therefore they had a right to church-property; and they helped themselves when they found that the Church would be the last to help them; they deemed themselves “worthy of their hire,” after the old notions; and the men of Privilege, Monopoly, and Protection denounced them, detested them as spoliators, robbers, and interlopers.* Princes and nobles had come in for the lion’s share, as a matter of course, and rioted in the fatness of the Church. Centenary charities circulated in channels irregular, though similar, and the “pious orgies” of monks were succeeded by orgies without “dispensation.”

Thus, those who had been rich became poor, and the poor became rich by transubstantiation of substance, as the alchemists call it; and many were dying of that great epidemic called “want of money,”† Herein is the question—broad, deep, high as heaven, low as the other place, and as universal as humanity. Anxiety about the loaves and the fishes will vastly promote the struggles for the sake of “religion,” on all sides, desperate, giving no quarter. Ambition, envy, avarice, love or lust, hatred and revenge, will be the sources of leagues and associations; religion and the benefit of the people will be the pretexts; sacrifices will be proclaimed, and the people will be the victims. The

* See Hazlitt, Life of Luther, for Luther’s strong opinions on this subject of spoliation, p. 278. Also, Schiller, Thirty Years’ War, p. 10, where he discusses the subject *leettle* after the manner of Machiavel.

† See Sat. Menip. c. 1.

people will suffer, invariably suffer for their “*bettters*,” whose cause they will defend, with blood and bones, under the name of religion. Princes will fight in self-defence, or for self-aggrandisement, whilst religious enthusiasm will recruit their armies, and open the treasures of their subjects. Of the multitudes who will flock to their standard, such as be not lured by the hope of plunder, will imagine that they fight for truth, whilst, in fact, they will be shedding their blood for the personal objects of their princes, kings, or governors, temporal or spiritual.*

In the midst, or the skirts of this strife—wherein enthusiasm was needed and made effectual—we shall meet the sons of Loyola.

Epoch of Destiny—age of Transition ! Primitive monsters will begin to vacate their strongholds ; but vast will be their struggle ; they will inflict deadly wounds as they turn and fly reluctant, by Fate pursued. Stirring events will ensue. Great interests will be at stake. Human passions will inhumanly rage in strong desire. God’s justice will be offended—yet men will “think they have a good conscience.” Hideous selfishness will riot in the *act*—religion will swoon in the *motive*. The potentates of earth will fling ruthless swords into the conflict—the ministers of religion will lend motives to the combatants—the sons of Loyola will be there. Man, as a reasonable and moral agent, will retrograde for a time—from bad to worse—but blessed Providence will bring forth good from the evil done. Hope, humbly, then—ye who suffer. God is above.

Draw the curtain and scan the crowned heads of this little world—the arbiters of man’s fate—the pagan gods upon earth, if nowhere else.

Charles V., a warrior, and little else besides—except a monk. His hands will be too full, his mind too empty, and his heart too narrow. An army of reckless freebooters will give him a victory or two—he will injure others without benefitting himself, which will be a consolation ; he will frighten the pope, Paul III. Being deceived by his holiness, he will undertake to settle the religious bickerings of his subjects, and publish articles called the *Interim*, until the Great Council shall have “pronounced.” Papal prerogative will thus be infringed, and a Jesuit will trample on the imperial measure, and brave God’s anointed to the face. Then Charles will abdicate his sceptre, ensconce himself in delightful Estremadura—turn monk and watchmaker, and die without assigning a reason for what really will need no explanation ; but opinions will be divided—some will say he was “disgusted with power”—others, “convinced that all is vanity of vanities”—some, that he was “crippled with the gout,” and therefore resolved to risk no more “the diminution of his high reputation”—and others will say, that he would give “an interesting and sublime lesson of resignation, contentment, and humility to mankind.”

A Jesuit will visit and spend any edifying hour with the prostrate monarch.

* Schiller, *ubi suprad.*

His son will succeed him—Philip II. Gold will make him great—and craft will make him little. The wealth of the crushed Indians will fill his coffers—and Jesuits will waste not a little of the price of blood. Freedom will be his bugbear—his nightmare for ever: Protestantism his haunting devil. Poor fool of power! He will support factions and leagues, and yet have no authority in their councils. He will fancy himself their spring: he will be only their dupe. He will “stir” the Netherlands so bunglingly, that he will lose many provinces for his pains, and his bigoted Catholicity. He will “stir” Ireland, which was stirred long before him, and all to little purpose for himself—but hideous suffering for the dupes of his dupers—the Jesuits. He will “stir” England in like manner, and with the same result—superadding a huge calamity to his country, the destruction of her fleet, the invincible Armada. He will think of humbling his enemies; and they will crush him. Finally, he will ruin his own country. Spain will be the first power in Europe when Charles abdicates; Philip will only leave her the ambition of being such again, and a crafty system of politics, which will disturb her neighbors, but never raise herself again. Philip’s heart will be cruel, his mind shallow; he will plan much, and do nothing but evil to the world, and his country. He will die an object of pity and compassion.

The Jesuits will be his faithful ministers, and very humble servants.

Mary of England, his wife, will have passed away, with execrations on her head for the blood she will draw in defence of her faith, in hatred of Protestantism; the Catholic cause will triumph again—barbaric priests and bishops will torture and burn the heretics: the queen will die and their cause will be found in a dread minority. Elizabeth will spring to the throne, a man in mind, and anything you like in heart—the nation’s Protestant Queen.

Jesuits will brave her power. Jesuits will defy her authority; “stir” her people—delude many—and die bravely in their cause:—for the sword of the law will fiercely, ruthlessly, cruelly rage against traitors and dangerous fanatics, who would never have existed, in all probability, without the stirring Jesuits. But the cruel, atrocious measures in Elizabeth’s reign, and that of her successor, will be ruinous to the cause of Christianity, and only tend to perpetuate all manner of craft and iniquity, destined to entail, sooner or later, a terrible retribution.

We shall meet, in those days, the redoubtable, cunning, unprincipled Jesuit Parsons. King-killing doctrine will be rife.

A memorable event will render famous or infamous, every succeeding year: each decade will behold a revolution—the massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572—the horrors of the League in 1585—the accession of Henry IV. to the throne of France, in 1593. The murder of a king will have preceded, and Henry himself will fall by the knife of the assassin. King-killing doctrine will not be obsolete: monks, or Jesuits, will always be found able, ready, eager to inculcate and to defend the proposition. But more terrible events shall have preceded.

What shall we find in Italy? Crafty, ambitious, or worldly-minded popes, rising from their humiliation and presuming on their regenerated

power—the work of the indefatigable Jesuits, who will soon have achieved their promises. But the ambitious Paul IV., pope of Rome, will induce Henry II., of France, to invade Naples. Philip will despatch his Duke of Alva to Italy, whence he will soon expel the French under Guise, and overrun the States of the Church, saying that “he will hold all the places he shall take in trust for the next pope.” Such will be the pretext of Philip II.’s conscience, consenting, in his prodigious orthodoxy, to war against the Father of the Faithful. His soldiers will complain that they battle with a mist—a cloud—and can clutch nothing: for all will be hungry in those days of craft, rapine, and murder.

Policy and pay will achieve all things:—the Protestant leader, the Margrave Albert of Brandenberg, first Duke of Prussia, will befriend the Pope of Rome in his difficulties; and the pope’s best troops will be Protestant Germans—jeerers of images—scoffers of the mass, and breakers of the fast, sons of Luther. *They* will not battle with a mist; nor will they be fighting for the pope; for Albert will only be trying to build up a kingdom near the pope’s right hand, Austria and Poland. He will not succeed, however, for his policy in siding with the pope. Nor let the fact surprise you; even Solyman the Turk, the infidel, will be solicited to fight in the papal cause!

This Pope Paul IV., an old brawny veteran of eighty years, will feel the weight of the Spaniards more than that of age. He will sit for hours at table over the black, thick, volcanic wine of Naples, (his favorite drink,) and pour forth torrents of invectives against the Spaniards, styling them schismatics, heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world; and finish his benediction with a prophecy from the Psalms applied to his blessed self, saying—“Thou shalt walk upon serpents; thou shalt tread upon lions and the dragon!” And he will raise to the rank of cardinal his nephew Carlo, who will have revelled in the wild excesses of a soldier’s life, and of whom Paul IV. himself will have said that “his arm is dyed in gore to the elbow.” His other nephews he will make a duke and a marquis, Palliano and Montebello. Their claims to favor will be—hatred to the Spaniards! In that passion the pope will forget reform—his once darling object; for it is of *Caraffa*, the founder of the *Theatines*, the honest Christian of a few years ago, that you have been reading! But another change will ensue—his eyes will be opened—the rage of reform again will rouse him to the effort—he will disgrace his own nephews in spite of every solicitation—sudden as the lightning will be the resolution—rapid as the same its execution and ruin. An old *Theatine*, Don Geromia, will have “taught him things he never could have guessed.” And then he will launch into universal reform, reckless of consequences, even as he advised on a former occasion. He will literally fulfil every wish he then entertained; the church and court of Rome he will thoroughly purify; not an abuse will remain unrectified. A medal will be struck, representing him under the type of Christ clearing the temple. It will be his boast, that he let not a day pass without promulgating some order towards the restoration of the church to its original

purity; and the horrible Inquisition, with its tortures to compel the detection of accomplices, will aid him in his purification.

He will give the Jesuits considerable trouble; hamper them in their measures; alter their Constitutions in two essential points; and keep them in terror, as though destruction impended. But they will have ■ crafty general at their head, and he will allay the tempest; their day of triumph will come, when the terrible old pope will fall back and die —when his memory will be execrated—his statue pulled down and broken to pieces, and the triple crown dragged through the streets. Then will the Jesuit-general stand a good chance of being elected Pope of Rome! Whatever be your humiliation, will you ever despair? Whatever state of things annoy, disgust you, will you ever think a change impossible? Think of these events, and learn to be patient.

A fearful slaughter of Paul's nephew and his relatives will engore the next pontificate, and the Jesuits will figure, crucifix in hand, at the awful execution.

The great Council of Trent will give them, and will have given them a field to fight their theoretic battle for papal authority, and to compromise the rights of bishops, who will never be able to cope with the Jesuits.

From Italy's spiritual kings, if you turn to France, you will behold Henry II. in the lap of favorites:—ambitious and moderate, warlike and cruel, according to the opinions and influence of those to whom he is attached, and in whose opinion he confides for a time. Diana of Poitiers is his mistress—her ruling passions are avarice and ambition. Catherine de' Medici is his queen—crafty, accommodating, supple—as ambition requires—and destined to a cursed immortality, she will give the signal for the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A slight amelioration in the treatment of the Protestants of France will be permitted by the intervention of her Parliament. Bigotry will take alarm. The Cardinal de Lorraine obtains an edict which enables bigotry to torment the Protestants. A Dominican monk is appointed Inquisitor of the Faith in France—a tribunal with its penetrating police is established. Remonstrances follow; even the Catholic bishops are disgusted, for humanity is neither confined to times, places, nor religions. The Parliament takes up the cause of mercy, and the noble Seguier boldly denounces the short-sighted policy of selfish bigotry. In his memorable speech on that occasion, he will speak counsel and warning for all succeeding times. Tracing the practical dangers of the visionary theory, denouncing the endless injustice of the persecuting scheme, predicting its inefficacy, and then branding the parasites—the self-seekers—the hangers-on of court favor—the panderers to crime—saying: “And as for you, sirs,” turning to the counsellors of state, “you who so calmly hear me, and apparently think that the affair does not concern you, it is fit that you should be divested of that idea. As long as you enjoy favor, you wisely make the most of your time. Benefits and kindness are showered on your heads: every one honors you; and it enters the mind of no one to attack you. But, the more you are elevated, the nearer you are to the thunderbolt; and one must be ■ stranger to his-

tory not to know what is often the cause of a disgrace. But to date from the registering of this edict, your condition would cease to be the same: you will have, as in times past, for successors, men poor and hungry, who, not knowing how long they may remain in office, will burn with a desire to enrich themselves at once, and they will find a wonderful facility in so doing; for certain of obtaining your confiscation from the king, it will only be necessary to make sure of an inquisitor and two witnesses; and though you may be saints, you would be burned as heretics." The speech makes a "sensation"—the king is "affected"—but, for a time at least, the Inquisitor is not shaken. There he stands, firm as Egyptian pyramid, with his four cardinal-pointed sides frowning over the doomed heads of the poor mechanic in his daily toil—of the shepherd watching his flock—of the student in his whispering closet silent as death—every heretic in the length and breadth of the land.

After incalculable suffering, bitterness, and strife, Henry IV. will reward his Protestant subjects for their services in fighting his battles with the *Edict of Nantes*, and will favor the Jesuits—to counteract the craft and machinations of Spain.

The Inquisition and the monks will sap the foundation of Protestantism; will strive to restore the supremacy of Rome—and nowhere more than in Portugal under John III.; but the Romans themselves will rise up against the iniquitous tribunal with which they are menaced, and demolish the prisons of the "Holy Office." The horror of these persecutions subsequently induce the phlegmatic Hollanders to embrace the religion of Luther. Vain is the flood of new monks, capuchins, recollects and barnabites—the Reformation is spread over Germany, a part of France, England, Sweden, Poland, and among the chamois-hunters of Switzerland.

But the Jesuits will go forth, and bring back many a straggler to their fold—and sing the triumph of the faith.

From the governors of earth—their means and their methods—let us turn to the governed, and behold the human nature of those eventful times.

In Italy, amidst its splendor of arts and science, its talk of religion—morals are so corrupted, that public shame is utterly lost; the vices of individuals, even the most remarkable for their riches, rank, and position, exhibit a front of brass in the boastful impudence of guilt. Nothing is concealed—nothing disgraces. Princes and their ministers, only intent on gaining their objects, reject not, in their affairs and consultations, the utmost perfidy or atrocity—not even excepting poison and secret murder. In the memories of men rife and palliating are the deeds of Alexander VI., his execrable son, and their minions. The licentious court of Leo X. is not forgotten. The doctrines of Machiavell, proposing expediency as the motive for every action, and making all things lawful by that standard, infect all deliberations, and are brought to bear on every measure.* Intentions are perverse, means are abomi-

* No author's meaning can be plainer than Machiavelli's, and yet no author has

nable, superstition is general, religion scarcely felt or respected, and trampled under foot in the very spot where it should find its sanctuary and defence. No wonder, then, that Italy will suffer so long, so bitterly, social and political afflictions to the latest posterity. Its science will increase, its arts will expand—but the perversity of the national character will continue to administer premiums to dexterous craft rather than simple virtue. Dexterity will be the nation's virtue. Its possessors will find in Rome admiration and liberal reward.

In Spain, results avenge the fate of America, discovered, ruled with a rod of iron, and crushed by the Spaniards. Moral turpitude had fallen back redoubled on the homes of the corrupters—we behold that result in their pride, their avarice, and diabolical licentiousness. The Spaniards disdain the common occupations of life. The dignities of the church, the insignia of office, become their aspirations. The spirit of industry is dead—their manufactures languish—labor is a disgrace: but to figure in the pompous retinue of the great, even as domestics, is an honor, a distinction. Foreigners step in, do their work, and carry off fortunes. Enervated by luxury, uncultivated in mind, ashamed to labor, men find in monasteries and the church a beggarly refuge, subsistence, and the distinctions which superstition lavishes on its priests, friars of every hue, and fattened monks.

And fiendish cruelty has unhumanised the hearts of America's conquistadores—plunderers of the savage, yet Cross in hand. A dread demoralisation ensues. It seems as if men look on crime as on their

found so many discordant interpreters; some representing him as the perverter of all morality, others as only the satirical denouncer of the principles then in vogue. The very fact of this defence, however, is an evidence of the atrocious principles inculcated in his works. That he wrote as he felt, I have no doubt. His *Principe* is the great stumbling-block, but many of its principles are found in his other works as well, and to the former he refers for further elucidation. Bacon excused him with the argument above given, and Macaulay dismisses the subject with a broad cachinnation. Roscoe does not doubt his "sincerity," and Sismondi gives the vote against the politician. The king of Prussia, in his *Anti-Machiavel*, says he is in politics what Spinoza is in faith. Earlier writers were not deceived by appearances. Though his book was published in *Rome* (after having circulated in manuscript), though the author was the confidential friend of Pope Clement VII., though his maxims were carried out in church and state, he lacked not denouncers. The Englishman, Cardinal Pole, was the first to pronounce against *Il Principe*, and the author generally, in his *Apology for the Unity of the Church*; and the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, one of the first companions of Ignatius, abuses Machiavel in no measured terms, in a work expressly written to describe the early Jesuit-notion of a Christian prince. I shall have occasion to advert to one or two maxims inculcated in this Jesuit-book. From the notes to Alciati's *Emblems*, by *Minoe*, published in 1608, and by the *Cautio* of the Jesuit Possevin, in 1592, it appears plainly that no doubt was then entertained of Machiavel's perfect sincerity and good faith in his diabolical politics. Butler says:

"Nick Machiavel had ne'er a trick,
Tho' he gave his name to our Old Nick."

Hud. P. iii. C. l.

"But," says Macaulay, "we believe there is a schism on this subject among the antiquaries." See Roscoe, *Leo X.*, ii. 290; Bacon, *De Augm. Scient.* l. vii.; Sismondi, i. 430; Macaulay, *Crit. and Hist. Essays*, i.; Tirabosch, *Storia della Lett.* vii. P. i. 518; Alciati *Emblem.* per Claud. *Minoem*, p. 683; Ribaden. *Tratado de la Religion, &c.*, Madrid, 1595 (first edition); Mem. of Machiav. prefixed to Bohn's excellent translation, P. xv.; Bossi, x. 101, 106.

meals,—with an appetite or not as the case may be—but all is natural. Iterated example trains to imitation. Children grow up like their parents: born in the midst of wickedness, how can they be otherwise? In 1523, assassinations were so frequent in Spain that every man was allowed to wear a sword for his own defence. Only the *nobles* were allowed them before. Then the dread Inquisition lowered on the land, generating suspicion in every heart, mistrust, jealousy, in every mind. A son may accuse his father, a mother her child and her husband; a man his friend or fellow-citizen.

In Germany, Protestantism arrests attention. We stand aghast, bewildered by the violence with which men quarrel about opinions. Protesting against Romanism, they are not united among themselves. They may thus be conquered in detail—or goaded on, one against the other—set to persecute each other—the Jesuit method in Austria so successful. But what shall we say of that flagrant example of expedient connivance—nay, authorised infringement of a sacred law—the bigamy of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse? Luther and Melancthon repent too late for their share in the scandal. The moral sentiment of Protestantism sees with disgust the names of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and four other Protestant leaders, affixed to the document permitting the prince to have two wives together—Protestant leaders being present at the secret marriage, subsequently by woman's vanity divulged.

In France luxury and extravagance are excessive and universal. Italy and Spain give the fashion. Severe enactments are issued by authority against abuses, but what can effectually resist the spirit of an age? It may be changed or modified by influence, but it cannot be suppressed by force. The pride and vanity of the lower ranks vie in display with the great: jealous bickerings ensue: the nobles present a petition to restrain the extravagance of the upstarts—and do not forget to throw in a remonstrance against the prevalence of public-houses for games of hazard and prostitution. The presumption of these upstarts, the contemptible “lower orders,” is curiously exemplified and awfully punished. Francis I. meets with an accident which compels him to cut his hair short, and he further adopts the fashion of wearing a beard. Some plebeians take it into their heads to do the same. The indignant nobility get an edict, in 1553, from the king, enjoining every plebeian, husbandman, and farmer, under penalty of the gibbet, to cut their beards—for long beards are the distinguishing marks of the nobility. Meanwhile the education of children is neglected—their fathers are “gone to the wars,” or plunged in dissipation—their mothers thinking of gaudy attire, fantastic display in dress; not the most modest above, though below, their garments sweep the ground as in the beginning of a succeeding century. Contemporaneous authors depict the morals of the age: the privileged classes stand before us in their loathsomeness. Meschinot de Mortières, Martial d'Auvergne, Chartier, and Cornelius Agrippa, the Diogenes of the times, portray the “gentlemen” of those days, without mincing matters or lacking hard words.

The untranslatable epithets of the last are given below.* He has to smart for his truth and philosophy. Transition, the indefatigable spirit that slumbers never, is tempting the masses with the baits of knowledge. The masses are biting fast, and are being caught, as in Germany, in England, Switzerland, and elsewhere—to escape with a jerk anon: but the nobles, the gentlemen of France, deem ignorance an honor. “The young lords,” says Alain Chartier, “are nurtured in delights and idleness. As soon as they are born, that is, as soon as they learn to speak, they are in the school of gluttony and bad words. Their people adore them in the cradle, and train them to forget themselves and others as if they were born only to eat and drink, and the people created only to honor them. And more; for this foolish talk runs now-a-days among the courtiers, that a gentleman ought not to know letters. And they hold it a reproach to gentility to know how to read well and write well. Alas! What greater folly can there be, or what more dangerous error to be made public?”† Duelling is in vogue. Henry II. lends his august presence to a personal encounter, in which his favorite is mortally wounded. After the victory the survivor kneels before the king, thanks God, and beating his breast, exclaims, *Domine, non sum dignus*—O Lord, I am not worthy! The two champions will have sworn, according to ancient usage, that “they have not, either on their persons, or their arms, any *charm or incantation* to aggrieve the enemy, because they will not aid themselves with anything but God, and their right, and the strength of their bodies and arms.”

Meanwhile Protestants are burnt without mercy. Even pity is denied them: members of Parliament are arrested for suggesting a modification in the rigor of the laws. The Jesuit Daniel calls this “unreasonable compassion,” in his heavy, dull History of France. Hatred for the Church of Rome necessarily increases. The fiercest passions of men—in the persecuted and the persecutors—are in continual irritation, and constant display: but persecution strengthens the suffering cause, and preserves its rank and file: at the court, in the city, the provinces, amongst all orders of men, the reformed doctrines have supporters. A crisis is inevitable. Imagine a royal mandate such as goes forth, enjoining the judges to arrest as accomplices of heresy all who shall even solicit in favor of the heretics! That crisis comes at last. The Catholic League, under ambitious princes and nobles, and bigoted popes and kings, spreads horrible war and devastation over France. The Protestants hideously cope with their persecutors, and follow their example of fiendish atrocity. These are the wars of the *League* and the *Huguenots*.‡ The fierce, ruthless Huguenot, Baron des Adrets,

* “Ils sont brigands, enfonceurs de portes, ravisseurs, meurtriers, larrons, sacrilèges, batteurs de pavé, putiers, maquereaux, bordeliers, adultères, traistres, concussionnaires, joueurs, blasphemateurs, empoisonneurs, parricides, boute-feux, pirates, tyrans et semblables qualités,” &c.

† Chartier died in the preceding century. He it was whom Margaret of Scotland kissed as he slept in a chair, by way of tribute to his “eloquent lips” which “had said so many fine things.” He was called the Father of French eloquence.

‡ The origin of this name is curious: it is not from the German *Eidegenossen*, as has

displays the atrocities generated by religious discord brought to bear fruit in political abuses. He caught two hundred Catholics, and hurled them from the windows of his castle, in the ditch below, to certain destruction. One of them clung to a branch in his fall—clung with a grip such as the fear of certain death nails to an object. The baron poured shot and stones at him; but never a missile touched him as he hung—fast and resolute. Struck with the fact—moved by his intrepidity—the fierce Adrets spared and saved the man thus rescued as by miracle.* Montluc, the Catholic leader, was equally ferocious. “I procured,” he says, “two executioners, who were called my lacqueys, because they were so much with me.” The dreadful and universal massacre of the Protestants on the day of St. Bartholomew, by order of the king in council, will never be equalled by Protestants: however criminal may have been the acts of some of their leaders. They suffer terrible calamities and yet are not “put down.” What more inspiring to their cause than a simple fact as the following. A poor man and his wife are burnt alive. As they go to death, the wife exhorts her husband to suffer, saying: “Have courage, my brother, for to-day we shall go together to heaven.”—*Ayes bon courage, mon frère, car aujourd’hui nous irons ensemble en paradis.*

And the effects of these wars on humanity, what are they? A year of civil wars is enough to bring shapeless desolation where all was once prosperity. Agriculture is neglected, where, we are told, it has been better attended to than in any other country—France, the garden of the world, as the chronicler calls his fatherland. Towns and villages without number have been sacked, and pillaged, and burnt, and have become deserts. The poor laborers have been driven from their dwell-

been supposed. Regnier de la Planche accounts for it as follows:—“The name *huguenaud* was given to ‘those of the religion’ during the affair of Amboise, and they have retained it ever since. I’ll say a word about it to settle the doubts of those who have strayed in seeking its origin. The superstition of our ancestors, to within twenty or thirty years thereabouts, was such that in almost all the towns in the kingdom, they had a notion that certain spirits underwent their *Purgatory* in this world, after death, and that they went about the town during the night, striking and outraging many people whom they found in the streets. But the light of the Gospel has made them vanish, and teaches us that these spirits were street-strollers and ruffians. At Paris the spirit was called *le moine bourré*; at Orleans, *le mulet Odet*; at Blois, *le loup garou*; at Tours, *le Roy Huguet*, and so on in other places. Now, it happens that those whom they called Lutherans were at that time so narrowly watched during the day, that they were forced to wait till night to assemble for the purpose of praying to God, for preaching, and receiving the holy sacrament: so that, although they did not frighten, nor hurt anybody, the priests, through mockery, made them the successors of those spirits which roamed the night; and thus that name being quite common in the mouth of the populace, to designate the evangelical *huguenauds* in the country of Tourraine and Amboise, it became in vogue after that enterprise.”—*De l’Estat de France. An. 1560* (Panth. Litt.)

* A different, but very improbable version of this affair is given by others. The baron’s men are placed in the moat to receive the Catholics on their pikes! Enough to smash themselves to death, certainly. Then we are told that the poor fellow in question, being ordered to leap, stopped twice, on the brink. “Coward!” exclaims the baron, “you have shrunk back twice!” “I’ll give you ten times to do it, brave general!” replies the man—and he is pardoned for his wit! It is evident that Castelnau’s account is nearer the fact. See his Mémoires, l. iv. c. 2. We are farther told that the baron used to bathe his children in the blood of slaughtered Catholics (!)

ings, robbed of their goods and cattle, taken for ransom, and pilfered, to-day by one party, to-morrow by the other, *whatever may be their faction or religion*; and they take to flight like savage beasts, abandoning all they possess, so as not to live at the mercy of those who are without compassion. Trade and the mechanical arts are discontinued: for the merchants and artisans have quitted their shops and trades to buckle on the breast-plate. The nobles are divided—the churchmen are oppressed—no man is sure of his goods or his life. Where force and violence give the law, justice is not administered: magistrates and statutes are disregarded. In fine, the civil war has been the inexhaustible source of all manner of wickedness—robbery, murders, incests, adulteries, parricides, and other vices as enormous as can be imagined—for which there is no check—no chastisement. And the worst is, that in the war, the arms which have been taken in defence of religion, have annihilated all religion and piety, have produced, like a rotten body, the vermin and pestilence of an infinite multitude of *atheists*: for the churches have been sacked and demolished, ancient monasteries destroyed, the monks driven out, the nuns violated. What has required four hundred years to build, has been destroyed in a single day—without sparing the sepulchres of kings and of our fathers. Behold, my son, says the chronicler, behold the fine fruits which civil war produced, and will produce, when we are so unfortunate as to take up arms again, as seems most likely. The League is put down by Henry IV., whose history is involved in that of the Jesuits. Of course they will play their part in the wars.

In England, the constant prosperity of the Protestants, and adversity of the Catholics, under Elizabeth, arrest attention. There is no innate ferocity in Elizabeth, though she is the daughter of Henry VIII. The child of his best moments, perhaps, she exhibits the passion of love in its intensity; and would live on the praise and affection of all her subjects: but her right to the throne is questioned by the Catholic party—a Spanish faction headed and “stirred” by the Jesuits. This faction endangers, threatens the life of the Queen. No method seems so advisable as persecution—horrible slaughter, embowelling, and quartering, to put down that faction. The age loves blood. The English sport with it; and hundreds, with Jesuits to show them how to die, entertain the national propensity to see gibbet-work. Tortures the most hideous are devised—limbs are stretched till the tendons crack again—blood spurts from the ears and mouth—but the persecuted flinch not—though many of us would, perhaps, decline the ordeal—and remain firm to their religion, which is, in the nation’s opinion, one and the same with *treason*. England’s insular position saves her from a civil war. Spain’s armies would give Elizabeth and her able ministers infinite work, if Spain’s Philip could throw a few thousand of his troops on the plains of Albion. We shall find her policy in the history of the Jesuits.

Thus, fermentation is general over Europe. Wars are incessant—because states and principalities are being formed as Transition advances. In Spain—the seeds of ruin: in Italy—a bone of everlasting contention: in Germany—politics and religion share it between them:

in France begins, or rather continues, the abuse of regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical power, destined to reach the climax with Louis XIV., and then after a stumbling and bungling reign, to produce the thunderbolt of the Revolution : in England, the foundation of a Protestant Constitution is laid, with a striking development of the national resources—as we shall behold in *every* country where the Protestant form of religion permits the human mind to work unfettered. I have alluded to the French Revolution. We shall note as we advance in this history, the steady progress to that terrible event which shook the universe. In perusing the history of the two centuries that precede the scourge, we shall find it difficult to believe that the religion of Christ was the religion of Europe. We shall behold portentous causes stirring the mass of humanity—upheaving the eventful history of two hundred years—years of “religious” and political abuses crying to indignant Heaven for retribution. From the atrocities of the “religious wars,” to the devoteeism of Louis XIV.’s last years, and their offspring, the philosophism of the two succeeding reigns—throughout the entire period we shall see in operation the most perfect worldliness stamped on the actions of the chief actors, united to a gorgeous display of hot-blooded zeal:—intellect, indeed, predominant, but scornful, owing to the hypocrisy, the inconsistency, which it will be incessantly compelled to detect, or suspect, in the promulgators of “religion.” In truth, we shall find the history of the Jesuits a key to that of the world during their lordly career.

Suffering, disaster, by human passions caused and promoted, have filled the preceding glance at the state of Europe during the sixteenth century—the world as the Jesuits find it—eager for something—gladly availing itself of every arm consenting to work in its service. The Jesuits are capable of serving: they will have plenty to do. In the midst of atrocious crime, we find religion, or rather its name, on every lip. All men are devoted to their “religion.” All are ready to fight and die for it. Its forms are venerated, deemed indispensable; its spirit is a matter of entangling distinctions and perversions. Its best verbal sentiments are uttered in the moments of triumphant guilt. The name of God seems to sanctify the lusts of the heart of man; for the spirit of pure religion has taken flight from earth, now a prey to political and religious ascendancies.

Meanwhile the arts and sciences receive an impulse in France, England, Germany, and Italy—an impulse destined to be strengthened and increased in every succeeding age. Poets, painters, sculptors, preachers, visionaries, astrologers, with chymists and alchymists, swell a lengthened list of honored names for the sixteenth century. The heart and mind desire and plan objects of sensual gratification, and the rewards held forth by the great, by popes, and by kings, each in the circle of his own desires and interests, stimulate talent, give perseverance to genius. Shakspeare and his tragedies and comedies for the Virgin Queen, Ariosto and his wild and tempest poesy; Malherbe; Machiavel and his universal politics; Montaigne and his blessed toleration; the Scaligers and their book-fights; the Aldis and their printing-

presses ; Erasmus and his timid nothings ; More and his "*Utopia*," destined, like "*Jesuit*," to designate what nobody can comprehend ; St. Francis of Sales and his mild devotion ; Paracelsus and St. Theresa with their visions and dreams ; Ghirlandajo, Raphael, with immortal paintings ; Palestrina and his heaven-reaching strains of devotional music—these and a thousand others wield the chisel, the pen, the pencil—and among them vigorously, boldly figure the JESUITS, who leave no *art* untried.

Spiritualists there are—*schoolmen*—men of knotty distinctions, unintelligible jargon, stamping wranglers with muddy demonstrations :—again the *Dogmatists*, more reasonable, perhaps, teaching from the Scriptures and the "*Fathers*"—and lastly the *Mystics*, seraphic swooners on the bosom of fleecy clouds—totally confined to the empyrean of dream-land—forgetful of body, whose wants are a constant dead weight and affliction.

In the midst of this crisis of mind and morals, Ignatius dies, bequeathing to the world, then possessed with unspeakable desire to see and know, his well-trained, disciplined, and serried battalions—as "millions of flaming swords drawn from the thighs of mighty cherubim." Their sudden blaze far round illumines earth. Highly they rage against their appointed foe, determined HERESY,

————— and fierce with grasped arms
Clash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

What an opportunity is this for blessing mankind ! In their power to bless, the Jesuits will be omnipotent. The disorganized state of society ; the unsettled, bewildered minds of men ; their intellect keen and active, their passions strong and misguided—all crying for a helper—a saviour unto men in their "horrible pit," their "miry clay." Then will be the opportunity for "a new song"—an opportunity like that chosen by God when Jesus appeared. For at that blessed advent were not men's minds bewildered by teachers, disgusted with the fooleries of paganism, surfeited and tried with unrighteousness ? How sweetly may the new Order strive to heal, to cure the wounds of Humanity, now way-laid, plundered of her best treasures, and wounded, and left for dead in a "howling wilderness without water !" But alas ! she becomes at once a *party*—first to serve others as a slave, then to work for herself as a grasping speculator. Old abuses, vile prerogatives—these she covers with her wings—these she defends with claw and nail, and talons. Kings in their pride—popes in their encroachments—*herself* in her ambition—these are successively her molten calves—and she falls down and worships them.

She finds men eager to learn—she gives them subtle controversy ; teaches them how to wrangle for ever, seeking the discomfiture of the antagonist more than his conviction :—and then, dexterously changing her method with the circumstances, she works at soft persuasion—enlisting into the specious service every human art and all manner of trickery, which she herself denounces in theory by some of her members : whilst others sanctify craft, make deceit not unholy in doing her

appointed work. Rather than fail in reclaiming the objects of her spiritual ambition, she will thus pervert herself, by resorting to unlawful means for her holy purposes. We shall see how these things come to pass in the scenes of her history.

When mankind fix upon her the stigma of craft and cunning, she herself will be proud of her tact and address. All her members will thus be fashioned to a certain standard.

Outward circumstances will press them in a certain path. Ever suspected, from being once detected, nooks and corners will be her working-places. Results she will show: the means will be shrouded in darkness.

The selfishness of party will possess her as “legion,” and she will multiply herself and her resources to confirm and hold and clutch with a grip inextricable that influence she will achieve on the minds and hearts of mankind—to the destruction of many—of countless thousands—all over the habitable world—body and soul together in undistinguishable ruin.

Oh! had a prayer been offered at the moment of this Society’s conception, and been heard where virtue is good destiny—that prayer would have enabled us now to say with exultation: The Society of Jesus confined herself to the domain of mind and religion, to make men happy here and hereafter: she benefited body and soul together: she kept aloof from the pitchy touch of kings and popes, with their grasping monopolies of power over all: she strove to regulate, and never flattered the passions of men by a seeming specious morality, which was but vice without the conviction of guilt: she did not rise in her pride to the desire of ruling, by her invisible arm, kings, countries, all mankind. It will not be thus. The hopes of popes and kings, which the Society of Jesus will raise in their absorbing domination; the fears of the weak and ignorant, which she will know how to awaken; the enjoyments of the great, to which she will administer; their vices, at which she will systematically wink; her vast educational scheme, which will dislodge all rivals and competitors; her universal literature, which will expand her renown; her world-encircling missions, which will give her gold—the groundwork of more extensive operations; the decided skill, and cleverness, and address of her men—proverbially learned—these qualifications will swell her pride and self-sufficiency until she bursts forth in the words of intolerable boasting, “Give me but a place to stand on, and I’ll move the world.”*

Observe in that figure her astonishing conception most admirably portrayed by the help of Archimedes. On the clouds of *popular opinion*—an airy nothing in itself—screw into screw endlessly cogged,—the universe belted and suspended,—and moved as she lists *invisibly*, as appears by the sturdy and brawny winged object for an angel, turning the handle. It will be thus when a General of the Society shall say to the Duke of Brancas, “See, my lord, from this room—from this

* “*Fac pedem fagat et terram movebit.*”—*Imago Primi Sæculi S. J.* p. 321.

room I govern not only Paris, but China : not only China, but the whole world, without any one knowing how 'tis managed."*

Add to this, that her moral doctrines will be compared with those of the pagan philosophers, and the latter will be deemed more Christian:† that it will become an historical problem for Catholics, whether the Jesuits, or Luther and Calvin, have most injured Christian doctrine, and it will be solved to the disgrace of the former by a Catholic:‡ and finally, that Doubt and Atheism will be sportively made popular by one of the Society's eccentric progeny.§

* "Vede, Signor—di questa camera—di questa camera io governo non dico Parigi, ma la China ; non già la China, ma tutto il mondo, senza che nessuno sappia come si fa."—*Abrégé de l'Hist. Ecclés. de Racine*, xii. 77. Arnaud, xxxii. 78. (*Morale Pratique*.)

† *Parallèle de la Doctrine des Payens avec celle des Jésuites*, 1726.

‡ *Problème Historique, qui, les Jésuites, ou Luther et Calvin, ont le plus nui à l'Eglise Chrétienne*, par [Messnier, Jansenist Catholic] 1737.

§ *L'Athéisme découvert par le Père Hardouin dans les écrits de tous les Pères de l'Eglise*, 1715.

BOOK II. OR, FABER.

Most graciously was Ignatius of Loyola received by Pope Paul III. The reader remembers the interview. It was probably one of Paul's fortunate days. Doubtless he had cast his horoscope. But astrology was not the only art that directed the pope's resolutions. He judged by palmistry as well. A panegyrist of Don Ignacio, when become *Saint Ignatius*, tells us that "after the pope had attentively considered the hands of Ignatius, he saw nothing else inscribed and engraved in them but the name of Jesus, and instantly exclaimed: "The finger of God is here! I find nothing in these hands but the fingers of God!""

The pope was prepossessed in favor of the pilgrim. He had heard of him before. Ignatius had sent him some of his companions to crave a benediction; they were well received by Paul, who patronised "learned men," wherever he found them, with meritorious liberality.† Ignatius did not go with them, for fear of *Caraffa*, who suspected him, or whom he had offended at Venice by refusing to enrol himself and companions amongst the *Theatines*, founded by Caraffa.‡ Don Ignacio had his own idea to work out—his own gun to let off—it was primed: why should he let another fire it? He has reached the joyful moment. The pope is pleased with him. Paul likes his hands, and doubtless his features, which I have described, after the Jesuits: "All signs of wisdom," says Bouhours, "according to the physiognomists;"§ but the physiognomists add more than the Jesuit declares. They say: "Devotion on the lips, hardness in the soul, audacity and obstinacy,—such are the chief characteristics" [of a good likeness of Ignatius]: "with such eyes it is hard not to be a fanatic; and in such a forehead a thousand projects incessantly succeed each other with rapidity. In fine, the mouth announces a mind of bigotry, or hypocrisy and intrigue,

* "Postquam pontifex attentè considerasset manus Ignatii, nihil aliud eis inscriptum et insculptum vidit præter nomen Jesu, et statim dixit: Digitus Dei hæc est—nihil in istis manibus reperio præter digitos Dei."—*Valderrama*, in *Canon. Ignatii*, p. 48. See a curious tract on Palmistry, by Indagine, *Introd. in Chiromant., Physionom., &c.*, Lug. 1582.

The Jesuit historians, apparently not relishing the *whole* fact, have retained the *exclamation*, but dexterously omit the adjunct. They make the pope utter the words when he saw the *draft of the Constitutions of the Company*. Bartoli, l. ii. 43. Cretineau Joly, t. i. 43, &c. Valderrama, who gives the anecdote, was Prior of the Austin Friars in Seville. It occurs in his sermon preached by request of the Jesuits on the 31st July, 1610, when Ignatius was canonised. Of course the Jesuits supplied the "facts" for the laudation. See Bayle, Dict. vii. 196.

† Bouhours, i. 245.

‡ Id. i. 234.

§ Id. ii. 228.

which will employ all means to gain an end. At this portrait, traced by Lavater himself, we recognise *Loyola* and his disciples.”* Be this as it may; in the cry of reform, then ringing in his ears—for you remember the occasion—with the conviction that something must be done to satisfy the tyrant opinion which interfered with his political schemes—Paul III. accepted the services of Ignatius and his companions. Their terms were the most tempting in the world (in matters of religion)—their services would be gratuitous; they craved no filthy lucre. The Don’s object was simply to work for salvation. As far back as 1534, three years before the interview, he had designed his society;† he had long before resolved to be a glorious founder, like St. Dominic and St. Francis;‡ he has not imparted his “holy ambition” even to his companions,§ much less, then, will he scare the pope with a design likely at once to take him aback, at a time when there were cries on all sides against existing orders of monks—useless drones and licentious hypocrites.|| He must establish claims before he can demand possession. This he has resolved, and all that he imparts to the pope are the following offers in his own name and that of his companions:—

1. That they will lodge at the hospitals, and will live on alms only.
2. That those who might be together will be superiors by turns, each a week, for fear lest their fervor should carry them too far, if they do not set bounds one to the other in the matter of penances and labor.
3. That they will preach in the public places, where permitted; that in their preaching they will hold forth the beauty and rewards of virtue, the deformity and penalties of vice, but in a manner conformable to the simplicity of the Gospel, and without the vain ornaments of eloquence.
4. That they will teach children the Christian doctrine and the principles of good morals.
5. That they will take no money for their functions; and that, in serving their neighbor, they will purely seek God only.¶ Manifestly offers identical with the duties of Caraffa’s *Theatines*, an institute soon obsolete and forgotten, and so would have been the Ignatians had they confined themselves to those simple avocations. With his usual sagacity, Paul III. saw at once the metal of his man. At all events, there could be little risk in giving him a trial. Such workers as the men before him promised to be, were decidedly wanted to make Rome “lead a Christian life for the future.” Time and the stars would direct his final resolution. Meanwhile, we will inquire more deeply into the fortunes of Ignatius, “a great and portentous

* *Précis Analytique du Système de Lavater*, an excellent digest of Lavater’s great work. See also Indagine, *ubi suprà*, in *Physionom.*, c. vii.

† Bartoli, I. ii. 109.

‡ Maffei, I. i. 8. “Quid si præclarum hoc S. Dominici facinus, quid si hoc S. Francisci, Deo fretus aggrediar?”

§ It was not till the year after that he imparted to his companions “l’affaire importante qu’il méditait.” We shall hear the words ascribed to him on that occasion. See Bouhours, i. 256.

|| “I labor very unwillingly in the matter of the monks,” wrote Bembo in 1530, “to find under many faces all human rascality covered with diabolical hypocrisy.” “Io mi travaglio malto malvolentieri in case di frati per trorarvi sotto molte volte tutte le umane sceleratezze coperte di diabolica ipocrizia.”—Apud Botta, i. 26.

¶ Bouhours, iii. 245.

man, honest withal," as honest George Borrow, of "The Bible in Spain" notoriety, terms the founder of the Jesuits.* Some account of Don Ignacio de Loyola or Guipuscoa, is necessary as a key to the history of the Jesuits; but a few remarks must precede the narration.

It is said that there have been thirty Lives of Ignatius. Many are before me. I have read all I could find. The groundwork of all is Jesuit matter. To Jesuit books all refer. His Life is thus chiefly an *ex parte* production. Gonzalvo, the saint's confessor, Ribadenevra, his daily companion, Masseus, an early Jesuit, Bartoli, another Jesuit, and, lastly, Bouhours, also a Jesuit, have, with Pinius, the Bollandist,† furnished the groundwork to all other biographers of Ignatius. All his

* Mr. Borrow's most interesting book, as above, produces very queer notions as we advance with him in his biblical frolics. How the Bible Society enjoyed his opinions on several occasions is a matter of curious conjecture. His politics seemed to have warped his judgment, and given him all the knowledge he required for its foundation. What did the Bible Society think of this opinion? "I believe the body of which he (Ignatius) was the founder, and which has been so much decried, has effected infinitely more good than it has caused harm." "What do I hear?" asks the *Catholic* Rector; "you an Englishman, and a Protestant, and yet an admirer of Ignatius Loyola?" "Myself," writes the Man of the Bible, "I will say nothing with respect to the *doctrine* of the Jesuits"—[the deuce you won't!—"for, as you have observed, I am a Protestant: but I am ready to assert that there are no people in the world better qualified, upon the whole, to be entrusted with the education of youth. Their moral system and discipline are truly admirable. Their pupils, in after-life, are seldom vicious and licentious characters, and are in general men of learning, science, and possessed of every elegant accomplishment." Then follows the apparent inspiration of his historical judgment. "I execrate," says he, "the conduct of the *liberals* of Madrid in murdering last year the helpless fathers by whose care and instructions two of the finest minds of Spain have been evolved—the two ornaments of the liberal cause and modern literature of Spain, for such are Toreno and Martinez de la Rosa," p. 27. That's the Bible-agent's opinion—and nothing can be more satisfactory—to the Jesuits, if not to his employers. Throughout the perusal of his book I constantly fancied the wry faces pulled by the masters at the strange freaks and opinions of the servant. It is all very well to say, "The cause of England's freedom and prosperity is the Bible, and that only, as the last persecutor of this book, the bloody and infamous Mary, was the *last* (!) tyrant who sat on the throne of England," p. 17. It's all very well to oil the wheels in this fashion, but the following must have been granite-grit to the fund-holders. "Of all the curiosities of this college (Valadolid) the most remarkable is the picture-gallery, which contains neither more nor less than the portraits of a variety of scholars of this house, who eventually suffered *martyrdom* in England, in the exercise of their vocation in the angry times of the Sixth Edward and fierce Elizabeth," p. 125. Never did I read a book suggesting so forcibly the reality of a Protestant Jesuit in its author. Read the most comical account of his conversation with the superiors of the English Catholic college at Lisbon (c. v.), only instead of stars or asterisks, put *Catholics* or *clergy* respectively—and don't be afraid of the agent's employers, as the writer seems to have been—they will not scratch you, if you have turned down the page where he says: "This is one of the relics of the monkish system, the aim of which, in all countries where it has existed, seems to have been to besot the minds of the people, that they might be more easily misled," p. 18. Invariably are his opinions contradictory and most inconsistent—and sometimes hideously bigoted and uncharitable—and yet "the name of the Lord Jesus" is always on his lips. Was it in that name that he uttered the following atrocity respecting the late pope, who, in truth, was "honest withal?" "I said repeatedly that the pope, whom they revered, was an arch-deceiver, and the head-minister of Satan here on earth," p. 15. Finally, if he knew the meaning of the Spanish word *carajo*, he ought not to have written it in a book where he talks of "Jesus"—and prominently, too. That adorable name always seems out of place in "The Bible in Spain." *Jesuit* would sound and be better there.

† A name given to the compilers of saints' lives.

Jesuit lives vary in their facts with the age in which they were produced.* We do not find in Maffeus the strange and wonderful assertions of Ribadeneyra. Bouhours has used the broad end of his stylus with the graceful, the flaming, but somewhat intense Italian Bartoli; even Bouhours has been made to drop something in a late Life of Ignatius, published in Ireland. This Jesuit method of change suggests the necessity for caution in giving belief to Jesuit productions, where they are themselves concerned, or their enemies are roughly handled. Truth is not a thing to be adapted to times, and places, and circumstances. Truth is always respectable. Times cannot change it, nor make it ridiculous. Yet such must be the case with regard to Jesuit omissions in the more modern Lives of Ignatius. This fact, therefore, renders imperative some little critical examination in the entertaining inquiry. Further:

It requires some knowledge of the Catholic system of saintship and legendary marvels, in order to form a correct judgment on the historical value of saint-biography. Every Catholic has, or should have, a particular veneration for the saint whose name he bears. In some countries, it is the saint's day, not the birth-day, which is celebrated. The "Life" of his saint, at least, should be familiar to him. He can find it in the various Saints' Lives written for the edification of the faithful. If Alban Butler's erudite and almost universal biography of saints—for every day in the year—be not racy enough, he can turn to the Jesuit Ribadeneyra's *Flowers of the Lives of the Saints*, wherein he will find, according to the necessary admission of a modern Jesuit, "an infinity of doubtful, false, and sometimes revolting matters."† To the Catholic such books are given. They are to him what the Bible is to the Protestant. They form what is called his "spiritual reading," or reading for the good of his soul. If any "conversion" from an evil life has been effected by reading, it is always some such book which has the grace-like power to influence the workings of the inner man, casting off the slough of the old Adam. Thirdly:

Most, if not all, of the founders of religious orders are saints of the calendar. Their miracles on earth and their glories in heaven become the grateful, or boastful, and certainly endless theme of their followers; so that the very fact of being founder of an order seems to have necessitated his canonization, as though it was evident that he had taken possession of one of the heavenly mansions, to be exclusively appropriated to succeeding militants, marching into heaven with *his* banner unfurled. The celebrated Father Andrew Boulanger, of humorous memory, parabled this idea for the edification of the Jesuits whilst on the summit of their glory. The Jesuits requested Father Andrew to preach a sermon to the confraternity on the festival of St. Ignatius. The orthodox father (he was a "reformed Augustinian") had his notion

* Ribadeneyra died in 1611, Maffeus in 1603, Bartoli in 1650, Bouhours in 1704.

† "Il y adopte sans discernement une infinité de choses douteuses, fausses, et quelquefois révoltantes."—Feller, *Biog. Univ.* xvii. The book has been largely translated: there are many French versions, and one in English, by W. P. [etre], Esq., in fol., 1730.

about the Jesuits, like many others at the time, and resolved to hit them on the knuckles. He imagined a dialogue between the Almighty and St. Ignatius, whom he represented in the act of demanding a place for his Order. "I know not where to put you," was the reply. "The deserts are inhabited by St. Benedict and St. Bruno: St. Bernard occupies the valleys: St. Francis has the little towns—where can we place you?" "Oh," exclaimed Ignatius, "only put us where there is a place to be taken—in the great cities, for instance,—and leave us to do the rest."*

The Jesuit biographies of their founder and other saints of their order are some of the methods whereby the Jesuits "do the rest." The influence of the Jesuits on a certain portion of mankind is largely to be attributed to their multitudinous writings: their biographies have gently "*moved*" *many a novice into the novitiate*. One of the witnesses examined before the House of Lords, in 1826, answered for *himself* on this point. When questioned as to "any circumstance that may have led to that desire on his part," he replied:—

"I think I can attribute it chiefly to reading the lives of the great saints in our Church, whom that society produced, and to the admiration for their virtues, which it seemed to me the nature of that society must have produced in these and other men."

"What were the books in which you read these lives?"

"The *ordinary books* that are open to every person—the English Lives of St. Francis Xavier, and some other saints."†

All these biographies of the Jesuits are strikingly adapted to the times in which they appeared—not only in style, but in matter. They are all written for effect; and, like all the attempts of the Jesuits, have not fallen short of their aim. *Ribadeneyra* with his "extraordinary things," and *Nieremberg* with his boiling extravagance, were just the writers for the Spaniards. *Maffeus*, the elaborate imitator of Cicero and Livy, endeavored to produce a new classic for youth, with the additional recommendation of having a Jesuit-Christian saint for its hero. *Bartoli* is elegant and entertaining, and ever anxious to show the world's obligations to Ignatius and his followers, at a time when the society was an object of jealousy and envy on account of her wealth and power and successful operations—and not without blame. *Bouhours* pruned the luxuriant vine of legendary lore—was devout without strong piety, and produced the present standard Life of Ignatius for our entertainment as well as that of the courtiers of Louis XIV.,—when the formalities of devotion dispensed with piety to God.

Out of all these biographies and other Jesuit sources—not omitting the famous *IMAGO*, or Image of the First Century of the Society of Je-

* Tallec. Historiettes, t. vi. Predicatoriana, p. 219. There is an old distich which says:

"Bernardus valles, colles Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius urbes."

† Evidence taken before the Select Committees. Exam. of "Mr. W. Rogers," a quondam student at the Jesuit seminary of Clongowes, Nov. 13th, 1826.

sus,* I shall proceed to sketch the history of the renowned *Don Ignacio Loyola de Guipuscoa*—a founder, a saint, and spiritual Quixote of the sixteenth century.

A biographer informs us that Ignatius always acted as though he had had no father, no mother, no genealogy:† his followers inherited the same exemption. All have been spiritual Melchisedecs in theory; they have lived only for their spiritual work in hand, or for themselves alone: but to the *parentage* of their heroes they have always given honor due,—for a splendid example is better than a thousand dissertations on the contempt of the world, its pomps and vanities, in striving to “move” the rich, the great, the learned, into the society. Don Ignacio was the last son of eleven children—the eighth and last male scion of the house of Loyola: his father was Don Bertram, hidalgo of Ognez and Loyola, a house, castle, or fortress, in Guipuscoa, a province of Biscay, in the mighty kingdom of Spain.‡ In this castle Ignatius was born, in the year 1491, in the reign of Ferdinand, the last representative of ancient “chivalry,” and the first model of modern despotism and ruthless bigotry—hence immortalised in history by the surname of “The Catholic.” His mother, in honor of the Virgin Mary’s delivery, gave him birth in a stable. Some contention hap-

* This extraordinary production was published to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the society’s foundation. It is crammed with admirably designed, and well-executed engravings—vigorous, and as startling as the accompanying dissertations, which are a splendid sample of intellect gone mad, and rioting in spiritual drunkenness. It will be more particularly described in its proper place. At present, suffice it to say, that “the Jesuits, in order to attract others, present a pompous idea of their Society, and endeavor to excite a high notion of its Institute: they represent its formation as dictated by God, its miraculous revelations, and declare its plan, rules, and privileges to have been inspired by Him, and by the Blessed Virgin; in order that all who might join the Society should know that it was not so much to the laws of Ignatius that they were invited to submit, as to laws of a divine and sacred origin.”

† Ribad. lib. v. c. 5.

‡ Besides noblemen by descent, there were also in Spain others of curious tenure. There was the *hidalgo de bragueta*, a denomination, very expressive in the original, given to him who had seven sons without a daughter intervening. Then there was the *hidalgo de gotera*, one who enjoyed the rights of nobility in one place or town only. Lastly, the *hidalguejo, hidalueete, hidalguillo*, petty country squires, poor gentlemen all. It is impossible to say to which denomination the hidalgo of Loyola belonged; but his mundane titles may be conceded in the blaze of his celestial glories. Pasquier, the great opponent of the Jesuits, calls him “Gentilhomme Navarren de bonne part,” after Ribadeneyra. It is curious, however, that as early as 1629 his nobility was denied. In the *Speculum Jesuiticum* (Jesuit Looking-glass), Ignatius is called “a man of obscure parentage, born at a place called Aspeytheia,” and in the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana* (Loyolan Fireworks), published in 1667, he is said to have been “born of mean parentage.” The house where he was born was afterwards called *Santa Casa*, and given to the Jesuits in 1682 to found a college near it, as the condition of the grant by the Queen Dowager of Spain stipulated that the old castle was not to be destroyed. The church of Aspeytheia, where Ignatius was baptized, was long afterwards frequented as a shrine by pregnant women, and by mothers to have their children christened and named after Ignatius. The Jesuits made it an object of veneration to all their devotees. If my informant be correct (a gentleman who accompanied the Spanish Legion), the ruins of the old castle are still extant, and pointed out to the traveller. The above facts show how soon the Jesuits fostered the holy name of Ignatius into the honors of semi-divinity, and gained possession of the popular heart by the miraculous powers of their sainted founder. See Bayle, Dict. vii. 196, U. See also Bartoli for a flaming account of the veneration in which the *Torre di Loyola* was held in Spain, and “the fruit of souls” that was reaped thereanent. L. i. 8.

pening to arise among his relations concerning the name which should be given him, this extraordinary infant, to the astonishment of all present, cried out, “*Ignatius* is my name;” and so he was accordingly named.* Such is said to have been the origin of a name which he was destined to render immortal.

But sad beginnings preceded this fulfilment. His early life was spent in dissipation, the probable result of the profanity which he imbibed under the paternal roof.† There is a prurient desire in the human heart to hear scandal. Many love to hear it because it seems to excuse their own delinquencies. There are cases in which, to a certain extent, it is historically necessary to enlarge in the matter; but in all cases it is read with great attention. In the biographies of the great, the narrative of private scandal is, perhaps, the most generally interesting. Unable to rise to what is eminent in virtue or talent, or unwilling to make the effort, men, in general, cling to what is lowest in vice, when it seems to be palliated by splendid talent, success in life, and historical renown. Biographers have been eager to satisfy this depravity of taste. The greatest minds have been made to excite the greatest disgust and contempt for human nature, despair of its final improvement, and a clinging doubt in the reality of human virtue.—But not with this prurient object—not with this result, have the biographers of Ignatius signalised his early misdoings—more, however, by plain insinuation than by details. They seem to say: There is hope in the excesses of youth since an Ignatius died a saint. Ye who listen with delectation to the syren of pleasure,—who would nevertheless discard her for the owl of austerity, but are scared at the sight of your transgressions—despair not—listen to the tale of Ignatius, the worldling, the anchoret, the founder of the Jesuits, and now ■ saint appointed for universal veneration.

Don Bertram had patronage at the court of Ferdinand: thither he hurried the young Ignatius at an early age, and scarcely in possession of the first elements of knowledge.‡ The youthful page soon became

* “Dudandose quando bautizavan ■ San Ignacio, como le llamaran, el mismo niño ■ puso nombre: con el qual se significa el officio que avia de hazer en la Iglesia.”—*Nieremb. c. i.* On this the *Pyrotechnica Loyolana*, by a “Catholic Christian,” observes as follows: “A brother of the society hath a pretty fiction (wherein they have a knack of outdoing all the poets), that while the name was in dispute, the infant himself (a prodigious baby) said he would be called Ignatius, the genuine signification of which is an incendiary [*ignis*, fire], one that casts about wild-fire—*conveniunt rebus nomina saepe suis.*” This book is a very curious old diatribe against the Jesuits. It is furnished with a formidable frontispiece, representing the Jesuits involving the universal world in conflagration, whilst the pope sits on the right, bellows in hand, from the pipe of which issue the words:

“Dī scilicet inferni! cōptis aspire meis!”
“Infernal gods! give to my enterprise
A favoring gale!”

The plate deserves a minute description: it comprises the whole history of the Jesuits, at least as presented to the mind of a “good hater” and “Catholic Christian.”

† “Ac de primā ipsius pueritā id unum constat, haud ita severā disciplinā educatum à suis fuisse; atque ab ipsis incunabulis, ut in opulentā domo, profanos admodum hausisse spiritus.”—*Maff. l. i. c. l.*

‡ “Literis vix dūm à limine salutatis,” says the pompous Maffeus. Lib. i.

ambitious to excel in all the arts of the courtier, to whose morals he conformed, and chose the profession of arms. Henceforward the point of honor, and the love of woman, gave perilous occupation to his active mind and body.* His character at this period is thus described by his disciples. He was not so exact in his religious duties as in the discipline of war. The bad habits which he had contracted at court were strengthened amidst the license of arms; and the labors of his profession were made compatible with the pursuits of love and pleasure.—Perhaps there never was cavalier at one and the same time more inured to fatigue, more polished, and attentive to the fair sex. But, however worldly in his pursuits, Ignatius had certain principles of religion and probity. He was careful to observe decorum even in his excesses. He was never heard to utter a word calculated to offend piety or modesty; he paid due respect to the holy places and the ministers of religion. Very sensitive on the point of honor, and impelled by his natural pride to demand satisfaction for the slightest insult; still he pardoned all, and was appeased as soon as reparation was offered. His peculiar talent was shown in reconciling the quarrels of the soldiers, and in stifling popular commotions: on more than one occasion he disarmed, by a single word, two parties on the point of settling the matter by mortal combat. He despised riches habitually, and proved his disinterestedness on one occasion by declining to share the booty of a captured town. He had tact in the management of affairs; young as he was, he knew how to influence the minds of men, and improve an opportunity. He hated gaming, but loved poetry; and, without the slightest tincture of learning, he composed very good verse in Spanish: curious enough, his subjects were sometimes pious—as, for instance, a poem in the Praise of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome, as Catholics believe.†

Such is the first aspect in which Ignatius is presented to us by his disciples. It is the model of an officer, such as Escobar, the renowned Jesuit-casuist, might easily absolve, and such as would have been prized in the court of Louis XIV., with the Jesuit Lachaise and Madame de Maintenon for his patrons. Thus lived Ignatius to his twenty-ninth year—a semi-religious worldling, according to his biographers—mingling thoughts of revenge and love with the sentiments requisite for the construction of pious verse; reconciling the “false maxims of the world” in practice with his theoretical “respect for the holy places and the ministers of religion.” He must be converted. On that event depends his immortality. His burning desire for fame‡ must be turned into the ambition of the saints. A model of strict military discipline and valor on every occasion, whether as a soldier or commander, his love for the profession of his choice§ evinces that enthusiasm which

* “Id (temporis) ille . . . partim in factionum rixarumque periculis, partim in amatoria vesaniâ, et ceterâ sacerdoti vanitate consumeret.”—*Id. ib.*

† Bouhours, liv. i. Bouhours wrote in “the age of Louis XIV.,” and his book is dedicated to the Queen.

‡ “Ardenti laudis humanae studio . . . abreptus.”—*Maf. lib. i.*

§ “Il passa par tous les degrés de la milice, fit paraître en toute occasion beau-

gives energy to the mind and heart in every and any pursuit, when real or fancied reward in store lends a motive to every step in the onward march. Enthusiasm was the ground-work of his character; enthusiasm, that consciousness of extraordinary power, with a will commensurate, to produce extraordinary results. Such a character is generally, if not always, tinged with the roseate hue of religion: all the passions with which it is allied—often the strongest—keep alive and agitate this religious tendency of enthusiasm, by their speedy satiety in transient gratification, leaving for ever void the desire of perfection in all things, which is a characteristic element of enthusiasm. With Ignatius enthusiasm seems to have been hereditary: his mother would give him birth in a *stable*, thus to honor the “Queen of Heaven!” and in the midst of his worldly pursuits, Ignatius celebrated in verse the “Prince of the Apostles,” as if even then convinced that only *spiritual* power and renown were perfect, and therefore more deserving his heart’s desire than the glory of arms, or the love of woman.

The last military achievement of Ignatius strikingly displays the leading features of his character. In the year 1521, Francis I., King of France, sent a large army into Navarre, under the command of Andrew de Foix. The province of Guipuscoa was ravaged; the invading forces laid siege to Pampeluna, the capital of Navarre.* A Spanish officer in the garrison endeavored in vain to inspire the troops with valor to resist the invaders—they would capitulate. The panic spread: the officer left these cowards, and retired into the citadel, attended by a single soldier. A parley in the citadel was offered and accepted eagerly by that officer determined to “improve the opportunity.” The severe terms of surrender were proposed—the base compromise was about to be made, when he seized the moment, and launched into furious invectives against the French. The conference broke up. “To arms!” resounded on all sides. Look to yon fortress! Sword in hand, the warrior leads his band (now forced to fight) to the gaping breach. Hand to hand, foot to foot, the struggle is for victory or death! But fortune or Providence decides the day; the hero of the fight falls desperately wounded. The hero of the fight is—IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA.† The splinter of a stone struck his left leg, and a cannon ball broke his right. His troop surrendered at discretion, and the victors, in admiration of his courage, bore Ignatius to the quarters of their general, where he received every attention so justly due to the hero. As soon as he could be removed with safety, he was carried to the castle of Loyola, at a short distance from Pampeluna. His surgeons were now persuaded that it was necessary to break the bones anew, in order to replace them into their natural position, having been badly set, or jolted out of place by the movement of the journey. Ignatius submitted to the operation without a groan. The result was nearly fatal. A violent fever ensued: he was given over by his medical attendants.

coup de valeur, et fut toujours très attaché au service, soit qu'il obéit, ou qu'il commandât.”—*Bouhours*, liv. i.

* See Robertson, Charles V. vol. ii. b. ii.; Ranken, Hist. of France, vol. v. p. 209.

† Bouhours, and all the biographers triumphantly.

Resigned to his fate the warrior slept; and in his sleep, according to the legend, beheld St. Peter, who cured him with his own hand. "The event," says the Jesuit, "showed that this dream had nothing false in it: when he awoke he was found to be out of danger,—his pains ceased, his strength returned."* The Jesuits venture two conjectures in explanation of this miraculous interposition. "God wished," say they, "that St. Peter should cure him, either because Ignatius had, from his youth upwards, honored the Prince of the Apostles; or, because the Prince of the Apostles interested himself somewhat in the recovery of a man destined by Heaven to maintain against heretics the authority of the Holy See." Decidedly a very plausible explanation. It reminds us of a certain worthy—a staunch Protestant by the way—who being somewhat "fixed" by his acknowledged inability to explain the meaning of *the Lion and the Unicorn* in the arms of England, said to the inquisitive Spaniard: "Suppose I were to tell you that they represent the Lion of Bethlehem and the horned monster of the flaming pit in combat, as to which should obtain the mastery in England, what would you say?" He replied: "I should say that you gave a fair answer." A little invention is a great talisman in Jesuits of every denomination and profession.†

The Jesuit's explanation is intended to show the utility of saint-worship in general, and the worship of the great saints in particular. Besides, it points at once to the origin of the *Society*, which was, apparently, designed in heaven with the knowledge and concurrence of St. Peter, the first pope of Rome. Nothing can be plainer. It is evident to demonstration—not so the conversion of Ignatius, however. The miraculous recovery left him ungratefully unconverted. He still clung to the pomps and vanities of this despicable world; for, finding that the bone of his leg protruded after the miracle, and marred the elegance of his boot—*empêchait le cavalier de porter la botte bien tirée*—the gallant cavalier, ever attentive to dress and fashionable grace,‡ determined to resort to the excruciating bone-nipper for that perfection of form which the apostle of his dream had not deemed requisite. He had the deformity cut away without uttering a word—without changing countenance. Nor was this all: he had the limb stretched for several days by a machine of iron. The operation failed; Ignatius was doomed to remain a cripple for life. This conviction must have been excessively annoying to a mind constituted as that of Ignatius has been described, and attested by his conduct on this occasion. What efforts to restore his external grace and attractions! To whom were they so indispensable as to gallant cavaliers of these gallant times, when beauty and grace were essential in the adventurer who strove to be even as the Cid, or Amadis of Gaul, the idols of the national heart. Was there not one whose image filled the soul of the prostrate cavalier! There was; and something worthy withal. "She was not a countess nor a duchess;

* Bouhours.

† The interpreter of England's Arms is Mr. Borrow, of "The Bible in Spain," p. 15.

‡ "Cum esset corporis ornatu elegantissimus."—Maff.

but her estate was higher than any of these.”* And now, away with pious aspirations; the thought of his lady-love clings to his heart. He meditates some military exploit to render himself worthy of her smiles; for he could not believe it possible to live without some great ambition, nor be happy without some absorbing passion.† But when he glanced at his leg—his leg doomed to limp—what a pang of despair shot freezingly through him!

“ In the midst of such peril, all methods I try
To escape from my fate, I weep, laugh and sigh.”‡

And shrugging his shoulders he submitted to his fate—

“ I have not, I care not, nor hope for relief.”§

Still confined to his bed, he asked for a book to while away the tedious hours. He wanted a romance—some work of chivalry. There was none at hand. They brought him the Life of Christ and the Lives of the Saints instead. The latter, very naturally, fixed his attention, so full of adventure, strange and windmill achievements. He read, and pondered as he read, and then his musing struck off a bright idea. “ What if I were to do what St. Francis did? what St. Dominic achieved?”||

Generous notions these, but nipped in the bud by those thoughts of the woman, for Ignatius was a lover: his Dulcinea was one of Castile’s highest and fairest damsels. St. Benedict, the founder of the Benedictines, had been in a similar dilemma, ‘twixt love and conversion. Benedict rolled himself on some briars and nettles, till his body was covered with blood, and his heart divested of love;¶ not so Ignatius,—he continued to read the Lives of the Saints, which was more rational. The result was satisfactory; he jumped to his conversion; for thus only can we qualify the effect, considering the cause. His conclusion was that “ God alone could satisfy the human heart, and that he should renounce all things to secure salvation.” How he came to this conclusion we cannot discover in the premises:—but his biographers give a page or two detailing the process of his conversion. Its results are more interesting, and assuredly more authentic. The process of conversions is very common-place, always alike; certainly nicely managed, though not always consistent with the character and condition of the patient. The result is all that is necessary: the formalities are like ready-made garments: they answer the purpose—after a fashion. The result, in the present instance, was, that Ignatius resolved to copy the awful saints of the Church, his imagination being heated by the terri-

* “ Non era condessa, ni duquesa; mas era su estado mas alto que ninguna de estas.”
His own words, given in *Act. Sanct.* apud Ranke, b. ii.

† Bouhours, liv. i.

‡ “ Pues tantos peligros me tienen en medio
Que lloro, que ria, que grite, que calle.”

§ “ Ni tengo, ni quiero, ni espero remedio !”

Alonso of Carthagena, apud Sismondi, ii. 165.

|| “ Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit beatus Franciscus,” &c.—*In Act. Sanct.* Maff. l. i. c. 2.

¶ *Butl. Saints’ Lives*, iii. *St. Ben.*

ble austerities wherewith they fought against the world, the flesh and the devil. By these legends he was convinced, as we are expressly told, "that all the perfection of Christianity was comprised in the maceration of the flesh."* Not by any means after the manner of Hopeful's conversion,† was that of Ignatius. His conversion was a wedge driving out a wedge—and remaining a wedge notwithstanding. It was only another sort of ambition which got possession of his mind, in his altered condition: in the paths of this new ambition he might limp, and yet reach the goal joyfully at last. Whatever were his inmost convictions, results proved that he was determined to attempt the *nimis alta*, the impossible things, the windmill adventures of spiritual ambition. It is futile to ascribe to Ignatius more than the vaguest notions of spirituality. These are sufficient to account for his immediate resolution. He will grow wiser; perhaps, more sober, by experience, and a little knowledge of the craft. His present resolves are suggested by his reading, and the superstitions of the age, to his enthusiastic ambition: hazy notions all, without sunlight, but right-well conducive to his purpose: he will soon do enough to constitute him a man of authority in the estimation of credulous disciples, and then he will assuredly "do what St. Benedict did, what St. Dominic achieved:" that is, *found an Order of Monks*,—this being the starting idea, as his own words so strikingly declare. This ambitious hope made his "conversion" necessary, and he was "converted." We shall presently behold the *probable* process.

Life is a chain of incidents. Each event holds to its predecessor. We march on unconscious of causes—looking merely to effects, and their endless ramifications. All of us look *forward*; we leave the past, and stretch beyond into the future—even the old in years and experience gamble with life, trusting to "chance"—that impossible thing—for a blessing and success. Ignatius knew not what he had to endure, ere he should reach the goal:—but his resolution was taken. His first idea was to set off on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, clothed in a sack, fasting on bread and water, lying on the hard ground, seeking for his transient dwelling some frightful solitude‡—"a darksome place." This was in the year 1521, when Luther was enjoying his delightful Patmos in the castle of Wartburg, protected and solaced (after the Diet of Worms) by the Duke Frederick,—basking in the bright sun of day which visited him by times at morn, and listening to the song of the nightingale perched on his window, greeting him as a friend, or soothing his heart with the sound of his flute, so cheering in his unrest—as constantly his companion as the Bible, which he was then translating into German.§ So far the Catholic Audin; but it was also from this spot, in a series of mournful but eloquent letters to various persons, that he unfolded the sad thoughts which came over him in his solitude—

* Bouhours.

† Pilgrim's Progress.

‡ Bouhours.

§ See Audin, Hist. de Luther, c. xiv. for an interesting description of Luther's sojourn at Wartburg. Also D'Aubigné, Hist. of the Ref. ii. 277; Mosheim, Hist. ii. 27, and Hazlitt, Life of Luther, p. 100, *et seq.* This is perhaps the most interesting account of all. Mr. Hazlitt deserves great praise for this book. It is immeasurably superior to Michelet's affair. See also Cox's Life of Melancthon, p. 152, *et seq.*

eremo meo, as he writes,—“his region of the air”—“the region of birds,” or “from amidst birds which sing sweetly on the branches of the tall trees, and praise God night and day with all their might,” or “from the mountain,” and “from the isle of Patmos;” and yet shaking anon his terrible mane, and with a roar that could find an echo in the thousand hills of Fatherland, crying to the spirits that seemed asleep in the day of labor: “What art thou doing now, my Philip?” he writes to Melancthon. “Prayest thou for me? As to myself, I sit gloomy all the day long. I place before my eyes the figure of the church, and I see these words of Psalm lxxxix.: *Wherfore hast thou made all men in vain?* Oh God! how horrible a form of the anger of God is this abominable rule of the antichrist of Rome! I hate the hardness of my heart, which does not dissolve in torrents of tears, bewailing the children of my slaughtered people. There is not one among them who rises up, who puts himself in the front for God’s sake, who makes of himself a rampart for the house of Israel in this day of desolation and anger. O reign of the pope, filth of ages! God have mercy upon us.”

To the future anxiously looked Luther in his Patmos: to the past musingly gazed Ignatius in his solitude, with the Flowers of the Saints around him. Ignatius admired in these saints-errant that absolute dependence on Providence which made them wander from one end of the world to the other without any provisions. With astonishment he contemplated the holy denizens of solitude; and especially the anchorets of Palestine and Egypt; men of quality covered with rough haircloths, their precious rings and ornaments of gold discarded for heavy chains of iron; their pampered bodies macerated with fasting; their eyes by beauty fascinated, and by sleep delightfully refreshed, now weary with excess of watching, and by tears bitterly scalded; habituated to lordly halls, with pomp and merriment, now buried alive in frightful deserts, horrible caverns, whither roaring throng their natural indwellers—savage beasts dislodged by the men of penance! “These men,” said Ignatius, “who have treated their innocent flesh with much barbarity, have they any other nature than I have? Why then do I not what they have done?” The thought of his Dulcinea had withheld his answer to the stirring appeal. It had diverted his musings from the saints-errant to the knights-errant of chivalrous renown. But the sun of chivalry was set in the clouds of gunpowder. War was no longer a pastime. Battle was no longer a joke. The fun of the thing was gone for ever. Back, therefore, from knight-errantry to saint-errantry the broken-down warrior recoils. From embattled paladins to canonised saints he turned analogically musing. “Those,” said he, “have indeed protected the oppressed, defended the honor of ladies, overcome enchantments, put armies to the rout, dissipated fleets, cleft down giants, saved empires, conquered kingdoms; but the saints have given sight to the blind, speech to the dumb, hearing to the deaf, and health to the sick; they have restored the lame, cured lepers, reanimated the dead limbs of paralytics, tamed monsters, killed dragons, serpents, crocodiles; traversed, like wild beasts, vast plains of air; passed on foot

through the waves of the sea; made springs arise amidst the barren earth, given sweetness to bitter waters, walked through devouring flames untouched; eat poisoned meats and drank poisoned drinks without injury; foretold the future, read hearts, raised the dead, cast out devils, triumphed over hell, and conquered heaven.* Glory," added he, "for which I have a passion so ardent, was the end which both the one and the other of these heroes proposed to themselves. For glory they have undertaken such difficult adventures, borne so many fatigues, encountered so many dangers, braved hunger, thirst, and the inclemencies of the weather, hated their own flesh, despised life, and defied death. But what have these paladins gained as the reward of all their glorious labors, so boasted of in the annals of chivalry? Empty glory, which they enjoyed but a moment! Glory, which will not perhaps reach to future generations; which, however splendid, and however diffused, even to the extremities of the earth, will last only to the end of time. Histories, brass, and marble, at most, will preserve their memory among men; but these illustrious monuments will perish with the world, and this glory will perish with them,—but the glory of the saints will eternally endure. What then can I do better," concluded Ignatius, "than fight like them under the banner of spiritual chivalry, since it has so many advantages over the temporal."†

His resolution being thus taken, he hesitated not a moment on the choice of the examples he should follow. St. Dominic and St. Francis of Assyse presented themselves immediately to his mind—one as the spiritual Orlando, the other as the spiritual Amadis de Gaul. The difficulty of imitating these sublime heroes did not affright him; his courage made him think all things possible; and then it was that he cried out in the ardor of his zeal: "Why may I not undertake what St. Dominic achieved? Why can I not do what St. Francis performed?" Prayer and repentance, however, were the prescribed beginnings of sanctity; so Ignatius, to conform to the rule as he conceived it, passed all his nights in prayer and weeping for his sins. Having risen one night, as usual, to give free course to his tears, he prostrated himself before an image of the virgin, and consecrating himself to the service of Mary, with sentiments of the most tender affection, swore to her an inviolable fidelity. This was too much for Satan. Immediately Ignatius (according to his own account, of course), heard a horrible noise—the house shook—all the casements of his windows were shattered to pieces. It was the devil, who, enraged to see himself abandoned by our hero, paid him a visit of expostulation. Foreseeing what Ignatius would one day become, the fiend would have wished to destroy him under the ruins of the castle. But Ignatius let fly a huge sign of the cross at the devil, who retreated in dismay. Ever after, they showed the breach which the devil made in retiring, for it never could be repaired, because of the insupportable stench that exhaled from it, and prevented approach. On this incident Valderrama flourishes to admi-

* Even in the *modern* saint-biographer, Alban Butler, you will find, everywhere, examples of these prodigious miracles.

† Hist. de l'admirable Don Inigo, i.

ration. "When it came first," says he, "into the mind of Ignatius to quit his military employment, the house wherein he was, shook, the walls were shattered, with all the beams and rafters; insomuch, that all those who were in it left it; and as it happens when in some sulphurous mountain a fiery fountain bursting forth, there is an immediate eruption of flames; so when that internal fire, which pent up in the young soldier was cold, and, as it were, frozen in respect to things divine, grew more powerful, it so broke out into flames, that a thousand terrors, a thousand astonishments, a thousand combustions, were the consequence thereof—never was there any *Aetna*, any fiery mountain, that did the like."*

Be sparing of your astonishment. If you be a phrenologist, your organ of wonder will have endless exercise in the history of the Jesuits; if you read your Testament, the Acts of the Apostles (chap. ii.) will not be the only part of which you will be reminded in the lives of Jesuit-saints immortal;—all history, sacred and profane, lends similitudes to the Jesuit-mind for the exaltation of its heroes. Its classic and devout diction seems to have necessitated the appropriation of classic and sacred incidents to spin the dazzling web. If hell was enraged, Heaven sang, "O be joyful," we are literally told, at this stupendous conversion. "The Virgin Mother of God," says Bartoli, in proof of having received the offering which he had made of himself to her, "appeared to Ignatius one night whilst in prayer, bearing the infant Jesus in her arms, and with familiar fondness remained some time before him, letting him see how she came to satiate him with a sight of her."†

This interview was followed by a stupendous deprivation—the total removal of all concupiscence from the feelings of Ignatius. Never after did it presume to enter his heart; these horrible feelings vanished for ever. The favor has been vouchsafed to very few saints, *pochissimi santi*: Ignatius had it in so sublime a degree, that from this time forward, as if his flesh was dead within him, or he had lost all sense for the impressions of concupiscence, he never after felt even an involuntary emotion! *non ne provò mai più ne anco involontario movimento.*‡ Well might the Jesuit exclaim that Ignatius "was astonished to see himself transformed into another man."§

Enough, decidedly, to cheer the convert in his gigantic enterprise. How light, then, seemed the terrible deeds of sainted heroes. With his celestial favor, and his robust constitution, could he not do what so many saints did with delicate complexions? Could he not, like St. Hillarion, take four figs a day for his nourishment at sunset; or, like

* Ribaden., Nieremb., Maff., Bartoli, Bouhours, Vald. in Canon. S. Ignat. *Imago*, Hist. de Dom Inig., Pyrotech. Loy.

† "Ma se l'inferno arrabbiò, all'incontro giubbildò il Paradiso, e la Vergine Madre di Dio, in fede d'aver gradita l'offerta, che di sè le avea fatta, un'altra notte, mentre egli veggiava in orazione, gli comparve con in braccio il bambino Jesù, e con sembiante d'affabile domestichezza, buona pezza gli stette innanzi, lasciandosi mirare, come venuta a saziarlo della sua vista."—Bartoli, lib. i. c. 6. Also, all the biographers triumphantly.

‡ Bartoli, l. i. c. 6.

§ Bouhours, on another occasion, l. i.

St. Apollonius, live on raw herbs, such as brute beasts graze upon; or, like St. Pacomius, sleep on a stone; or, like St. Zuirard, sit in the trunk of a hollow tree, environed on all sides with pointed stakes; or take no rest at all, like St. Dorothy the Theban; or perch on a high pillar, forty cubits high, like Simon the Styliste? Could he not bend the knee two hundred times a day like St. Guingale; pray three hundred times a day like St. Paul the anchoret; or, after the fashion of St. Policrone, offer up his prayers with the root of a huge oak on his shoulders? What! will he, who with so much constancy suffered such cruel torments only to be enabled to wear a Morocco boot tight on his leg, refuse to suffer less to become a great saint? Can he not keep himself cramped in a cage, placed on the ledge of a rock, suspended in air, like St. Baradat and St. Thalellus? The fires of concupiscence are extinguished, but still, by way of a *coup de grâce*, can he not throw himself naked into a swarm of flies, like St. Macarius of Alexandria; or into a heap of thorns and briars, like St. Benedict; or into water in the middle of winter, like St. Adhelm and St. Ulric; or into frost and snow, like the seraphic St. Francis? What hinders him from giving himself a thousand blows a day, as did St. Anthelm; or even from imitating the great St. Dominic of the buckler, who gave himself 3000 lashes every week, repeating the psalter twenty times right through? O blessed Hagiology of Rome! how inexhaustible thou art in resources for thy maniacs and demoniacs of devotion!

With such examples, in the Flowers of the Saints, before his hot imagination, well might Ignatius compare temporal knight-errantry with the spiritual, and give the preference to the latter. From admiration of the former, he naturally passed to a greater admiration of the latter in his altered circumstances, and from great admiration he hurried to imitation. His resolution gained strength by a slight resistance which, we are assured, came from his family. All the circumstances in the life of Ignatius are made to *tell*, cleverly devised to influence peculiar minds: so we have on this occasion presented before us Don Garcia, the saint's brother, trying to dissuade him from his resolution. The speech is given after the manner of the ancients, and the saint's reply, in like manner, admirably suited to the trained lips of any youth dissuaded by his friends from entering the society of Jesus. You may be sure that *none* of the biographers omit *this* incident. It was applicable at all times of the "celebrated society." Ignatius gave the first example. Under pretext of paying a visit, the spiritual Quixote mounted on horseback, and left the castle of his ancestors for ever. He paid his respects to his old general, the Duke of Najare; dismissed his attendants on some pretext again, we are expressly told, and took the road for Montserrat (a Benedictine monastery, not far from Barcelona)* ripe for adventure.†

* Bart., Maff., Bouh., all the biographers gloriously.

† Before you proceed, perhaps you will be interested by the following account of the foundation of the monastery to which Ignatius is going. It will further elucidate the hagiology of Rome, or Roman Spain at all events. It is taken from a very rare book, called the "History of the Miracles performed by the intercession of Our Lady

It was on the eve of the Annunciation, March 24, 1522, that Ignatius mingled amongst the pilgrims hastening to the shrine, the miracle-working image of the Virgin: Our Lady of Montserrat. The Virgin had blessed him with her presence: he now made a vow of perpetual chastity, "in order to render himself agreeable to the eyes of the Virgin before whom he was about to appear,"* and "to ratify the grace which he had received in the previous apparition."† He fell in with a Moor, an infidel Mohammedan, of the race proscribed by Ferdinand; a miserable remnant of those who tarried in the land to see the last of their hopes vanish for ever, and curse the Christian banner, triumphant and persecuting, as it proudly licked the breeze from the walls of Grenada. The travellers began to converse. Ignatius (his heart being full) spoke of his destination, the shrine of the Virgin. A dispute arose: the infidel denied the virginity of Mary, after giving birth to a child—a mere quibble of words—but enough to rouse the indignation of the converted Caballero. He warmed apace. The Moor was prudent, and left the champion behind. His flashing eye doubtless preluded the flashing

of Montserrat." The first count of Barcelona had a daughter—a most accomplished beauty—who was possessed by the devil. Her father carried her to a hermit, named brother John Guerin, and surnamed the holy man: he conjured him by his prayers to chase away the fiend that possessed her. This was done; but, for fear lest the devil should enter again into that beautiful body, the count, by the advice of the same devil, left his daughter nine days with the holy man, who fell in love with her, ravished the maiden, and cut her throat . . . Guerin went to Rome to ask pardon for these two execrable crimes: he confessed himself to the pope, who, struck with horror at the recital, ordered him, by way of penance, to return to Montserrat, walking upon his hands and feet, and never to speak or stand upright, till an infant of the age of three or four months old should bid him rise, and tell him our Lord had pardoned his sins. Seven years after, the Count of Barcelona, hunting on the mountain of Montserrat, found in a cavern a man, hairy like a bear, and walking upon his hands and feet. They took him alive, and carried him to Barcelona, where they kept him in a dungeon of the castle, chained like a wild beast. Some days after this, the count gave a solemn feast on occasion of a child's being born to him. The guests, having heard some talk of the hairy man, desired to see him. He was accordingly brought into the banqueting hall at the same moment that the child, whose birthday they were celebrating, and who was but three or four months old, was brought in his nurse's arms. The child had no sooner cast his eyes on the new Lycaon, than he cried out with a loud and distinct voice, "Stand upright, brother John Guerin, for God has pardoned thy sins." He immediately rose up, and in an erect posture related his whole history to the count, who ratified his pardon, saying, "Since God has pardoned thy sins, I pardon thee also with all my heart. But," added he, "I desire to know where you have buried my daughter, that I may have her body brought to Barcelona, and interred in the tomb of her ancestors." Guerin showed the place where he had buried her; and the ground being opened, to the great astonishment of the spectators, the count's daughter was found alive and ravishingly beautiful. Instead of the wound which the hermit had made when he cut her throat, nothing was to be seen but a red circle, not unlike a scarlet collar. And she told the count, her father, that the Virgin, to whom she had recommended herself, had thus miraculously preserved her. In memory of this surprising miracle, a convent was built in the same place for ladies, over whom the count's daughter was made abbess, and brother Guerin was appointed their confessor and director. Near this place was found an image of the Virgin, sparkling with rays of light, and perfuming the adjacent parts with sweet odors. In attempting to carry it away, it was found impossible to remove it. Judging by this prodigy that she was resolved to remain in the place where the daughter of the Count of Barcelona had been interred, they built there the monastery of Our Lady of Montserrat, and placed in it this image, of which they recount so many miracles, before which St. Ignatius is about to perform a ceremony, after tempting, or having an adventure. *Apud "De Selva."*

* Bouhours, &c. &c.

† Ibid. &c. &c.

blade, uneasy in its scabbard. Ignatius followed, champing the blasphemy, which he deemed worthy of death. Heaven seemed to demand the Mohammedan's blood. He hesitated, we are told, and left it to Heaven and his steed to decide, by dropping the bridle, resolved to kill the Moor, if the horse should follow the blasphemer. The animal turned off, we are told, actually into a worse road, and thus saved the Mohammedan.* It was the fear of transgressing the laws of chivalry that induced Ignatius to let his horse or mule decide the matter: for, by those laws, he was bound to punish the high delinquent and disrager of his lady. There would have been nothing to wonder at, had he killed the Moor. In spite of the deep notions of spirituality attributed to him so absurdly by his biographers,† it is evident that his ideas of divinity and morality were the haziest imaginable. If his enthusiasm was not running mad, his chivalry was certainly not allayed by the assault of the devil, and the familiar greeting of the Virgin. In fact, I do not think it proven that Ignatius really spared the Moor: if he did not kill the infidel, that result did not, perhaps, depend either upon his will or the mercy of his ass. However, such a miraculous guidance had, in a manner, occurred before; for in the year 1136, about two hundred thousand crusaders, commanded by Emico, Clarebald and Thomas, abandoned themselves to the conduct of a goat and a goose, whom they believed to be divinely inspired, to conduct them from Hungary to Jerusalem, as we are gravely told in the *Chronicles of the Holy City*.‡

Being arrived at the town, which stands at the foot of the mountain, he bought a coat of coarse cloth, a rope to serve him as a girdle, a gourd, a pair of sandals, and a great cloak; and placing this furniture of a religious warrir on his saddle-bow, soon the "gentle knight was pricking on the plain," to the shrine of his lady. He climb the sacred hill, and reached the monastery. There he found a holy Father, a Frenchman, a man of great austerity and devotion, whose duty it was to shrieve the pilgrims. He had the pleasure of listening to the darksome catalogue of the Caballero's transgressions, which required three days for the transfer—not without many interruptions by bitter groans and similar tears. After his confession he gave his rich garments to a beggar, and being stripped to the shirt, he donned the accoutrements of the new order of knighthood which he was founding, in great jubila-

* All the biographers marvellously.

† I mean where they explain the pious process of his conversion. On the present occasion, however, they sadly contradict their former fine discourse. Bartoli, as well as Bouhours, who follows him in general, pointedly alludes to the saint's moral obliquity on this occasion. Bartoli flatly calls him "an unexperienced novice, who as yet did not well distinguish between the sentiments of a Christian and the impulses of a knight"—"inesperto novizio in cui ancora non si distinguevan bene i dettami di Christiano, e gli spiriti di cavaliere." L. i. 9. Certainly if Hasenmüller may be credited in spite of his acrimony, the Moor was truly fortunate if he escaped. By his account, stated to be from Bobadilla, a Jesuit, Ignatius was as cruel and blood-thirsty as he was chivalric. "Bobadilla, unus ex primis Jesuitarum patribus, fatetur eum fuisse hominem armis castrisque assuetum, et tam truculentâ animi ferocitate præditum, ut quemvis obvium, etiam caprinam ob lanam sibi resistentem, gladio vel hastâ transverberare fuerit ausus."—*Hist. Jesuit. Ordin.* p. 12.

‡ *Les Chroniques de Jerusalem*, lib. i. apud "De Selva," *Hist. de Dom Inigo.*

tion of heart, devoutly kissing the penitential sack a thousand times, girding his loins, hanging his gourd at his side, and, pilgrim-staff in hand, he passed the live-long night before his Lady's altar, alternately kneeling and standing, but always praying; whilst he spent the indispensable "Vigil at Arms," as the paladins called it, according to the usages of ancient chivalry,—being now after his own invention.

At the break of day he hung up his sword and dagger on a pillar near the Virgin's altar, as ■ standing memento of his election, and in such exultation as may be conceived but not expressed, he set off, with bristling resolves, to Manreza—then a little obscure town not far from Montserrat, but since rendered extremely interesting and extravagantly famous by our knight of the Virgin, for the penance he there performed —a penance which is with reason more extolled than that of Amadis de Gaul on the desolate rock, renewed by the admirable Don Quixote de la Mancha, if you remember, on the black mountain.*

Thus is Ignatius fairly or foully, as you please, embarked on his new and unknown ocean of adventure. What is his object? It is difficult to say; but the immediate result will be fasting, prayer, and bodily maceration. The distant result, however, will be something more to the purpose. How far his present design, to rival in austerities the greatest saints before him, will give him greater honor in your estimation, is yet to be decided; but unquestionably there is in the man no common purpose. And it has gripped his heart as a ravening tiger fangs its unresisting prey. Heart and soul the man is in his resolve—and you'll find him in his work. I have a notion, for which I crave your indulgence. It seems to me that Providence, which equipoises the tides of the ocean, alternately ebbing and flowing, and leaving no constant preponderance, permits something of the kind in the religious and political affairs of men and nations. The fortunes of men and of nations perpetually suggest the fact, I mean the *result*, though, having your own notions of good and evil, you will not always attribute prosperity to good, nor adversity to evil. Nothing is more certain than that the notions of good and evil have suffered very remarkable changes among men. In fundamental laws, promulgated on divine authority, a decided change has been, on the same authority, declared imperative. For instance, "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye,

* All the biographers exultingly. Hist. de Dom Inigo, i., &c. &c. The following is curious:—"It is not as yet fully ten yeeres since I was in the same Church of Montserrat, where I saw a Benedictine Monke show very many superstitious Relicks, Idols, and other fopperies, unto Pilgrimes, and other people that were come thither: some upon devotion, and a blind, foolish, superstitious zeale, and others of curiositie (as myself and many more, God forgive us) to see their impostures, deceits, and couzenage, but I could not see Ignatius his Sword and Dagger: whereupon I requested the Sacristan that kept the Relicks, to let me see those two holy Bilbo-blades: he told me that there was never any such Sword or Dagger there. I seeming to wonder at the matter, showed him the Life of Ignatius, written by Peter Ribadeneira, a Spanish Jesuite, in the Spanish tongue, and printed at Valladolid, Anno 1604, where it is said that Ignatius left his Sword and Dagger there. Upon this, the Monke, in a Spanish fustian-fume, cried out *No me se de nada de las mentirias de los Teatinos*: that is to say, I care not for the Jesuites lies or fables."—*Speculum Jesuiticum*, p. 3, printed in 1629. The Jesuits were confounded with the *Theatinos*. That phrase seems to prove the anecdote to be authentic.

and a tooth for a tooth.* But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil : but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." Again : " Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy :† But I say unto you bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you : That ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."—Matt. v. It is to the adorable *motive* here suggested that I call your attention. The most consolatory doctrine of Providence over all, issues from that motive for universal charity and brotherhood. This is not the place to evolve the beautiful theory wherein God's justice and bounty are not at variance. Suffice it to say that whilst God endures man in any state, in every condition of belief and morality, " for he maketh his sun," &c., man, on the contrary, rises up a fierce exterminator on both scores, and in so doing, " thinks he has a good conscience." There have been times when that impulse rushed through humanity like a fiery meteor, or spread like epidemic pestilence. From the general excitation, as it were a general advertisement goes forth—for a savior, a defender. The state of affairs is the standing advertisement. Read through all political histories, you will never find a great, or a slashing, or a crushing mind, needed for any particular mission without his starting to the stage as the imp of incantation. You will find the same result in religious histories. About the same time, in the same year, 1521, when Luther stood forth the champion of Protestantism at the Diet of Worms, Ignatius conceived his resolution to dedicate himself to his spiritual career; and now, when Luther issues from the Wartburg, again to do battle in his cause, Ignatius has taken his vow, and begins his pilgrimage, (not to Jerusalem, forsooth, though he went thither,) but to Rome, whose rampart he is to become. Luther's entry into Wittemberg took place only eighteen days ere Ignatius passed his " Vigil at Arms" before the Virgin of Montserrat. When Luther attacked indulgences, he knew not that he would become the champion of the Protestant movement: when Ignatius resolved to imitate St. Dominic and St. Francis, he had no idea of being an opponent of that movement. Both results followed, however, and an equipoise was effected, after considerable obstructions, of course, in the religious *and* political affairs of humanity. I shall again touch on the subject in the sequel.

We left Ignatius at Manreza. Astonishing it is to see how well he copied the example of the Catholic saints—those dreadful examples of what human nature can do with itself if only impelled by ■ motive. *Any* motive will do to produce the same results in a Catholic Christian, (of old,†) or a *Yogee* of India—those unapproachable ascetics of ■

* Ex. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 20; Deut. xix. 21.

† Lev. xix. 18.

† I say of *old*—but the spirit of ascetic self-torture is not yet dead. In the "Times" paper of Dec. 21, 1847, you may have read the case of a French nun, of Paris, who, by advice of her confessor, constantly wore ■ crucifix with points on its surface, next her naked breast, in which position it was found by the physician who was called in to prescribe when she sank under her secret austerities. At night she slept with it under her back, so as not to lose the dear torment.

pagan god. Under a sense of sin, or thirsting after immortality, or seeking absorption into the Deity as their supreme good, these pagan devotees forsake their homes, and practise the austeries which their cruel superstition inspires and requires. True, the great majority are animated by no such motives. Ambition, vanity, love of admiration, and thirst for fame, and honor, and renown, the hope of being worshipped now, and of being elevated into a divinity after death, may be unquestionably the ruling passions of those who embark in this arduous enterprise; but the result is precisely the same. One man lies on a bed of spikes, or travels to Benares upon shoes whose irons lacerate his flesh. *He* inflicts tortures on his body for the good of his soul.* Another vows to remain standing in a certain position for years, with his hands held up above his head, until the arms wither away from inaction, become fixed and powerless. One carries a cumbrous load, or drags after him a heavy chain, which he sometimes fixes to the most tender part of the body. Another undertakes a long and wearisome pilgrimage from the extreme north of India to Rameeshwarum, in the south; or from the extreme south to Benares, in the north, measuring with his prostrate body the whole extent of the journey. Understand me well; he lays his body lengthwise on the ground at each remove, or drags himself thus, and so he journeys on—poor miserable wretch—how the heart sickens to think of it—on—on—in his dismal pilgrimage he goes, parched with thirst in a burning clime, famished with hunger, a prey to every calamity. Some crawl like reptiles upon the earth for years, or until they have thus made the circuit of a vast empire. Others measure with their bodies the road to Jaganath, or, assuming as nearly as possible the form of a ball, or a hedgehog ensconced in his prickly coat, roll along, like the Indian in Vathek, *teres atque rotundus*, from the banks of the Indus to those of the Ganges, collecting, as they move in this attitude, money to build a temple, to dig a well, or to atone for some secret crime. Some swing before a slow fire in that horrid clime, or hang for a certain time suspended, with their heads downwards, over the fiercest flames.† The legs of the standing penitents swell and become deeply ulcerated; they cannot stand: they lean against a pillow suspended from a tree. Some turn their heads over their shoulders to gaze at the heavens, remain in that posture until it becomes impossible for them to resume the natural position, while, from the twist of the neck, nothing but liquids can pass into the stomach.‡ The Yoge falls prostrate, and continues in fervent devotion until the sun pours down his heat like a furnace. He rises then, and stands on one leg, gazing steadfastly at the sun, whilst fires, each large enough to roast an ox, are kindled at the four corners of the stage on which he exhibits, the penitent counting his beads, and now and then throwing combustible materials into the fire, to increase the flames. Then he bows himself down in the centre of the four fires, keeping his eyes still fixed on the sun. Next, placing himself upright on his head, feet elevated in the

* Campbell, India, p. 55.

† The Hindoos, ii. 57

‡ Oriental Mem. i. 68, 69.

air, he remains for *three hours* in that inverted position. Lastly, he seats himself with his legs crossed, and thus endures the raging heat of the sun and the fires till the end of day.* At night, how fares this voluntary penitent? He stands erect, up to his neck in a river, or tank; and why? In order that thus the juices of his body may be dried up, and he may obtain emancipation from his passions and his sins.† Some bury themselves in like manner in the ground, or even wholly below it, leaving only a little hole through which they may breathe. Others tear themselves with whips, or chain themselves for life to the foot of a tree.‡ Some stand in the midst of frost and snow, that the cold may seize on their vitals: others throw themselves from some terrible precipice, to perish in pursuit of a phantom and a lie.§ In the midst of the wild woods, caves, rocks, or sterile sands, sharing the habitations of the beasts of the forest, and feeding on the roots of the desert, you may see these resolute penitents, mostly naked, their long hair matted into ropes, intertwined with other locks from the heads of other saints long in the sepulchre, falling confusedly over their bodies, which it sometimes nearly covers, reaching the ground on all sides. In this state they are more like wild beasts than men. Their outstretched fingers, armed in many cases with nails of twenty years' growth, look like so many extraordinary horns, whilst their elf-locks, full of dust, and never combed, stream in the wind in a manner strangely savage and horrible to behold.|| And yet not enough. What means yon crowd innumerable, round a pole, erect and ready for something? 'Tis a swinging festival. From amidst the crowd comes forth a Sannyasi, or Indian penitent. The multitude applaud the holy man. He has vowed perpetual silence. And now look up! A hook is thrust into the tendons of his back—he is suspended in the air, and swung round and round, to propitiate the favor of some exasperated deity.¶ And the hideous festival of Jagannath, or Juggernaut, who has not heard of the countless multitudes flocking from all the most distant extremities of India, in a pilgrimage in which they starve, and pine, and perish, to feed the vultures that hover in readiness above their path, dogs and jackalls; to strew the Aceldama with their whitening bones; or, should they linger to the end, with a vow to honor their god when his tower of Moloch shall roll its wheels over their bodies, willingly stretched in the bloody path, and crushed to atoms?** Old as humanity is self-torture; and yet some "good" is its object. The Anchoret of India subdued his passions, acquired the habit of contemplation, and mortified or macerated his body. He eradicated the three great propensities as to land, money, and women. He also extirpated all ordinary prejudices concerning castes, distinctions, and honors. His wish was to extinguish the most natural feelings, and even the instincts implanted in us by nature for our preservation. He required of his dis-

* Mill, India, i. 353.

† Campbell, India, p. 55.

‡ Hist. of Brit. India, i. 354.

§ Campbell, *ubi suprà*.

|| Oriental Mem., i. 69; Campbell, *ubi suprà*.

¶ Campb., p. 56.

** See Buchanan, Christ. Researches, for a heart-rending account of this festival, p. 19, *et seq.* Hindoos, p. 217, *et seq.*

ciples to be insensible to heat and cold, to wind and rain, and to eat without reluctance not only the most offensive disgusting scraps, but even *things of which nature herself shows her utmost abhorrence.** After all you have read of these pagans, the exploits of the Christian Ignatius will seem trivial indeed.

The knight of the Virgin arrived at Manreza, and went to lodge at the hospital of that city, and felt an excess of satisfaction at seeing himself in the number of beggars, its inmates. To conform himself to their manner of life, he begged his bread from door to door; and that no one might be able to discover his quality by a certain air, which persons well born preserve even in rags, he studied the gross manners of those with whom he lived at the hospital, and forced himself not only to imitate them, but even to improve upon what he had remarked most loathsome in them; he succeeded in this attempt to a miracle. His filthy hair hung in disorder, and concealed one half of his face; his beard as long, as much neglected, and as filthy as his hair, covered the other half; this, with his nails, which he suffered to grow to a frightful length, so much disguised him, that he had rather the appearance of a bear than a human creature. He was indeed so frightful, and so ridiculous at the same time, that when he appeared, the children would point him out to each other, and follow him through the streets with loud outcries: the women, of whom he asked charity, took flight, scared at his horrible figure; the gay made him their jest, and the grave were of the opinion that he ought to be sent to a mad-house. He suffered all their insults with marvellous patience, and even affected to be more stupid than he really was, that he might excite more wonder, and have more occasions of mortifying those emotions of pride and self-love which had not yet ceased to intrude amidst these strange follies. He fasted every day on bread and water, except Sunday, when he eat a few herbs, boiled and mixed with ashes. He girded his loins with an iron chain, wore under his coarse gown a rough hair-cloth, and, in imitation of St. Dominic, gave himself the discipline or lash three times a day; and when he went to the church of Our Lady at Villardodis, at some distance, he encircled himself with a wreath of rough and prickly briars, to tear and transfix his flesh. But this method of honoring his Lady is far surpassed by the Sannyasi, at the festival of his Kâli, or Kaluma, a female deity of India. On this occasion, the devout worshipper pierces his tongue with spits and canes; thrusts sharp instruments through his sides; infixes needles in his breast; pierces the skin of his forehead, and inserts an iron rod in a socket attached to his person, suspending a lamp, which is kept burning all night. In this condition, he dances before his idol.† At the hospital, Ignatius sought out the most irritable and loathsome patients, and performed with most eagerness and alacrity the most disgusting offices. He not only handled them, took them in his arms, made their beds, washed them, cleaned them, but, more than once, he even applied his mouth to their ulcers,

* Dubois, Description, p. 330, *et seq.*

† Ward, i. 353. The Hindoos, ii. 57.

and sucked the purulent discharge ; and this he did, copying examples in the Lives of the Saints. Meanwhile, he would watch all night, and used no other bed but the bare earth. He spent seven hours in prayer every day ; and though he had learnt only vocal prayer, he prayed mentally, without uttering a word, and remained whole hours immovable as ■ statue.*

Four months in this course of penance he passed without the devil's bestirring himself to disturb the joy he tasted in it : but, says the sage who transmitted to posterity the great actions of our hero, this evil spirit observing him one day in the hospital, pleased amidst the filth of this miserable abode, could not endure such an excess of humility in ■ man bred up in the palace of ■ king. "What hast thou to do in this hospital?" was the imp's appeal ; "what infamy in a man of thy quality to take upon him the life of a beggar? Are dirt and filth the essence of holiness?" very wisely, but cunningly, it seems, asked the devil. "And canst thou not become good without suffering thyself to be devoured alive with vermin? Art thou not ashamed thus to degrade thy nobility, and dishonor thy illustrious house? Heaven, which bestowed on thee a generous heart, was willing that thou shouldst be a holy knight, but not a miserable vagabond. Quit then this horrid place. Go, show thy virtues in the court or the army ; thy example will there produce more advantage than in an hospital. One such man will suffice to reform a whole city. At court nobles will imitate thee, but here children make game of you." These thoughts, for such of course they were, found immediately some access to the mind of Ignatius : suddenly he conceived a disgust and horror for the wretched existence he was leading—amid the loathsome patients of the hospital, its filth and harassments. That was a trying ordeal. How shall he pass through the fire of that temptation?—for such the spiritualists, the ascetics call it. And why ? Because it militates with what they lay down as indispensable means of salvation. They have fashioned a God after their own hearts, and their God delights in the fantastic and the horrible. In the main, the thoughts of Ignatius were sensible, rational, and, therefore, in accordance with pure religion. To visit the sick, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, are things sensible, rational, and religious, and most consolatory to us all when we can do them. But to suck ulcers ! And to imitate a Yoge—to imitate the pagans who, with like intentions, eat and drink what cannot be named,† or the Roman saints, whom Ignatius copied ! Considered in itself, his attendance and services to the sick are in accordance with pure religion : he performed gratuitously what others are compelled to ask money for, it being their avocation. With pure benevolence, like that of a Howard, he would have merited our admiration and applause : but

* All the biographers ; but Maffeus is very concise on the subject, and Bouhours lops off much of Bartoli's luxuriance of description. Levier or "*De Selva*," however, gathers largely from Ribadeneyra and Nieremberg, and shows up the mock-Sannysai to admiration. It is the work of no admirer, but fair withal. Bartoli writes from the archives of the saint's canonisation—the humbug attestation *on oath* usual on such occasions. I shall have a word to say on the subject in its proper place.

† Dubois, *Description, &c., p. 331.*

he was working for "merits"—for salvation-payment, and seeking to rival the "saints." He may have been benevolent by nature, but benevolence was not his motive here. Pure religion, therefore, makes us shrink with disgust from the sight of a man deceiving himself with horrid mockeries of sublime virtue, human and divine. Well might he feel qualms of conscience, and translate them into "temptations of the devil;" and rush from the thoughts of his better nature into more frightful practices, "to conquer the devil that assailed him, and nature which betrayed him!"* Forsooth it would rather seem that the "devil's" suggestions were *intended* to drive him farther in his horrible career. I submit the idea to the spiritualists and ascetics.

After such a gain of merits and virtue, *di tal guadagno di meriti, e di virtù*, we are told, Ignatius decamped from the hospital. It had got wind, how, we are not informed, but by the *devil* of course, as they affirm, that the poor unknown, whom all laughed at, was a man of quality doing penance, and who, to conceal the splendor of his family, had stripped himself of his rich clothes, and exchanged them for those of a poor man. If, instead of the devil, they told us that Ignatius, in his fit of disgust at the hospital, had, in an unguarded moment of irritation with the abusive patients, let out who it was that served and cleaned them for their ingratitude, the thing would be quite natural and excusable too; but the devil and Providence answer all the purposes of fanatics, the ignorant, the designing. Not through the ranks of scoffers, and jesters, and hooters now walked Ignatius. The fact had given new eyes, new consciences—aye, charity to the gaping multitude. *Then* they *discovered* the noble air under the hideous mask of poverty. *Then* were his greatest admirers those who had mocked him before. Was this not the sweet fulfilment of the knight's desires? Is it uncharitable to say that he must have exulted inwardly as he so soon beheld the results of his "merits and virtue?" One biographer tells us that he took flight on this very account; another, that he decamped in order to conquer the devil and his nature, conspiring against him in the disgusting hospital. In this contradiction, the state of his case, the workings of the human heart in such a case, must lead us to a right conclusion. And now pass on to the cavern where Ignatius resolves to perform the second act of his tragi-comedy, to be rehearsed subsequently by his own lips to his admiring disciples. He has already copied and rivalled thirty thousand, at least, of the glorious saints whose lives he has been reading. He has done their deeds, if he has fallen short of ■ Yoge or Sannyasi. But his imitative faculties have been hitherto confined to the *social* saints, if they can bear the name, the saints of human society. His attention is now called to a different class,—the awful Fathers of the Desert, the Sannyasis of the Roman calendar, of whose frightful devotion the very rocks of Thebais must still be eloquent if there be "sermons in stones." The anchorets of Egypt defy Ignatius of Manreza, and the knight of our Lady picks

* "Per vincere in un colpo due nemici, l'inferno che lo assaltava, ■ la sua natura che lo tradiva."—*Bartoli*, lib. i. 11.

up the gauntlet. St. Anthony, with his temptations and beautiful devils, will meet him in the tournament. The cavern was at the foot of a hill, cut in the living rock, dark, and fashioned like a tomb. Had it been designed by Ignatius, it could not have suited him better. Rough, and ragged, and splintered was the approach; every bruise—every gash he received was a merit. Briars and thorns blocked up the entrance. He had torn himself through them, and exulted at the pain. On all sides round a dismal wilderness insured him freedom from all intrusion, excepting that of the devil. And oh, how entrancing! In the side of the cavern which faced Montserrat there was a cleft in the rock, through which he could see and salute our Lady—*per dove si puo vedere e riverire nostra Signora*. She would thus be the lady of the lists, the umpire, and guerdon-giver, in the tournament. His fervor redoubled, and dreadful were his self-inflections. He watched and watched till he conquered sleep; four or five times a-day he gave himself a shower of blows with an iron chain, fetching blood; more than seven hours he prayed on his knees; and, after the example of St. Jerome in the Wilderness, struck himself violently on the breast with a flint. Add to this his pains from the hair-cloth, his chain-girdle, the vernal frost, against which he found no defence in the open cavern, and but little in the sack which covered him: he continued three or four days without taking any nourishment, and when his strength failed him, he eat some bitter roots which he found near his cavern, or a bit of the musty bread which he had brought from the hospital.

The result you expect naturally followed. The wonder is, that he lived through the ordeal. His strength failed: his disordered stomach tormented him with bitter and continual pains: sudden faintings deprived him of his senses. In this condition, almost lifeless, he was found at the entrance of his cavern, by some persons who went in search of him, having discovered his retreat. A little nourishment, which they forced him to take, having restored him from his swoon, he would have regained the bottom of his grot, but, in spite of his reluctance, they carried him back to the hospital of Manreza.

One word of reflection on this curious affair. Perhaps you do not know what hunger is—I mean practically; and perhaps you do not know what fasting is—fasting in right good earnest—fasting to punish the rebel flesh and put down concupiscence. It varies with the temperament somewhat in the intensity of its effects; but continuous fasting, with the set-purpose of maceration in view, constantly produces the very result deprecated. With the body all the faculties of mind are weakened—will, memory, and understanding. But that propensity in you, which you may have indulged, or which is naturally stronger than the rest, will still have its modicum of strength more than the rest, and your will (whereby your moral strength is imparted) being weakened, how can you more effectually resist your propensity by fasting? In fact, fasting redoubled the temptations of St. Jerome, who was naturally lascivious; and it is proverbial that we should not ask a favor of a crusty man before his breakfast. Give to the man of strong passions moderate meals and plenty of work; diminish the supplies and idleness

of an alderman *corpulento e grasso*: but let your fasting be only from sin, as much as possible.

Ignatius, however, took another view of his case, though exactly to the same end, against fasting. It is the *devil* again who speaks; there's no doing without the devil in Jesuitism. "How canst thou," said he to him, "how canst thou support a life so austere during *seventy* years which thou hast yet to live?" This was giving him a pretty long run in store—*rather* too long: but Bartoli takes off just twenty years, and reduces the term to fifty.* Need I give his reply? Enough, alas! of the pernicious mockeries of religion which the Jesuits have debited to the world. Tired and harassed with the recital, let us advance into more tangible facts, on which contemporaneous history will shed enlightenment. A rapid glance at his career will, however, be necessary to enable us to appreciate the man and his work.

Ignatius was tried: he had his temptations: the devil spoke to him internally: the devil's speeches are recorded. But he triumphed; and if he has not said that angels came and ministered unto him, still he affirmed, according to the biographers, that, whilst rehearsing the "office" or prayers of the Virgin Mary, he was elevated in spirit, and saw, as it were, a figure clearly representing to him the most holy Trinity.† Thus he was made chaste by a kind of necessity, and he is now a believer without the necessity of written revelation.‡ Disease, despair succeeded, but heavenly consolations were not denied. He once had a rapture of eight days' duration. They thought him dead, and were on the point of burying him, when he opened his eyes, and with a tender and devout voice exclaimed, "Ah! Jesus!" "No one knows," continues the same authority, "the secrets which were revealed to him in that long ravishment; for he would never tell; and all that could ever be extracted from him was, that the graces with which God favored him were inexpressible."§ It is asserted that Ignatius received thirty visits from Christ and the Virgin.||

Enough has surely been recorded to show forth the results of conversion in the sixteenth century. In Jesuit-books these thrilling incidents are so sweetly worded, that they penetrate to the heart without resistance, and provided we have the peculiar grace requisite, our admiration for the spirit of Jesuitism is overwhelming. These details, which are given as from the saint's own lips, were believed in all their

* "Quā fieri potest ut duram hanc . . . vitam *septuaginta* annos ad quos victurus es, perseras?"—Ribadeneyra, *Vit. Ignat.* lib. i. c. vi. "Come avesse cuor di durare *cinquanta* anni che gli rimanevan di vita?"—Bartoli, lib. i. 12.

† Bouhours.

‡ "Quod etsi nulla scriptura mysteria illa fidei doceret."—*Acta Sanct.* Again, "Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverat."—Maff. p. 28. This last passage is erroneously translated by D'Aubigné; thus, "he would have believed them, for God had *appeared* to him." It simply means, "what he knew, God *opening* or revealing unto him;" that is, by immediate revelation. Such errors I find constantly in all works against the Jesuits. The comparison drawn by D'Aubigné between Luther and Ignatius, is amusing, but totally baseless in every point. The *national* characters of the two men did not differ more than their respective individualities. See Hist. of the Reform. iii. 118, *et seq.*

§ Bouhours.

|| Nieremb. San Ignacio.

intensity by the faithful; and a council of Spanish ecclesiastics at Tarragona, declared, that “the holy Virgin, in the sanctuary of Montserrat, conceived to the sacred Ignatius, and having embraced him in her bosom, opened and imparted to him the bowels of her mercy; and in such a manner, being, as it were, enveloped in the womb, she cherished him, and fed him with the food of heaven, and filled him with her divine spirit.”*

The result of these wonderful adumbrations—this Delphic delirium, was the composition of the famous book entitled the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius. From a penitent, equal to the greatest of Christendom, but not of Brahminism, Ignatius would become a teacher unto salvation. The result is natural—is consistent; hence we may dismiss the question, whether Ignatius did or did not appropriate the groundwork of that book from a similar production of the Benedictine monk Cisneros. The application and the use of it are sufficient to demonstrate the method of Jesuit influence. It was given to men as a revelation,—“the book of Exercises was truly written by the finger of God, and delivered to Ignatius by the holy mother of God.”†

This book—or rather the training under its direction—has, we are told, worked miraculous conversions in all times. It consists of a course of meditations extending over four weeks—progressively from the life of worldliness and sin to the perfection of the saints—the temporal foretaste of the joys of heaven. A total seclusion from the affairs of life, is one of the conditions essential to the pilgrimage. Four meditations or contemplations take place daily—the first at day-break, the last at midnight. His spiritual director must be the penitent’s only companion. The solemn silence of the *Chamber of Meditations* was not enough: artificial gloom, frightful pictures of hell, were there to strike terror in the soul through the senses.‡ The penitent brought fierce passions to the ordeal; they were strongly appealed to, though the end of the means was holy. Pride, ambition, love, are not extinguished, but their objects changed; and the imagination is trained to excite mental agitation or mental delight, through the corporeal senses, according to the subjects of meditation and the march of the pilgrimage. In the gloomiest hours we imagine we behold the vast conflagration of hell; we hear its wailings, shrieks, and blasphemies; we smell its smoke, brimstone, and the horrid stench of some sewer of filth and rottenness;§ we taste the bitterest things, such as tears, rancor, the worm of conscience: in fine, we touch, in a manner, those fires by

* Nieremberg, *Vida de S. Ignacio*. “La Virgen Santissima, en aquel sagrado lugar de Monserrate, concibio al sagrado Ignacio, y aviendole abrazado en su gremio, abrio, y communico con el las entrañas de su misericordia . . . y de tal manera estando como embuelto en el viente, le favorecio, y con pasto del cielo le alimento, y lleno con su spirito divino, siendo Ignacio aun nñño, como cerrado en las entrañas de su madre, dava saltos de placer, y muchas vezes estando fuera de si, y levantando sobre si, vio como en un espejo el ineffable misterio de la Santissima Trinidad,” c. xvi.

† “Est enim liber Exercitorum verè digito Dei scriptus, et a beatâ Dei matre sancto Ignatio traditus.”—*Homo Orat. à I. Nouet. S. J.* 1843, in *Direct.*

‡ See Millot, ex-Jesuit, *Elem. de l’Histoire de France*, tome iii. p. 131.

§ “Imaginario etiam olfactu fumum, sulfur, et sentinæ cujusdam, seu fæcis, atque putredinis graveolentiam persentire.” *Ex. v. Hebd. i.*

whose contact the souls of the reprobate are scorched. Thus each meditation, each contemplation, are scenes of a drama—instinct with life: its pains and its pleasures, its vices and its virtues—every corporal sense must perform each its function—metaphorically, at least, to aid the deception. And when from the meditations on human destiny, sin, death, judgment, we come to the contemplation of the more tangible subjects—the Incarnation—all that is most impassioned, most tender in our hearts, must be poured forth in the vividly imagined presence of the Divine Persons—the angel fulfilling his mission, and Mary acquiescing in the work of redemption. We must diligently seek for expressions wherewith we may worthily address each divine person, the Word Incarnate, and his Mother; praying, according to the emotion we shall feel in our hearts, for whatever may aid us to a greater imitation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it were just made man.* Merely to see and hear the personages in contemplation, is trivial: we must, with ■ certain interior taste and smell, relish the suavity and lusciousness of the soul imbued with divine gifts and virtues; and by means of an internal touch, we must feel and kiss the garments, places, footsteps, everything pertaining to them, whence we may derive a greater increase of devotion, or any spiritual gift.†

How sweet and tempting are the baits suspended here! How delicious the odors around, making us ask, Whence come they—these odors? But they are so sweet, so delicious, that poor human nature bribes the judgment to believe them divine: they are so sweet, so delicious!

This is called the “application of the senses” to the uses of the soul.

Towards the end of the second week occurs the famous meditation of “the two Standards,” in which Ignatius sanctified his previous warlike notions, just as he has applied all his natural predilections and refined sensuality to the purposes of salvation in “the application of the senses.”

In this contemplation we behold two camps in battle array—two generals appealing to us, each eager to enlist us in his service. In the rear of each general is his respective city or stronghold. One general is Jesus Christ, his city Jerusalem; the other is Satan, his city Babylon the Great. The latter displays a splendid banner, with the motto, PRIDE, HONOR, RICHES: on the standard of the Redeemer appear the words, POVERTY, SHAME, HUMILITY. “To arms!” is sounded on all sides: we must instantly decide in whose ranks we will fight—shall it be with Satan or with Christ?

Having joined the ranks of the latter, having made the “election” (as it is called), one must learn how to conquer by patience and submission—by non-resistance unto death; these being the arms of our warfare, with the example of Christ before us, his sufferings and death.‡

* Hebd. ii.

† “*Interiore quodam gustu et olfactu sentire quanta sit suavitas et dulcedo animæ, &c. . . per internum tactum attractare, ac deosculari vestimenta, loca, vestigia, cætraque personis conjuncta,*” &c.—Hebd. ii.

‡ Hebd. iii.

From the sadness of these themes we pass to the last week—the Sabbath of this spiritual creation. Then the “glorious mysteries” are contemplated—the Resurrection, Heaven, the Joys of the Saints, Divine Love,—all that is cheering must now make amends for the gloom preceding. As during the former weeks no joyful thought was admitted, so now all sadness must be dispelled. We stand by the sepulchre of Christ, or in the little house of the blessed Virgin; the form, parts, and other peculiarities of which, as a cell or oratory, we examine with diligence, one after another.* Spiritual joy, the thought of glory must then entrance the soul. The light of day must be admitted. In spring and summer we must be cheered by the sight of the verdant foliage and of flowers, or the loveliness of some sunny spot; during winter, by the now seasonable rays of the sun or a fire; and so on, in like manner, with regard to the other befitting delights of body and mind, wherewith we can rejoice with the Creator and Redeemer.†

The principal rules and maxims of religious conduct, throughout these spiritual exercises, are found in the lessons and lives of the ancient fathers of the desert; they are here judiciously chosen, methodically digested, and clearly explained.‡ The manifest object of all is religious perfection according to the saints’ ideas. In the space of a month the soul seems to grow from the bud of repentance to the fruit of salvation. The easy and natural gradations throughout are truly admirable: the perfect adaptation of means to an end is also striking; but the highest praise of original invention is due to Ignatius, if the work be his, for his method, just sketched, of giving intensity to the leading truths of Revelation, by materialising spirituality, as far as imagination can effect this anomaly. By this method the science of the saints penetrates more deeply, mixes itself with all our sentiments and emotions, and we become strong in “faith, hope, and charity,” without being aware of the imperceptible transformations which have been effected in our souls. Need it be added that, as the ultimate object of these exercises is to enable the penitent to choose a state of life—a profession—the chances are very many to one that he will remain amongst those whose method *has* dazzled and charmed and entranced him with joys of heart more intense than usually fall to the lot of plodding Christians, through the dull routine of common-place morality. The spiritual exercises agitate the heart, and bewilder the mind, like strains of melting music mysteriously sounding in the midnight hour. It is hard to resist spiritual impulses in solitude; but harder still when to these are added all the emotions of the passions, which, it is evident, are never permitted to slumber for a moment in the Chamber of Meditations. Finally, a delirium steals over the mind and heart; we feel predestined; above all, we feel that we “can do all things” by holy obedience, having become totally “indifferent to all things in themselves,” considering them merely as far as they conduce to the end for which

* “Speculandum accipiet sepulchri situm, et beatæ Virginis domicilium, cuius formam, partem,” &c.

† Hebd. iv. For a detailed account of the Retreat and Spiritual Exercises, see *The Novitiate*, 2d Edition.

‡ Butler, *Life of Ignatius*.

we were created, and this will be made known to us by our spiritual director, superior, or Father-general.

From this grotto at Manreza Ignatius departed on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He took Italy on his way, and received the pope's blessing. His design was to labor in the conversion of the Turks, as the military knight had battled to subdue them: but the monks established at Jerusalem objected to his interference, and compelled him to return to Europe. Wonders, of course, attended him here, as everywhere else, and are duly recounted by the biographers. Convinced of his ignorance, he resolved to begin his studies: at the age of thirty-three he commenced grammar at Barcelona: but his memory was very defective; he could retain nothing. Logic, physics and divinity confounded his original ideas: though he studied night and day he learnt nothing at all.* He was clogged in the conjugation of the verb *amo*, I love—clinging to the idea, and repeating to himself, "I love—God," or "I am loved—by God." A vow was necessary to wrench his thoughts from heaven: he made the vow at the foot of the altar to continue his studies, and apply to them with greater assiduity. He begged his master to punish him if he failed in his duty, and not to spare him any more than the youngest pupil.[†]

Meanwhile, he lived on the charity of those whom he influenced. Two pious women particularly cared for the saint's temporalities. The name of one is immortalised with that of her protégé. Isabella Rosello is remembered with Ignatius of Loyola: nor is Agnes Pascal, with whom he lodged, consigned to oblivion: his chamber was the scene of a prodigy. Ignatius was discovered at night with his face all on fire, and seemingly raised above the ground, environed with light.[‡]

The same suspension-bridge of rapture had been vouchsafed to Saint Dominic;[§] and the lambent flame had been given to the pagan boy, Rome's future king.^{||}

Ignatius raised a dead man to life. But the saint only prayed for as much life as would enable the suicide to make his confession and receive absolution. The dead man came to life, and died again as soon as he had received absolution![¶]

Indefatigable in his labors, he reaped the harvest of numerous conversions; but the dread Inquisition pounced upon him as a wizard, a magician, a heretic. He escaped with honor amongst the people: he was declared a man, filled with the spirit of God, a successor of the Apostles—the holy man.^{**} Judgment from above was imminent over all who questioned his sincerity. One day he was asking alms: a by-

* Butler.

[†] Bouhours.

[‡] Ibid.

[§] Butler, St. Dom.

^{||} *Puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio nomen fuit caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu.* Liv. lib. i. "A boy, named Servius Tullius, as he lay asleep, in the sight of many persons, had his head all in a blaze." Virgil, also, may have suggested the idea to the classical biographers:—

Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iuli,

Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molli

Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.—Æn. lib. ii.

[¶] Bouhours.

^{**} Ibid.

stander exclaimed ; " May I be burnt, if this man does not merit the flames !" On that very day the unfortunate man was burnt to death by the accidental explosion of a cannon, " as if God," say the Jesuits, " in order to declare the innocence and avenge the honor of Ignatius, would verify the words of Lopez (that was his name) by the very punishment which he had wished himself."* Such tales are full of meaning : the Jesuits can frighten as well as console : terror and consolation often come with the greatest efficacy from the same imposing lips.

More troubles awaited Ignatius : his book of the Spiritual Exercises was denounced : he was examined, and acquitted, but forbidden to preach on the doctrines of Sin until he had studied divinity four years. Dissatisfied with this sentence, he departed from Spain, and arrived at Paris in the year 1528, determined to gain that science which was necessary to give authority to his mission. Possessed with his new ideas, and determined to test their efficacy in the vocation which he had chosen for his new ambition, his difficulties seemed only to increase his ardor and fortify his resolution. Ignatius must have champed the inexorable curb of Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy, thus checking the impulse of his superabundant energies. His metal was misunderstood ; or rather, the " men under authority" treated the enthusiast (such a cool calculator withal !) as " leaders" have ever been treated ; they persecuted the man whom they should have " let alone"—and thus deprive him of that sterling merit which persecution invariably confers. Little cared Ignatius for Orthodoxy, since Orthodoxy cared so little for *him* : a dutiful son of the Church he may have been in the abstract ; but to stop his mouth thus unceremoniously was enough to inspire him with a worse resolution than we find recorded ; there would have been nothing surprising had he turned heretic openly instead of trying another field for his operations. As it was, it proved the best step he could have taken : his persecutors eventually expedited his career ; it was destined that his Society should be born in Paris, to which city he retired from Privilege and canonical Orthodoxy in arms against a poor field-preacher.

Here he suffered much from poverty, and was compelled to wander from place to place for substance. He visited *London* in his peregrinations !

At the college of St. Barbara, whilst prosecuting his studies, Ignatius managed by his dexterity to exchange a public whipping for a public triumph. He had been admonished not to interfere with the studies of the students by his devotional practices : he disobeyed, and the punishment was announced. But by a single interview he operated so effectually on the principal of the college, that, without replying, the latter led him by the hand to the expectant students, all ready for the sign to inflict the penance ; then, throwing himself at the feet of Ignatius, he begged his pardon for having believed the evil reports against him ; and rising, pronounced him a saint !†

This solemn satisfaction at once raised Ignatius to a most desirable

* Bouhours.

† Ibid.

position: he became famous; the grand epoch of his life was at hand; —“ he knew clearly that he was chosen by God to establish a company of apostolic men, and that he was to select companions in the university of Paris.”*

Peter Lefevre, or Faber, was his first convert; Xavier, afterwards a saint, was his next; and Laynez, Salmeron, Bobadilla, Rodriguez,—all famous men in the Society—subsequently enlisted. There was judgment in the selection and prudence in their probation; for Ignatius gave them more than two years to mature their resolution and to complete their studies.

At length, on the 15th of August, 1537, finality was given to the glorious scheme: the determined vow was taken. Montmartre was the scene of the ceremony. The monastery stood on a hill near Paris, consecrated by the blood of martyrs, whence its memorable name.

It was the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, when the church announces and commemorates the Virgin's bodily translation into Heaven on the wings of angels, as represented in pious prints and paintings. It was in a subterraneous chapel where the apostle of France, St. Denys, was beheaded. Lefevre said mass. He was the only priest among them. He gave them the body of the Lord; they eat, and stood, and swore the vow of confederacy. They promised God to go to Jerusalem to convert the Turks; to leave all they possessed in the world, excepting what was necessary for the voyage; but they threw in the remarkable proviso, that in case they could not go to Jerusalem, nor stay there, they would *throw themselves at the feet of the pope.*†

Claudius Lejay, Codure, and Brouet afterwards joined the band, which, with Ignatius, now amounted to ten men, of different natures, of widely different dispositions and attainments, but all with a determined will to attempt “great things,” and withal, devoted to Father Ignatius.

They set out, and reached Italy. Their pilgrimage was at an end; for war having broken out between the Christians and the Turks, the voyage to Palestine was impracticable. Heaven preferred the clever *proviso* of their vow. It was during this journey, and at Vicenza, that Ignatius enjoined his companions to call themselves “the Company of Jesus.” “Because,” said he, “they were to fight against heresy and vice, under the standard of Christ.” A bold and distinctive sign-board was that aspiring appellation; and it was destined to be carp'd at accordingly with pious indignation, but rather inconsistently, for the more honorable and exalted the name we bear, the greater may be our efforts nobly to wear it. Ships were called “the Most Holy Trinity;” colleges have divided between them the name of the Redeemer; everybody calls himself a *Christian*. It was a bold idea in Ignatius to select the sacred name for his company; and that is all, except that it answered most admirably the purpose of attraction and renown. Soon other names will be given to the followers of Ignatius, according to their attributes, real or supposed. They will be called the Servants of Jesus Christ; the Venerable Congregation; the Apostles and Legates of Jesus;

* Bouhours.

† Ibid.

the Brothers of Jesus; Reformed Priests; Theatines; Priests of Santa Lucia; Priests of Santa Catharina. Thus by their friends and admirers; but the compact and awfully execrated patronymic "Jesuit" will cling to them more closely, until they will boldly adopt it themselves, always exceedingly accommodating to the troublesome world. Then will all manner of perverse names be showered on the sturdy workers;—*Jesu-weiter*, or "far from Jesus;" Papst-Schärgen, the pope's lictors; Papst-Schwarze Ritter, the pope's black horsemen; Esauites; Jebusites; and the Philistines of Christendom.* But little cared the followers of Ignatius for these hard names. They could boast of a mighty vision, which showed their credentials in Heaven. It follows:—

From Vicenza, the little band of pilgrims set out for Rome. On the journey, whilst retired in prayer, Ignatius saw the Eternal Father, who presented him to the Son; and he saw Jesus Christ bearing a heavy cross, who, after having received him from the Father, said these words to him—*I shall be propitious to you at Rome*.

In the *Acta Sanctorum*, the Jesuits give an engraving of the chapel where the vision was vouchsafed.† Ignatius could not have hit on a better plan to invigorate the enthusiasm of his chosen band. He boldly related the "vision:" it had the desired effect: they marched on rejoicing. "This vision," says Bouhours, "is one of the most remarkable that St. Ignatius ever had; and it is so well vouched for that it admits not of a doubt." Subsequently referring, with no small intrepidity, to this his "vision," Ignatius proudly exclaimed, "*When the Eternal Father placed me with his Son,—Quando el Padre Eterno me puso con su Hijo.*"‡ This is one of the most suspicious traits in the character and career of Ignatius.

Only before the grand accomplishment did the prudent Ignatius make known to his disciples his final scheme; and then he did so in a long speech which is given by his biographer. "Ought we not to conclude that we are called to win to God, not only a single nation, ■ single country, *but all nations, all the kingdoms of the world?*" Such was the leading idea; then looking forward, he exclaimed, "What great thing shall we achieve if our Company does not become an *Order*, capable of being *multiplied in every place, and to last to the end of time?*"§

He foresaw difficulties; but the man who had overcome every obstacle in his way, or patiently bided his time for sixteen long years;—such a man, if any, can look the future in the face and *resolve* success. Some thought him mad, but they knew him not: some think, even now, that he was mad, and echo the words of Voltaire, the ex-pupil of the Jesuits: "Would you gain a great name?" asks Voltaire,—"Be completely mad; but of ■ madness befitting the age. Have in your folly a bottom of reason to guide your ravings, and be excessively stubborn. It may chance that you get hanged: but if you are not, you may have an altar."|| There is some truth in this. Ignatius is now in no danger of ■ halter, but bids fair for an altar.

* Hasenmüller, Hist. p. 21.

† July 31. *Acta Sanct.*

‡ Bouhours, i. 248.

§ Id. ib. 257.

|| Dict. Philosoph., tome x. Ignace.

BOOK III. OR, XAVIER.

SUCH are the leading facts in the life of Ignatius, hitherto the wandering preacher, as described by his own disciples, for the edification of the faithful. Every fact has been either questioned or bitterly ridiculed. The enemies of the Jesuits have clapped their hands with merriment thereat; but the Jesuits and their friends have not ceased, on that account, to venerate their sainted founder. Ever convinced of his perfect integrity and holiness, they cease not to put up their prayers to Ignatius in heaven for the protection and advancement of his cherished Society. His divine mission is believed; his miraculous powers are firmly asserted; and every Catholic is bound to reverence his name, since a festival has been appointed to him, and his name is invoked in the Mass.

The historian must bear these facts in mind; he must give them some little weight in the judgment he labors to form of this remarkable man. There must have been some merit—some considerable merit in Ignatius, to effectuate or direct the achievements of his nascent Society.

In the picture of the age which has been given, we behold the field open to precisely such a man as Ignatius may be conceived to be, after making due allowance for the peculiar views of his biographers. In his career, up to the foundation of his Society, we see evidence of unflinching determination—a boundless passion for spiritual teaching—and we have no reason to believe that his morals were otherwise than pure, however strongly the whole narrative induces the thought that spiritual power was ever his object; hence the assertion of *his visions and inspirations*, all which, if not invented by his followers, *must* have been proclaimed by *himself*. Herein is the important feature of the founder's character. Success attended his efforts: the world applauded: circumstances combined to cheer him on: he advanced as to the breach of Pampeluna; but his arms were now those of the spirit, and with these to conquer, or *seem* to conquer, is one and the same. God alone will finally decide what is or what is not, true victory.

The Pope of Rome beheld Protestantism boldly advancing. Germany was almost totally Protestant. England was severed from papal allegiance. Switzerland, Piedmont, Savoy, and all the adjacent countries were “infected with heresy.” France had caught the “distemper” from Geneva. The “venom” had penetrated into Italy. In such disastrous circumstances extraordinary succor was required.

Paul III. thought well of Ignatius and his followers, whom he had dismissed to their probation, after the first interview and explanations. Rumor announced their deeds, their success. "Everywhere," said the thousand-tongued, "they revive the spirit of Christianity; the most hardened sinners cannot resist the might of their words; they have even converted a *libertine-priest*—a man of scandal, who composed comedies, and acted himself—a comedian at the altar, a priest on the stage! They have converted him: he has been through the Spiritual Exercises, and has begged pardon of the people, with a rope round his neck, and has turned monk—a reformed Franciscan!"*

Paul III., we are assured, was struck with astonishment at these brilliant achievements. He was "still more impelled by an interior movement."† A Cardinal, who had strongly objected to the new foundation, "felt himself changed on a sudden," for Ignatius had "redoubled his prayers before the divine Majesty, for the foundation, with extreme confidence; and as if he had been assured of success, he promised, one day, to God, *three thousand masses*, in acknowledgment for the favor which he hoped to obtain."‡ All very specious indeed: but the result was, that the pope granted the Bull, *Regimini militantis Ecclesie*, and the Society of Jesus was founded.§

The Bull went forth on the 27th of September, 1540. His company being established, Ignatius deemed it necessary to begin with electing a Commander-in-Chief, or General, for he never totally resigned his martial notions: his men were to bear "the standard of the Cross, to wield the arms of God, to serve the only Lord, and the Roman Pontiff his Vicar on earth."||

Ignatius summoned his little troop to Rome—not *all*, for some of his men were already at important posts. True to its subsequent history, the Society was already in a position to influence the minds of kings. Xavier and Rodriguez were at the Court of Portugal; Faber at the Diet of Worms, and Bobadilla had express orders not to leave the kingdom of Naples before accomplishing the affairs committed to his management. The absent members left their votes; the suffrages were collected; as a matter of course, Ignatius was elected. He was surprised and afflicted; but had he reason to be so? Was it not natural that his followers should elect a man who had been favored with visions—who had been enlightened to see through the mysteries of faith—who had been placed—*associated* by God the Father with God the Son, as before related?

Ignatius, as modestly as Julius Cæsar, refused the dignity—nobly, but gently, pushed away the proffered diadem.

* Bouhours.

† Id. i. 286.

‡ Ibid. p. 284. It is a curious "coincidence" (which is to be accounted for by the Jesuits), that the same fact is recorded concerning St. Dominic and his Order. The pope objected; but "he dreamed he saw the Lateran church in danger of falling, and that St. Dominic slept in, and supported it with his shoulders." Butler, St. Dom. The Jesuits have been determined that no founder should eclipse Ignatius, either in austerities, sanctity, miracles, or familiarity with the Almighty.

§ The Bulls and Breves take their titles from the first word or words. The present begins thus, "Raised to the government of the Church militant."

|| In the same Bull.

The refusal confirmed the electors in their choice; but, obedient to his request, they spent four days more in prayer and penance, before the next election. Ignatius was again elected. The Divine will seemed manifest. Ignatius was of a different opinion; he made another effort to escape. He said he would "put the matter into the hands of his confessor; and if the latter, who knew *all his bad inclinations*, should command him in the name of Jesus Christ to submit, he would obey blindly."

It is needless to state that the confessor "told him plainly he was resisting the Holy Ghost in resisting the election; and commanded him, on the part of God, to accept the appointment."

A question arises here. For whom did *Ignatius* vote in the election? Surely, if he did not think himself perfectly qualified, he should have named the companion whom he deemed worthy of the high function, particularly as he had called the electors to Rome, for the express purpose of the election. But the sentimental votes recorded by the biographers lack that of Holy Father Ignatius. Xavier, Codure, Salmeron, have left their votes on the grateful page; we see one of them even now *lithographed*,* doubtless every other was equally servid; but we must remain uncertain as to the real sentiments of the modest saint on this interesting occasion.

In due time Ignatius drew up the Constitutions of his Society.— Subsequently, as years rolled on, Rules, Decrees, Canons, &c., were added to this groundwork; the whole body of legislation being termed "The Institute of the Society of Jesus." These books profess to describe the system of the Jesuits, but only for the inspection of the Jesuits themselves; and not even to the newly admitted members, or novices.† For the use of the latter, and to be shown to the world, when thought proper, there was a compendium, or summary, exhibiting brief rules and universals. They were not to be printed without the General's permission, and then not to be published, nor shown to those who were not received into the Society.‡ It was, therefore, contrary to standing regulations, that the Constitutions should be produced to the world. These were exhibited, in process of time, on a very memorable occasion in the history of the Jesuits, as we shall read; and the suppression of their houses, and consequent appropriation of their goods and chattels, scattered the Constitutions, Rules, Canons, &c., over the world, and they are now to be had for a trifle or more at the cheap-book stalls of the metropolis.§

To conceive an adequate idea of the Jesuit Institute, we must, in some measure forestall the period of its compact omnipotence. We must fling round about the primitive ideas of Ignatius, or the first founders, all that circumstances and expediency subsequently suggested to expand them into that absorbing Power which men beheld with ter-

* See Crétineau Joly, Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus: t. i. p. 52.

† Decl. in Ex. Gen. G.

‡ Decl. in Ex. Gen. G., et Decl. in Proæm. n. 2. Ord. Gen. cap. ii. § 4.

§ A collection in my possession, has at length come together from all points of the compass, as evidenced by the *superscriptions* on the title-pages; one from the college at Louvain, another from that at Rome; a third belonged to the "Scottish Mission," &c.

ror, and Heaven willed or permitted to be struck down. Upwards of twenty thousand well-trained, efficient veterans—a legion—a phalanx held together by corporeal and spiritual discipline—united, theoretically at least, and for a time, by the conformity of moral inculcation, casuistry, and the method of education—by the perfect resemblance of doctrine and manner of life, as far as circumstances or expediency would permit—bound to their General-in-chief by the chain of entire submission—obedience prompt, enthusiastic, blind—and scattered, without division, on the face of the earth. To the Jesuits, dispersion was but a matter of geographical latitude, not mental separation: a difference of language, not of sentiment. Skies changed for the wanderers, but not the peculiar ways and means and method of the Jesuit. In this mighty family all subscribed to the same articles of faith, whatever might be the tendency of their particular inculcations. That was their uniformity:—whilst *theory* is respected, *practice* will be allowed for: if you leave the former untouched, the latter, to a vast extent, may riot unmolested. The Roman and the Greek, the Portuguese, the Brazilian; the Irishman, the Russian; the Spaniard and the Frenchman; the Belgian and Englishman—all worked as one man; their individual tastes and inclinations were merged in the general object of appetence: they were a multitude in action, but in will a single, naked soul.*

Penetrated by the same spirit, governed by one soul, this mighty body operated in concert, employed the same most powerful means to gain the object proposed by the Institute—the spiritual good of mankind in the first instance, but by the Jesuit-method effected, and necessarily attended with that temporal self-aggrandisement which exalted the Society of Jesus far above any confraternity that ever influenced the minds of men. It proved to be their misfortune: it is nevertheless the fact.

At the first command, at the slightest sign of the Superior, all was agitation and stir,—they marched to the conquest.† Hopeful of victory, they were not cast down by defeat; effort succeeded effort till the breach was made, and the Society's banners outspread the talisman—*Ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—To the Greater Glory of God!

The simple Jesuit is to possess for himself neither power, nor office,‡ nor credit, nor riches, nor will, nor sentiments:§ the concentrated authority belongs to the General.|| His commands, his desires, are the law :¶ his power flows from his hands as from its source, on the heads

* Hæc sunt intervalla locorum, non mentium; discrimina sermonis, non pectoris; cælorum dissimilitudo, non morum. In hâc familiâ idem sentiunt Latinus et Græcus, Lusitanus et Brasilius, Hibernus et Sarmata, Iber et Gallus, Britannus et Belga; atque in tam disparibus geniis nullum certamen, nulla contentio, nihil ex quo sentias plures esse. *Imago Primi Sæculi*, p. 33.

Idem sapiamus—idem propè dicamus omnes—doctrinæ igitur differentes non admittantur. *Const. part iii. c. i. § 18.*

† “Licit nihil aliud quām *signum voluntatis*,” &c.—*Const. part vi. c. i.*

‡ *Bull. Greg. XIV. ann. 1591.*

§ *Const. part viii. c. i.; Exam. c. 6. § 8.*

|| *Const. part ix.*

¶ “Monarchicam tamen et in definitionibus unius Superioris arbitrio contentam esse decrevit.”—*Bull. Greg. XIV. 1591.*

whom he chooses :* it extends as far as he pleases ; it stops when he wills.

The General is elected for life, and by a general congregation of the Society, composed of the Professed Members. The General must be a Professed Member. His qualifications, according to the Constitutions, must be—great piety, and the spirit of prayer: he must be exemplary in all the virtues; calm in his demeanor, circumspect in words. Magnanimity and fortitude are most essential attributes. He must have extraordinary intellect and judgment; prudence, rather than learning; vigilance, solicitude in his duties: his health and external appearance must be satisfactory. He must be middle-aged; and a due regard is to be had to the recommendations of nobility, or the wealth and honors he may have enjoyed in the world.†

He appoints the Provincials or rulers of the Provinces into which the Society is divided, the Rectors of Colleges; all the officials of the Society.

A general congregation may depose the General: but this cannot be unless he “commits mortal sins of a delicate nature and public—*in externum prodeuntia*—or wounds any one, or misapplies the revenues, or becomes a heretic.”

He has five Assistants corresponding to the great provinces of the Society, to aid him in his function. Italy, Spain, Germany, France, and Portugal supply their assistants, elected in a general congregation. Their name explains their office. They assist the General in expediting the affairs of their respective provinces; they stand between the chief and his subjects; they are his prime ministers.

Something like a curb is placed on his authority. The assistants must be the watchful guardians of his virtue and conduct. Provincial congregations may deliberate on the expediency of a general congregation to consider his government, without his knowledge of the fact; their votes are written.

Every Superior in the Society has his Monitor to observe his conduct; the General is not exempted from this seeming check to authority; but it means little—it can effect less; for the fact must never be forgotten, that a thousand regulations of the Society insure the similarity of views in the whole body. If it defends the General or Superior from “public sins,” *in externum prodeuntia*, it is no guarantee to the world at large, from those abuses which result from the possession of unlimited power in directing the efforts of thousands sworn to obey.

Another set-off against republicanism by the Constitutions is secured to the General in the remarkable regulations which follow. The General possesses the secrets of every member—a terrible fulcrum for the lever of influence. He knows the character, the inclinations of every member; he knows these facts, or *may* know them, for he has them in writing. He is made acquainted with the consciences of all who must obey him, particularly of the provincials and others, to whom

* Const. part viii.

† Ibid. part ix.

he has intrusted functions of great importance. He must have, like each Superior, a complete knowledge of his subjects; their propensities, their sentiments, the defects, the *sins* to which they have been or are more inclined and impelled—*ad quos defectus vel peccata fuerint, vel sint magis propensi et incitati.**

Every year, a list of the houses and members of the Society, the names, talents, virtues, failings of all are there recorded. It was such a list, doubtless, that suggested to a General of the Society that proud exclamation, when, having exultingly alluded to his philosophers, mathematicians, orators, &c., he cried, “*Ed abbiamo anche martiri per il martirio se bisogna*”—and we have men for martyrdom, if they be required.†

In effect, from this minute list of mental and bodily qualities, he can compute his power and direct his plans, adapt his commands and insure success to his delegated functions.‡

Every local Superior or Rector must write to the Provincial *weekly*; the Provincials to the General *weekly*, or at least *monthly*, detailing the condition and prospects of their respective departments.§

If the matter has reference to *externs*, or persons in the world, a species of cipher must be used to prevent discovery, in case the letter should fall into his hands—*ita scribatur, ut etiamsi literæ in ejus manus inciderint, offendì non possit.*||

The power of the General extends even over the Constitutions, which he may change, alter, or annul;¶ but the changed or altered parts are *not to be expunged.*** Hence, an appeal to the Constitutions must always silence the enemy who ascribes the conduct of a member to his rules and regulations; hence the “*Monita Secreta*” may have been issued by authority!

Thus is the General’s power absolute—absolute as to the appointment of officials, the disposal of temporalities, the admission of fresh members to the Society, absolute in the power of “dispensation,” which he wields according to times, persons, and all the suggestions of expediency.††

The General sends out his Missioners whithersoever he pleases; and selects them according to the qualifications required by the circumstances in which they will be placed. The strong and healthy, the trustworthy, the tried, *probati, et securiores*; the discreet and insinuating, *qui discretionis et conversandi gratiam habent*; the well-favored in person, *cum exteriori specie*—men of genius and peculiar talent, orators, and skilful confessors—all must be sent where their respective qualifications are most required, or are likely to reap a plentiful harvest.‡‡

The Missioners are sent in company, and must be *contrasted*. The talent of one must co-operate with that of another, or modified effects must result from the union of different natures. With a fervid and fiery temper, *fervent et animoso*, let a more circumspect and cautious

* Const. part ix. c. iii. § 19; Exam. c. iv. § 34; Const. part ix. c. vi. § 3.

† Chesterf. Letters, p. 236. † Exam. p. 35. § Const. part viii.

¶ Form. Scrib. 25. Edit. Ant. 1702. ¶ Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8.

** Dec. Con. iii. d. 23. †† Const. part ix. c. iii. § 8. †† Ibid. part vii. c. 2. F.

spirit be joined. A single Missioner should not be sent.* All who are sent, go rejoicing. At the word of command from the Pope or General, the Missioner is ready for every fate: to share the luxury of kings whose conscience he has to govern, or to be devoured by cannibals, who prefer his flesh to the spirit of his religion.

To such a Society judgment in the selection of its members is essential, and this is required by the Constitutions. Prompt, humble, devout obedience, a constant correspondence from the remotest points of the Society, exact discipline in all the external practices of piety, which are so admirably adapted to keep the mind in subjection, the manifestation of conscience enjoined to every member of the Society, the perfect training in all the departments of knowledge—these, with the prestige of their name, were destined to weld together the terrible troop, and give them victory in a field where they had no equal opponents.

Other expedients of the Jesuits will be manifest as we trace their progress down the stream of their troublous times into the gulf of their destruction. A glance at their declared objects and their method of training their men, must precede the narrative.

The end proposed to the Society, according to the Constitutions, is not only to give each member the means of working out his own salvation and spiritual perfection, but also of applying himself to the salvation and perfection of his neighbor.

Three vows are taken—obedience, poverty, and chastity—understanding poverty to mean that the Jesuit will not and cannot have any revenue for his own support, nor for any other purpose. This prohibition applies universally. No stipend nor alms can be received for masses, sermons, or any pious office.†

As to externals—the Society does not assume, by obligation, any of the ordinary penances or macerations of the body. These are left to the dictates of individual piety and the judgment of the immediate superior.

It is a mendicant order, that is, its members are to subsist on alms.

These are divided into four classes:—

I. The Professi or Professed. These are the advanced Jesuits. Besides the three vows just mentioned, they make an express vow to the pope and his successors to set out without excuse, without a viaticum or travelling expenses to any part of the world, among Christians or infidels, “for the prosecution of such matters as tend to divine worship and the good of the Christian religion.”

II. The Coadjutors Spiritual, and the Coadjutors Temporal, are the simple priests of the Society, and the lay-brothers, or such as are not admitted to the priesthood, but make themselves useful in their respective trades—in other words, the servants of the Society—its printers, tailors, barbers, &c.

III. The Scholastici or Scholars, whose future position in the Society is to be determined by their respective qualifications.

IV. The Novices, or those who are admitted on trial. Their trial

* Const. part vii.

† Exam. Gen.

or probation lasts two years, during which they are trained in spirituality, and taught the import of the vows they are about to take. Their natural dispositions are keenly observed: their temper is tried in various ways: the characteristic of their suitableness for *any* position is obedience.

The more endowed the applicant for admission is with natural talents or acquirements, and the more trying the experiments have been, in which he has stood the test, the more fit will he be for the Society. The Society requires sound knowledge, or an aptitude to acquire it, in the candidate,—united to tact in the management of affairs; or certainly the gift of a good judgment to acquire that discretion. He must have a good memory, both quick and retentive. The desire of spiritual perfection must be in the will; coolness, constancy, and determination in action. There must be zeal for the salvation of souls, “which is the cause of the love that the candidate feels for the Society,” according to the assumption.

Elegance of expression in the candidate is particularly to be desired,*—it being very necessary in his intercourse with others—with a handsome or agreeable person,† “which usually edifies those with whom we have to deal;” good health and strength of body are essentials: the age for admission to the novitiate is fourteen and above: for taking the last vow, twenty-five.

Previously to the legislation of this modern Lycurgus, mere human integrity of body was all that the Church required in her ministers; but the experience of twenty years had taught Ignatius the value of good looks and good address in spiritual influence. For a certainty, it seems that he had woman in view, since man is not usually caught by such tackle as a “handsome person.”

The external recommendations of nobility, wealth, reputation, are not sufficient in themselves: still, as far as they conduce to edification, they enhance the fitness of the candidate.‡

There are impediments to admission besides bad looks: such as illegitimacy, previous apostacy, and heresy; having committed murder, or being infamous on account of some enormity; having been a monk or hermit; being married, a slave, or partially insane. These are stringent impediments; but the Pope or the General of the Society can grant dispensation, when it is certain that the candidate is adorned with divine gifts, and likely to be useful to the Society, “for the service of God, our Lord.”

Minor impediments are, apparently indomitable passions and a hopeless habit of sin, inconstancy of mind, “a defective judgment, or manifest pertinacity, which usually gives great trouble to all congregations.”§

Among the curious questions to be put to candidates are the following:—Whether any of his ancestors were heretics? Whether his parents are alive?—their name, condition as to wealth or poverty, their

* “Exoptanda est sermonis gratia.”—*Const. i. c. ii.* † “Honesta species.”—*Ib.*

‡ *Const. part i. c. ii.*

§ *Ibid. c. iii.*

occupation. Whether he has ever been in pecuniary difficulties, or is bound by any claim to his parents or relatives? Whether, discarding his own opinion and judgment, he will leave that point to the judgment of his superior, or the Society? How many brothers he has?—their situation, whether married or otherwise, their occupation or manner of life? With regard to himself, whether he has uttered words that may seem to have pledged him to marry? Whether he has had, or has, a son?

A severe scrutiny as to his spiritual bent, faith, and conscience, follows this domestic inquisition.

If the candidate has any property, he must promise to "leave all," without delay, at the command of his superior, after he has been a year in the novitiate. But he is to resign his property to the "*poor*";—for the Gospel says, "Give to the *poor*";—not to relatives. The reason is assigned: for thus he will give a better example of having put off all inordinate love towards his parents, and will avoid the usual unpleasantness of distribution, which proceeds from the said love; and thus the opening to a return to his parents and relatives, and to their very remembrance, being closed beforehand, he may persevere firmly and fixedly in his vocation. He may give something to his relatives; but this must be left entirely to the discretion and judgment of the superior, and those who are appointed by him to investigate the claim for relief or benefaction.

All ready money that he may have must be given up, to be returned to him should he leave, or be found unfit for, the Society.

Any defect in the integrity of the body, disease, debility, or remarkable deformity, being too young or too old, or bound by civil obligations or debt, constitute minor impediments; but in these cases, as in the major impediments, the Society can grant dispensations.

The conclusion resulting from these premises is that the Jesuit was to be a picked man—no ordinary plodder on the beaten track of predication. We see the earnest of efficient propagandism, the prevalent obstacles to which are effectually obviated. Ignatius beheld the evil of his times, and he invented the remedy. In after times, in modern times, at the present time, there is reason to believe that "dispensations" in these matters were and have been freely given; but the men who established the Society in its primitive efficiency were formed according to the letter of the law, and were perfect in their calling:—"a simpleton, though a Jesuit,"* may have its modern application; but the misfortune is the result of abuse; according to the original plan of the Institute, a Jesuit should be no ordinary man.

Admitted to the novitiate, the Jesuit's training began. Through the "Spiritual Exercises" of the founder, he was made to proceed as a first trial, and then, for two entire years, he remained under the same watchful eyes which marked his first failings, earnest to correct or direct them into the right channel. Constant occupation for body and

* Words applied by Voltaire to the Jesuit Berruyer, of whom we shall subsequently speak. See Volt. Dict. Phil. t. x. Hist.

soul is here given: the novice is never idle. His pride, his self-love, his will, are subjected to trials on every occasion; and, if charity tempers the cold blast of humiliation, it must still reach the soul. The novices are employed in every menial occupation of the house, in which there are no servants but themselves. The son of a nobleman and the son of a peasant may be seen brushing shoes together, cleaning knives and forks, scrubbing bricks and boards, or digging potatoes.

Even in his dress, the novice is humbled; cast-off habiliments invest the pious exercitant; but he is right well fed, because he must be healthy and strong to do the work of a Jesuit.

The mental occupation of the novice is the study of spirituality, or "Christian perfection." He learns how to meditate. He acquires the habit of thought, self-possession, self-restraint, and, perhaps, self-delusion; for, at every step, the all-sufficiency of *obedience* is preached to him, and disobedience is denounced with awful solemnity. In his superior, the novice is sedulously taught to behold the Lord: in obeying he performs the will of God. The perfection of obedience may be said to be the one thing needful in the novice of the Jesuits. It must extend over the whole man—the will, and understanding. All that he is must be, in the hands of his superior, as a carcase, as plastic wax, as an old man's walking-stick. These are the metaphors invented by Ignatius to characterise the obedience of a Jesuit. In theory, it is freely promised by the novice: it must be his endeavor to exhibit it in practice. Unless we take it for granted that the superior will never "err," by passion, or interest, or expediency, so entire a prostration of the will and understanding is liable to great abuses. Whatever God may ordain, is necessarily to be done, however repugnant to our ideas of justice or morality. To expostulate is to disobey. Now, if God's place is to be supplied by the superior, the same result must follow, without the certain guarantee of infallibility. To say that God will not permit the superior to err, is an assertion which I can neither positively deny nor admit. All other explanations and distinctions respecting the obedience of the Jesuits, are clever sophisms which may suit their purpose, but cannot reach the root of the objection.* The novices strive, and not in vain, to attain this perfection of obedience. To speak from experience, I confess that there were moments of enthusiasm, when I would have deemed all things lawful at the word of my superior. It

* Here follow three of the rules of the novices, but for the general observance of the Jesuits: Rule 34. "At the voice of the superior, just as if it came from Christ the Lord, we must be most ready, leaving everything whatsoever, even a letter of the alphabet unfinished, though begun." Rule 35: "To this scope let us turn all our efforts and intention in the Lord, in order that holy obedience may be always and entirely perfect in us, as well in the execution, as in the will and understanding: doing whatever shall have been enjoined us, with great celerity, spiritual joy and perseverance; persuading ourselves that all things are just; abnegating all opinion and judgment of our own contrary thereto, with a certain blind obedience." Rule 36: "Let each member persuade himself, that those who wish to live under obedience, ought to suffer themselves to be borne along and governed by Divine Providence through the superiors, just as if they were a corpse, which may be borne as we please, and permits itself to be handled any how; or like an old man's stick, which everywhere serves any purpose that he who holds it chooses to employ it in." Summ. Const. Const. part vi. c. i.

may well be said by Hasenmüller, that the novices "have as many Christs as they have rulers and laborers."* This delusion sweetens the bitterest humiliation, lightens the heaviest burthen, beautifies the foulest occupation. What a state of trial for a thoughtful soul is the Jesuit novitiate. The menial occupations, the drudgeries of domestic labor, are alleviations—recreations in that solitude of the heart. Those were happiest who were most mechanical. The thoughtful, who reasoned unto conclusions, who penetrated the tendencies of all the regimen, bitterly felt the poison as it spread over mind and heart, transforming them entirely. Public punishments were awarded to public faults: private irregularities were expiated by public penances. These consisted in kneeling with arms outstretched, in kissing the feet of the brothers in a hundred humiliating ways, devised by holy obedience. Every novice had a monitor, and was monitor to another, whose faults he had to observe and declare to him and the superior. Besides his weekly confession to his superior, each novice had to manifest the state of his conscience, his particular vices and inclinations, to the Provincial at stated times. The manifestation was not made under the seal of confession: it was understood to be available in any way that might be deemed proper by the authorities. This requisition might have some effect in forcing the novice to stifle his propensities; but it might also generate that desperate cunning which thinks it can cheat conscience without falling short of perfection.

I have elsewhere^t described the domestic life of the novices in these our days. I shall now lay before the reader the account given of it by Hasenmüller, a seceding Jesuit, about forty years after the establishment of the Society. By comparing the two narratives, it will be found that age makes little difference with the practices of the Jesuits. Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since Hasenmüller published his experience. In reading much of it, I was carried back to my own novice days, on the banks of the Hodder, in the North of England. "In the summer at four, in the winter at five o'clock of the morning, they rise at the sound of a bell. Should any remain sleeping in bed,—which happens rather often,—and they be caught by the visitor, a penance is enjoined them. The rector sends for the delinquent, reprimands him for his drowsiness and disobedience, and says, 'During dinner, you will take your bed, carry it to the refectory, and perform the usual penance, which may cure your drowsiness.' The signal for dinner being given, and grace being said, when the fathers and brothers have taken their seats, the poor fellow, with his bed on his shoulders, walks into the middle of the refectory, and falling on his knees, says:—'Reverend Fathers, dearest Brothers, I tell you my fault, that this morning I slept beyond the hour, wherefore this small penance has been enjoined me, that I shall bring my bed three times into the refectory, and sleep till dinner is ended, and carry back my bed, and get my dinner at the small table.' Whereupon he carries

* "Tot Christos habent quet opera vel regulas."—*Hist. c. v.*

^t See "The Novitiate; or the Jesuit in Training."

his bed three times round the refectory, then lays him down upon it, and sleeps, if he likes, whilst the other brothers laugh and eat. Such is the penance for too much sleep. Having risen, the first rule is for them to make their beds. An hour of meditation and prayer follows; and then they must clean their cells. For breaking this rule the same penance as before must be performed, except that, whilst the brothers are dining, the delinquent goes and sweeps his cell. Should any of them fall asleep during the hour of prayer and meditation, their penance is, during dinner, to fall on their knees in the midst of the refectory, and show how they rolled their heads from side to side in their irregular nap. After meditation, all hear mass with reverence and decorum; but if any make a noise with their hands, feet, or rosaries, or gaze through the windows, their penance is, during dinner, to kiss the feet of the fathers and brothers, and take their food under the table, or at the rector's feet, and then, mounting on a bench and pushing their heads through the window, show the brothers how they gazed through the rails. After mass, they hear a lecture, which all must listen to attentively. Should any fall asleep, or talk, or laugh, they must exhibit the same irregularities in the refectory as the former, showing how they slept, and talked, and laughed." None of these crimes occurred in the English novitiate, or if any irregularity approached them, a psalm to be rehearsed with arms outstretched, kissing the feet all round, dining on the knees, kneeling for their cup to be filled by a brother, were the penances invented by holy obedience, and selected by the delinquents, as it were by inspiration. English notions dispensed with the hugely ridiculous in the work of penance. "After the lecture, the father minister distributes the occupations and domestic labors. At his approach, all rush to him. He stands in the midst and appoints the functions. To one he says: You go and help the cook. To another: Help the store-keeper. To others: Fetch wood: Bring water: Clean the dishes: Lay the table: Wash the cups.—Should any one wish to humble himself more than the rest, and, as the rule enjoins 'to seek the things to which the senses are repugnant,' he goes to the rector, falls on his knees, and begs to be intrusted with the 'office of humility,' which is the foulest imaginable, and not to be mentioned," though it was commonly enjoined in the English novitiate, yet not exactly to the extent described by Hasenmüller.—"The 'master of manners' follows and observes the workers. Slothfulness and levity are duly penanced, by the delinquent's being ordered to weed a brother's garden, and prune the trees. In this occupation, should he imitate or respond to a bird giving voice overhead, he must tell his fault in the refectory, and imitate aloud the sound three or four times again.* If a novice breaks a dish, or other vessel, his penance is to gather the pieces, tie them together, and walk round the refectory with the load suspended from his neck Although these things are frivolous, childish, ridiculous, and ostentatious, yet the

* "Eosdem gestus et cantus edere, quos in horto exprimebat ter igitur aut quarter circurrit in refectorio et altâ voce clamat Cuc, Cuc, Cuc, Cuc (risum teneatis, lectores, dum et ipse cuculum istum imitor)." —Hasenm. Hist c. v.

Jesuits say that they will receive in heaven as many crowns as they have performed penances: nay, that these works are meritorious to eternal life, if they perform them in the intention of the Society, and in obedience to the superior. They have therefore as many Christs as they have works and rules." "Twice a-day they examine their consciences, before dinner and supper. At a given sign, the novices assemble and proceed to the appointed place, where, for the space of a half, or quarter of an hour, on their knees before some image, they probe their consciences, and try the spirit. Those who can write, note down in a list all their sins of thought, words, deeds, and omissions, so as to confess them on the Saturday to the rector, who may thus know all the secrets of his disciples. For this purpose, they use a diary, as follows, entering their sins each day of the week:—

SUNDAY. SINS OF THOUGHT.	WEDNESDAY. SINS OF OMISSION.
MONDAY. SINS OF WORDS.	THURSDAY. SINS AGAINST THE RULES.
TUESDAY. SINS OF DEEDS.	FRIDAY. NEGLECT OF PENANCE.
SATURDAY. FAULTS IN CONFESSION.	

"They must practise the rules advised by Ignatius in the book of the 'Spiritual Exercises':—I. As often as a man commits the same kind of fault or sin, he must apply his hand to his breast and grieve for his fall, which may be done without being noticed by others. II. At night, having counted the dots on the two lines, corresponding to the sins or faults committed, and calling them to mind during the two examinations of conscience, he must see if any improvement has taken place. III. He must compare each day with the preceding, and observe the improvement, if any. IV. He must compare two weeks together, and note the result."

Such is the process through which a novice of the Jesuits marches to perfection. Whatever spirit of piety may accompany the exercitant through the tedious period, must depend on his organisation: the certain result is the habit of obedience, prostrate submission in the will and understanding. And that is the object of the trial.*

* For ample details on the subject I must refer the reader to the work before men-

After the expiry of the two probationary years, the novice takes the three vows, and proceeds to the house of the Scholars of the Society, where he pursues his studies, which are totally discontinued during the novitiate. The languages, logic, natural and moral philosophy, enter into the course; the time allotted for each being unlimited, and dependent on the judgment of the rector, after examination. As the scholars cannot excel in all these faculties, each must be made to excel in some one or other of them, according to his age, genius, inclination, and previous acquirements.*

In the books of heathen writers nothing must be read that can offend decency: they must be expurgated, and the society will "use the remnants as the spoils of Egypt,"—ut spoliis *Ægypti* Societas uti poterit.† On the other hand, the foulest obscenities are opened to the student when advanced to the study of casuistry,—obscenities infinitely more exciting to the imagination than the expurgated passages of the ancient classics, which, with these exceptions, inculcate a sterner morality than some of the books of the Jesuit-casuists.‡

Even books written by Christians, although good in themselves, are not to be read, if the author be a suspected character, lest there should result a partiality for the author. In every department, such books as may or may not be read, must be determined by the authorities.§

All impediments to study must be removed, whether resulting from devotional practices, or mortifications carried to excess, or unreasonably practised.

There must be a library common to all: but its key must be confided to those whom the rector may consider trustworthy, and each student is to have what books are necessary.

Assiduity in the classes, repetitions of what they have learned, the solution of difficulties that may result, public disputations, private conferences,—these train the Jesuit-mind, and give it that perfection which induced the philosopher to exclaim: "Talis quum sis, utinam noster esses,"—being such as thou art, would that thou wert ours!!

The Latin language is to be commonly spoken, and perfection in

tioned. The Day's Occupation in the English Novitiate, in 1838, scarcely differed in a single point from that of the Jesuit novitiates in the sixteenth century! See Hasenmüller, ch. v.

† Ibid.

* Const. part iv.
† This comparison has been made, and largely discussed in the work entitled, "A Parallel of the Doctrines of the Pagans with the Doctrine of the Jesuits," written in French. There is an English translation, London, 1726. The subject will be subsequently considered.

§ A similar proscription of Christian books was subsequently enforced by Pope Pius V. It was called the *Index*, and still exists. In 1775, there were about 20,000 works forbidden to the faithful. The works of Galileo, Copernicus, and Boerhaave, were put "on the Index," but subsequently taken off, when the Pope consented to the earth's motion, &c. Dict. Hist. de l'Ital. p. 591.

|| Bacon (quoting the words of Agesilaus to Pharnabazus), in his treatise De Dign. et Augm. Scient. Bacon's admiration was extended to Jesuit "cunning" as well. He says:—"It is a point of cunning to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept; for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances: yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use."—*Essays: Of Cunning.*

style is to be acquired by diligent practice. This, of course, applies to the times when that language was the general vehicle of intellectual wares and baggage.

The student's emulation must be exerted by competition. Two students are to be selected and made to enter the lists against each other by a "holy challenge," *sanctâ emulatione se invicem provocent*. A specimen of their composition must be sent to the provincial or head of the province, or to the general at Rome.* Competition is the soul of trade: competition is the warrior's impulse: competition is the statesman's goad. It is also the polemic's spur; and was therefore applied to the young Jesuit, whose battle-field was to be the land, the universal land of Heresy.

The Jesuit-method of intellectual training will require a lengthened discussion. It will be given in its proper place—about fifty years after the foundation of the Company. Rapidly the Jesuits attained their perfection in the art, rapidly they produced its striking results; but some little time and magnificent prospects were required to devise the scheme. Ignatius had little or nothing to do with the Jesuit-intellect. It was the Jesuit *will* that he fashioned for extraordinary achievement—and much more by example—by practice than by theory. But he knew by painful experience that intellectual training was indispensable to the spiritual warrior, and he prescribed it for his Company. To others more competent than himself he left the construction of the Jesuit-gymnasium. To himself he reserved the Will and its action: to others he left the Intellect and its products.

But mental culture and spiritual practice are not sufficient to insure adequate members to the Company. Those who suit it no longer must be expelled, cast away. The power of dismissal is granted by the general specially to the various provincials, and local superiors and rectors—in order that in the whole body of the Company, the subjection of holy obedience may continue—so that the inferiors may clearly know that they depend on their superiors; and that it becomes them very much, yea is necessary for them, to be submissive to their superiors in all things . . . Caution, however, is advised in the matter of dismissal; and that caution is to be increased according to the rank which the delinquent holds in the Company: in important cases the general must be consulted. Observe, a case becomes important not by the *guilt* of the delinquent, but his *rank* in the Company,† his services, and his talents.‡ These last considerations were subsequent devices of the Congregations. They are not to be found in the edition of 1558, two years after the death of the founder. All that appeared in that edition has been retained, though with many verbal alterations; but more is added, and among the rest, the above expedient devices. More of this in the sequel. "How far certain faults, which are said to be contrary to the Divine honor and the Company's good, ought to be tolerated, as this depends upon many particular circumstances of persons, times, and places, it must be left to the discreet zeal of those to

* Const. part iv.

† Ibid. part ii. c. i.

‡ *Declarationes*, to the same.

whom that charge is committed, who shall the more diligently commend the matter to God, and take counsel of others who can aid in discovering God's will, in proportion as the case shall seem difficult and doubtful.”* This follows the original promulgation, where we find as a motive for dismissal, “if it be judged in the Lord, contrary to his honor and glory to retain in the Company the man who may appear to be incorrigibly addicted to certain depraved propensities and vices, which offend the Divine Majesty.”† We admire the prudence, the worldly wisdom of the subsequent declaration: but we applaud the rigid morality of the original mandate. The other motives for dismissal are sufficiently obvious, and amount to this, that all must be expelled who fail in their probation, or be subsequently found useless, or prove scandalous and turbulent subjects. A previous bond of matrimony, the state of legal slavery, or being in debt for a large amount, will, when discovered, constitute motives for dismissal. Disease or debility supervening in the probation, operates to the same result, “if it is probable” that the chronic patient “cannot advance in his studies according to our Institute and method of proceeding in the furtherance of God's service;” and you will not be surprised that dismissal must ensue “when the probationer cannot settle himself to a *life of obedience*—to be regulated according to the Society's manner of proceeding—if he cannot, or will not, *subject his own opinions and judgment*.†‡ But disease contracted in the Company's service does not come under the ban: “for then, if he is not content to be dismissed, it would not be just to dismiss him on *that count alone*,” adds an expedient declaration;§ and the same codicil to the original Will transmits a promulgation of vast historical importance. It is emphatically declared that “As it is not necessary to dismiss a member so much on account of the nature and magnitude of his *sin*, as for the purpose of removing the *scandal* which has resulted—this being the case, should he be qualified in other respects, the Superior's prudence will consider whether it be expedient to permit him to go to some other very remote district of the Company, without dismissal.”|| Very soon the Company adopted this expedient method of shrouding her moral calamities by this sort of Botany-bay relief to the mother-country. In the country of the blind, says the proverb, a one-eyed man is a king: on the same principle, in the land of the heathen an infamous Jesuit is an apostle. Nor are modern times without such spots darkening the radiant sun of the Society of Jesus—for, as another proverb tells, “accidents will happen in the best regulated families.” A word to the wise is sufficient for them.

Dismissal is to take place as privately as possible, so as to cherish the good-will of the delinquent towards the Company; and aid should

* Const. part ii. c. 2. A.

† Ibid. c. ii. § 2.

‡ Ibid. c. ii. § 4.

§ “Tunc enim, si ipsem et contentus non esset, justum non fore, hanc solam causam à Societate dimitti.”—*Ibid. B.*

|| “Quando non tam propter rationem vel magnitudinem peccati, quam ob removendum offendiculum, quod alii præbuit, dimitti aliquem necesse esset; si aliqui aptus esset, expendet prudentia Superioris, an expedit facultatem ei dare, ut ad locum alium Societatis valde remotum, eandem non egrediendo, proficiascatur.”—*Ibid. D.*

be given him to embrace some other state of life ; charity should give him her hand at his departure, and defend his memory in his absence.* Such was the *original* idea ; but subsequent facts seemed to have dried up the fountain of charity and forbearance. Power gives pride, and pride breeds intolerance. If in all your means and measures you cannot defy scrutiny, keep a sharp look out on your secretary. Repentance and reform would be better ; but if these do not suit your convenience, you *must* adopt the Jesuit-method, as follows :—

Those who leave the Society of their own accord are not to be sought after, unless for very good reasons ; “ should they be such as we should not thus resign—particularly if they seem to have left on account of some violent temptation, or deceived from without, by others—we may endeavor to bring them back, making use of the privileges conceded to us for this purpose by the Apostolic See.” The *privilege* alluded to pronounces excommunication *ipso facto* against any Jesuit who returns to the world after taking the vows. By another such mandate, eight days are allowed him to return, under penalty of excommunication ; and all who aid, advise, or abet the fugitive, are obnoxious to the same penalty.

By another mandate, the general and other superiors can summarily, and without the form of judgment, reclaim, take and imprison the fugitive, and compel him to do penance, just as if he were an apostate, calling in the aid of the secular arm ; nay, even those dismissed from the Society, unless they enter some *other order* with permission of the general, the provincial, or the pope, are forbidden to hear confessions, teach, or preach, under penalty of excommunication.†

Those who are dismissed for crime, must be first punished, even by imprisonment,‡ and are thus effectually silenced by disgrace, should they meditate inexpedient disclosures.

Should any members disclose the grave and hidden faults of “ Our Men” (*Nostrorum*), they must be severely punished ;—the conscience of superiors is, in this matter, charged to investigate the fact, and not to spare public punishment in the case of public offences.§

These severe enactments, with others that might be quoted, seem to scoff with the hiss of contempt at the words of the Constitutions, where the spirit of mildness is enjoined in dismissal, *without exception, omnino, in spiritu mansuetudinis procedere.*||

Even in this country these enactments would have been enforced, did the Jesuits not dread the law of the land. What wonder then that the secrets of this Society have so rarely transpired, at a time when such terrible penalties in all their apostolical horrors hung over the head of the fugitive. In effect, the greatest vigilance prevailed in all departments. Whatever could enhance the fair fame of the Company

* Const. part vi. c. vii.

† Const. part ii. ; Comp. Priv. *Apostatae*. See also Canon. Sept. Cong. Gen. xxii. §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

‡ Sept. Cong. D. xxii. § 6.

§ Ibid. xii.
|| Const. part ii. c. iv. § 5. All the superiors have the power “ to inflict corrections and punishments ;” provided they are deliberate and mature, “ they may proceed freely” in the matter—liberè procedere possunt. Comp. Privil. v. *Correctio*.

was given to the winds of Heaven, as their multitudinous "Lives" of their saints and heroes, and their "annual," their "curious and edifying, Letters" attest; but the slightest rumor of disgrace was intolerable: to the dungeons of the Society it was consigned, with its possessor, to rot in solitude, and perish with his name. The fate intended for *Melchior Inchofer*, a member of the Society, who only metaphorically exposed her abuses, the fate of *death* awarded to him by the general and his assistants, was providentially averted, as we shall read in the sequel; but the terrible letter of the law is enough to convince us that it was not passed in vain, nor obtained as a "privilege" without steady and resolute infliction.

Such are the prominent features of the Jesuit-Institute. The despotic aristocrat, Richelieu, termed the Constitutions of the Jesuits a model of administrative policy,—words signifying nothing; for, surely, *any* form of government can rule men if they can be induced to bind themselves by a vow of perfect obedience, and be made to keep it, being kept in awe by penalties similar to that of expulsion from the Society of Jesus in the day of her glory. The perfection of a government consists in its ensuring the greatest possible freedom of thought and action, compatible with all interests, individual and collective; where the spirit of "party" is left to its own resources, without the arm of statutes to "protect" its selfishness; where the mental and corporeal energies of men may attain their greatest development,—with the rewards of labor adequate to maintain the mind in comfort and the body in satisfaction; in a word, where men may seek and find their position as destined by their organisation—the only guarantee of happiness in the social state. The Jesuit-Institute presupposes too many difficult premises for the conclusion of that great argument. It is only when we have thoroughly meditated the endless adaptability of the human mind that we can conceive it possible for a man to live contented under such a domination. As a system of monkhood, it is undoubtedly the cleverest that has ever been, and, it is to be hoped, ever will be invented or concocted. Its mechanical products in all the departments of human action must be referred to the endless adaptability of the human mind, to which, positively, *any* motive is sufficient to eventuate the greatest exertion in any given circumstances. The book of "Spiritual Exercises" is a more remarkable production than the "Constitutions." The former, in practice, effectuates that frame of mind without which the Constitutions would be powerless, excepting where its *penalties* can operate on the basest organisations. It is the training under their constant influence which stamps or moulds every Jesuit, with unerring exactness, as to the various mental qualities that enter into his composition. In effect, what have Ignatius and his followers done in the Constitutions, but expand the primitive ideas of his spiritual strategy, forming his legion, giving it a head to command obedient soldiers—obedient by every possible motive that can promote and ensure human action? But the natural cleverness of the founder is still brilliant in the prominent essentials of his Institute. Let us consider: Luther had raised his mighty voice—its echoes were still resounding—against the

avarice of the hierarchy-priests and prelates. Ignatius stipulated for no pay to his troops, however important might be their functions. The monks were out of date, if not contemptible; but Ignatius soon convinced the cardinals that nothing was further from his intention than to institute an Order of monks; his Jesuits would wear the dress of ordinary ecclesiastics, or totally conform to that of the people among whom they lived. Here was another capital idea, and of wonderful use in after times. There was to be no public rehearsal or chaunting of the breviary among the Jesuits,—in other words, no canonical hours. The Jesuits, like Figaro, must be here, there, and everywhere. This was a bold innovation, but it took place in the age of Luther, when only bold ideas could cope with the rising spirit of the times. The Jesuits were to be select men, clever and good-looking, active, healthy, and determined in their vocation; vast lovers of their Institute, whose prime duty was to withstand and check the progress of the Reformation; and, lastly, the Jesuits were placed under the immediate protection and patronage of the pope, who, as we have seen, was just in need of such a band.

So much for the sagacity of this first Jesuit, as to the means he took for securing patronage in the right quarter—means which depended only on himself and his followers to remain in constant activity. But look within—see how he thumb-screws the novice, and yet preserves the integrity of the man—whatever that may be—keeping his distinctive passions alive, only directing their energies to “spiritual objects,” that is, all which concerned the Company—its “temporal and eternal,” between which there was, indeed, little or no “difference,”—making the practice of “religion” a veritable new nature to him, easier than any other; and the habit once gained, he wore it as you wear a garment. And to Holy Obedience what allurements were given in the fact that it would procure all things for the Jesuit, both here and hereafter; every necessary comfort of body; every gratification of mind, if he would only, by one gigantic effort, throw himself, without reserve, into the gulf of her collective interests, which constituted *her* “interests”—the portentous “party” of religionists. Thus unreservedly resigned, in *theory*—for that was all—he was certain that his individual ambition, or “interest,” would be completely consulted: for very rarely did the Jesuits misplace their workers. Throughout their history we shall very rarely find “square pegs in round holes, or round pegs in square ones.”

Those who were essentially religious by organisation, found, in the Society, ample food for their yearning; and the Society proposed to them a thousand motives for the cultivation of their delightful garden; that beautiful Eden, where no forbidden fruit of temptation could allure. These “spiritualists” of the Society were ever the adornments of which she could boast, and the world was compelled to admit their claims to admiration. The Society used them, in their innocence and simplicity, as a foil against her rancorous enemies. They were the “ten just men” in her Sodom. Meanwhile, the penalties for disobedience, the manifestation of conscience, the declaration of each other’s faults,

promoted exact discipline in the letter of the law, just as the former motives alluded to kept alive its spirit. Or, if the Jesuit indulged his corrupt nature, how strong were his motives for imitating the cunning Spartan, who was permitted “to carry off things by stealth,” but severely punished if in the fact detected.

Ignatius isolated his Company: he made it strong by union, by suppressing the hopes of individual ambition:—the Jesuit vowed never to receive any ecclesiastical dignity—in fact, he vowed from the very first to live and die in the Society.* She made her men for her own use. Only imperative circumstances—only manifest expediency could induce her to permit an exception to that rule of her constitutional grammar. Besides the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, the Jesuit takes six other vows relating to his Institute. Three of these refer to the rejection of dignities *extra societatem*, out of the Society. He vows to reject them unless compelled by the obedience which he owes to him who can command him under penalty of sin—*nisi coactum obedientia ejus qui mihi præcipere potest sub pœna peccati*. By this only the Pope is meant, not the General of the Society, not the congregation of Cardinals during an interregnum. He also vows to denounce all who canvas for those dignities. And further, to ensure ulterior contingents, he vows, in case he becomes a bishop, to “listen to the advice of the General and others of the Society.” True, he only vows to “listen” to the advice, not to seek it, not even to follow it in case he has better; but who can fail to perceive that the result must be as contemplated by the vow, nay, by the organisation of a Jesuit.?† To other monks, their Order was but a stepping-stone to the dignities of the Church. The bonds which held them to it were easily sundered. The Order was, as it were, common property; a common store-house of ecclesiastical functionaries. Party-spirit, indeed, actuated the Order, but it was comparatively powerless when its largest figures could be subtracted and posted in another ledger, where other *debts* required a *per contra*. To the Jesuit, however, his Society was a Maelstrom: she sucked him down entirely, or threw him up, as she listed. He belonged to her: she did not belong to him. She would reward him according to his “merits;” woe to him if he attempted to make her a “stepping-stone.”

* Here follows the formula of the simple vows:—“ Omnipotent, Eternal God! I, N., although in every respect most unworthy of thy Divine presence, still, confiding in thy infinite bounty and mercy, and impelled by the desire of serving thee,—Vow, in the presence of the most holy Virgin Mary and thy universal celestial court, to thy Divine Majesty, Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience perpetual, in the Society of Jesus; and I promise to enter that Society in order to live and die in it—ut vitam in eâ perpetuâ degam—taking all things in the sense of the Constitutions of the same Society. Of thy immense bounty and clemency, therefore, through the blood of Jesus Christ, I pray and beseech that thou wouldest vouchsafe to accept this holocaust in the odor of sweetnes; and as thou hast granted me the desire, and permitted the offering, so mayst thou grant me also the plentiful grace to fulfil it. Amen.”

? The extraordinary vows are as follows. 1. To go to any “Mission” in obedience to the pope. 2. Not to permit any relaxation in the vow of Poverty. 3. Not to procure any dignities in the Society. 4, 5, and 6. Those I have mentioned in the text. A seventh is also named, but it is included in the first formula, namely, to enter the Society, and accept any post assigned to him by the general. See Arsdekin, Theol. Trip. tom. ii., part ii., tract i., c. vi., art. v.

This points at once to the main characteristic of the Jesuit-Company—its loudly, uncompromising *aristocracy*—the source and end of all her power, and of all her machinations. The great body of Jesuits were servants of the general and of the favored few, comparatively speaking, who voted, like Venetian Senators, in the General Congregations—the *Professi* of the Company. Soon, very soon we shall find that aristocracy established in practice: but it resulted directly from the theory of the Constitutions—the organisation of the Society. No greater source of abuse could exist. It was utterly inconsistent with that humility which best beseemed them as religious men—bearing the name of Him who used not even the power he possessed, except to raise those beneath Him to a seat beside Him, in his kingdom. Other Orders of monks were republics—democracies, and nothing the better for *that*. All the superiors, and the generals themselves, remained in place for a limited time only. At the end of two or three years, a chapter or assembly, a general Congregation would raise up new subjects, and displace the old officials. It was a time of glorious excitement. The approach of these assemblies excited in the cloisters an universal fermentation, roused desires, filled hearts with hope and fear, engrossing every mind. The great mass of the Jesuits had nothing to do in the election of their general, except to pray for a good one, of which, however, they were to be no judges. Perhaps nothing was more quietly managed than the election of a general among the Jesuits. If he was not chosen by the Virgin Mary, as was Aquaviva, according to Nieremberg,* the aristocrats of the Company soon came to a determination, which was only the result of a small majority, almost always certain before its declaration. Once elected, the general ruled for life in absolute sway—surrounded by his “assistants,” aided by all his *Professi*, in a word, in the centre of his aristocracy. If he was an Aquaviva, he might make himself some trouble, as we shall find in the sequel: but when the number of *Professi* increased, and the Company was culminating on her meridian, the reins were slackened, and the general might bite his nails as he beheld the distant but coming cloud, fraught with doomed calamity. When the aristocracy rose in its might, the Company rolled on her troubled ocean like a ship whose ballast has canted. That was the time when the tide turned against the Jesuits: the time when they no longer deemed it necessary to seek above all the approbation of their general.

The enjoined care in the choice of officials is worthy of notice. These were to be, and generally were emphatically, men of business—cool heads and icy hearts. Cheminais, Bourdaloue, Segneri, were always simple subjects of the Society, esteemed, but powerless. The Company was proud to number them amongst her members: she enjoyed their glory as wealth that belonged to her. She flung their reputation in the face of those carpers whom other members, less estimable, attracted; but she gave them no authority. The reason might be, that those minds, unhardened by the charms of literature, would not possess

* *Vida de S. Ignacio*, c. 18.

the requisite firmness, or that, having become too much enlightened by study, they would not evince that docility which was exacted. They were appointed to teach, but not to govern men: from all times of the Society, the men employed have been old theologians, practised from their youth upwards in the subtleties of the Schools, accustomed by the long experience of the confessional to distinguish and direct all the movements of the heart, after having become, by oft-repeated trials, as capable of obeying with suppleness as of commanding with authority. Such we shall find, to the letter, the princes of this monarchy: such were the Cottons, the Lachaises, the Letelliers, so renowned in French history. But their fame is the result of their intrigues. Who has ever heard of the sermons of Cotton, the theological lessons of Lachaise, the books of Letellier? These men had only one kind of talent—that of “stirring” minds with skill: they were elevated to posts where they could display their talent with effect. Of course there resulted always from such appointments, a damaging prejudice against a Society to which nothing was useless, and which, distributing her employments amongst all her children, confided to some the care of extending her glory by labors which command applause, to others that of strengthening her power by machinations which the interest of the public found it impossible to endure.*

Other abuses, closely allied to perfections, will be pointed out as we proceed. I have anticipated times and their workers, in order to stimulate the mind of the reader to draw conclusions from facts as we advance together. I return to Ignatius and his primitive outline. The grand “merit” of the “Constitutions” is, that they lay a foundation and build round about the “hanging garden” of the “Spiritual Exercises,” and sustain the props thereof,—or, like the banian tree, always striking in new roots and striking out new branches. Herein is the focus of my admiration of this wonderful Spaniard. He may never have guessed, imagined, or foreseen that the voluntary beggars of his order would rise to the right hand of princes, sway the destinies of nations, and frighten the world with a new terror. But he has the merit of having laid the foundation of a superstructure that might have permanently benefitted mankind, had he been less of a bigot, less of a soldier, less of a Spaniard, less of a monk. Still he was a shrewd man, yet full of imagination; a calculator, and yet no gambler in human chances. Another Lycurgus he was: but a Lycurgus of a deeper mould and higher power—since he was a child of Christianity—a child of the Church. He was a man of one idea: too much learning had not made him mad. His was a Spanish will, which means a haughty, indomitable will, that would have bridged the Red Sea, if the waters had not parted. “If by ordinary means I cannot succeed,” said he once, “I will sell myself rather than disband my German phalanx!”†

The praise of extraordinary *devotion* cannot be denied him: all his practices, his visions and spiritual visitations, his subsequent miracles, attest the fact (to the Catholic); but with these excellences he had

* Linguet, Hist Impart. des Jesuites, t. i.

† Bouhours, &c.

others. His mind was endowed with the cunning of the fox, (so elegant in his manœuvres,) with the constructiveness of the spider, (so persevering in her toil,) with the sagacity of the elephant, (so clever with his proboscis,) and the cool, sound common sense of Oliver Cromwell, who both knew how to make and manage fanatics, to serve a purpose. Ignatius was no fanatic, nor was Oliver Cromwell. Both had ends to accomplish, and they knew the right way thereto: both had ambition—that of Ignatius merits the greater approbation; for, after all, he gained what nobody lost, which cannot be said of Oliver Cromwell.

Ignatius made his religion the basis of his monarchy: thus he possessed an appeal to a motive as omnipotent as it is inexplicable. Convince a man that he works for God and with God, and he will believe himself omnipotent. His belief will be the most reasonable in the world—if we assume all that he takes for granted. Now, Ignatius inspired his followers with this belief: Mohammed did the same: Cromwell did the same: and all lived to triumph. They were therefore extraordinary men, and by no means stark mad, as people called them, or *simple* fanatics.

See how Ignatius catches at the spirit of his times. His monarchy had talents of the highest order for its rampart and defence. He doubted the general efficiency of universal talent: he would seize the salient point of intellect—the peculiar talent (which every man has) and fortify it by a well-directed and exclusive exercise. What was the result? As a mechanician has a lever for one movement, a screw for another, a wedge for a third, a pulley for a fourth,—so had Ignatius an orator for one enterprise, a statesman for another, (though he eschewed politics,) a philosopher for a third, a deep-toned moralist for a fourth, and—observe the important fact—a *gentleman* for all. The novices have rules of politeness to study, and the Jesuits were generally, if not always, conspicuous for their gentlemanly bearing. Frivolous things, no doubt, but ask the world what they think of their *effect*.

Such an institution could not fail to be successful. Its success to superficial observers (the unreasonable enemy, and the open-mouthed admirer) would appear to be the result of *mere* intrigue, or *divine* interposition—"so wisely did they charm"—whereas its success was the necessary consequence of genius (which is power), acting against dulness (which is weakness), in the midst of a thousand circumstances which favored that success. Nor was its *novelty* the least important of secondary aids.

Hac arte Pollux, et vagus Hercules
Ensus, arces attigit igneas!

The world beheld the Jesuit's work, and was astounded. The Jesuit was aware of the admiration he excited. He was also confident of the "good" he effected. Both facts stimulated to greater exertion; achievement became his *temptation*. And the world—the unreasonable world—taxed his energies with jealous requirements. He was expected to be a pattern of every excellence in the midst of a perverse generation.

Enemies sprung up like weeds in a tropic marsh. It is useful to the wise to have enemies; they increase vigilance and redouble exertion. Hence the comparative, if not the positive, superiority of the Jesuits in their observance of the second vow, and the exemplary conduct of multitudes among them, during the space of three hundred years. The watchfulness of their Institute, its system of mutual admonition, its manifestation of conscience, its spy system, effected this in a great measure; but the Argus-eyes of watchful enemies gave vigor to that very system, and lent one more motive to individual integrity. How soon they made enemies! And why? This history will explain most of the reasons—some creditable to them, others disgraceful. Nor must their sudden success be overlooked; nor the secrecy of their Institute. To the *externs*, as every one not a Jesuit was called, the knowledge of the Institute was forbidden without express permission of a superior.* The world was unreasonable enough to object to this pertinacious secrecy. Nobody has a greater right to complain of secrecy than the “world.” Soon the foulest imputations were laid to the Jesuits, and they were suspected of entertaining a very immoral system, which they were ashamed and afraid to make public. It was only their vast success that produced this clamor; how far that success was promoted by unfair means, is a different question; but assuredly it was unreasonable to make the Jesuits bear all the blame for keeping their Institute secret, since the practice was a standing order among the monks. The Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Barnabites, bound themselves to obey the same injunctions.† And yet why not publish the Institute? Why object to show the world both that there is nothing in it of which you are ashamed, or *on* which *other* statutes may be founded to be certainly kept secret? It will be hard to answer these questions without an appeal to other “usual practices”—which leaves the question unanswered—or without resorting to sophistry as flimsy as gauze. In point of fact, however, all the statutes of the Jesuit Institute were not *written* law—or rather not *printed*; for even in the first general congregation decrees were omitted as being “private business”—*privata tantum negotia*.‡ The consequence is that we stumble now and then into an hiatus, which we cannot help thinking, from both sides of it, must contain some very curious provisions; for instance, between XLVIII. . . . 34 and XLIX. . . . 36; two being omitted; and between CXL. . . . 61, and CXLI. . . . 63, two more are left out; though it is almost evident that in the former the power of the General is concerned, and in the latter the temporalities or possessions of the novices. What a pity to omit such curious topics! Assuredly these decrees would not disappoint our curiosity, so eager for “private business.” They would not disappoint us as Adam Contzen, the Jesuit apologist, tells us the heretics were disappointed when they first beheld the Constitutions, brought to light by some speculating Dutch printer, about the year 1605.

* Reg. xxxviii.

† Const. Gen. Franc. c. vi. Cleric. reg. in officio præp. Cass. reg. c. iii. p. 8.

‡ Non quidem omnia, sed pleraque, prætermisis videlicet iis, quæ privata tantum negotia continent. Vide “Ad Lectorem” in Decret. Cong. Gen. Ed. Ant. 1702.

“Good God!” the Jesuit exclaims sarcastically, “how the preachers exulted, how our enemies shook hands congratulating, when in the *trade catalogue* they saw ‘THE CONSTITUTIONS AND RULES OF THE JESUITS!’ What a crush of buyers there were! They boasted of the hidden places of the Society being laid open—her secrets detected, penetrated to the bottom; the most recondite mysteries of Antichrist were brought to light! But iniquity lied unto herself,” says Adam Contzen, “they found nothing but what was holy, pious, religious.”* “This edition of truth, that is of the Rules,” continues the Jesuit, “annulled the belief of a thousand lies; whilst the foe prepared to do us harm, he conciliated to us many thousand men.” If such was really the fact, how inexpedient then was it to put under a bushel those Constitutions, and leave it for a speculating Dutchman surreptitiously to show forth to the world, all full of admiration, the “sincerity of the Society, her most holy scope, and the integrity of her laws.”†

In the estimation of the Jesuits, at least, there was nothing wonderful in the fierce hostility they encountered. Long before—during Kenelm Digby’s *Ages of Faith*—St. Basil, St. Benedict, St. Bernard, St. Dominic, and St. Francis, had the mortification to see their respective monks very roughly handled—simply, we are distinctly assured, because “with their holy life, doctrine, and preaching, they aided souls, and opposed themselves to the torrent of vices and abominations, and supported with their shoulders the Church which seemed menaced with ruin”‡—in the *Ages of Faith!* *O mores catholici!* “And as their manner of life,” continues the Jesuit Ribadeneyra, “was different to that which was followed and admitted by the other monks of those days, the novelty of their Rule and Institute produced wonder and also indignation in many who persecuted them; and books, disputations, and sermons censured and condemnnd that manner of life as an innovation, as suspicious, and pernicious. The Apostolic See was forced to take the thing in hand, and with her authority repress the insolent, and defend the Institutes which she had approved; and the most holy and most learned doctors, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure sallied forth to encounter the *enemies of all religion and virtue*, and rebut their sophistical and deceitful arguments, as they did with marvellous erudition and prudence, and gained the victory over those infernal monsters—*alcancaron vitoria de aquellos monstruos infernales!*”* Brave words, decidedly. Soon he comes to the front of the world’s offending: “Now, as the Institute of this our least company of Jesus—*nuestra minima Compañía de Jesus*—has some things different to the other Institutes (although she agrees with them in the essentials of an Institute), it is not to be wondered at that many take offence at them, and for not knowing how well founded they are in reason, in the antiquity

* Discep. De Secretis S. J. p. 24. Ed. Mogunt. 1617.

† Ubi suprà, p. 25.

‡ Para que con su santa vida, doctrina, y predicacion, ayudassen à las almas, y se opusiesen al torrente de los vicios y maldades, y sustentasen con sus hombros la Yglesia, que parecia amenazar ruina. Ribaden.—*Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedicacion.*

§ *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedicacion.*

and the doctrine of the saints, and how proportioned and appropriate they are to the end which the same Company proposes, find fault with them and deem them out-of-the-way novelties. Some of these reprobates and censors are heretics, and pestilential men, and enemies of all religion, particularly with respect to the points which present to them the greater resistance. As to these oppugners I have nothing here to say—inasmuch as their vituperation is our glory, and their reproach is our praise. There are others who, although Catholics, do not live as Catholics and faithful Christians, nor conform to the law of God, but are rather buried and overwhelmed by their vices, and abhor religious men who strive to lend them a hand to extricate them from that quagmire in which they remain—men who seek and take occasion to abuse everything which thwarts their passions and desires.” So much for the first and second class of Jesuit opponents. The Jesuit goes on with his classification. “Others are not wanting (and perhaps they are the majority) who easily believe what they hear, and with greater facility tell what they have heard, and without investigating and purifying the truth, blame what they do not know nor understand, and think that evil which they do not know to be good.” The fourth class is more interesting. “But what shall I say of some religious men [monks] who are so satisfied and pleased with their own Institute and manner of life, that whatever in other Institutes differs with what they observe in their own, think it wrong, and strive with the same measure to measure the unequal works of God? Let them be praised for being satisfied with their vocation, and acknowledge to our Lord the mercy he has done them in their vocation, esteeming their rule as the best adapted for themselves; but let them not condemn the things which in the other orders differ from theirs, since neither he who eats has reason to judge him who eats not; nor he who eats not, to condemn him who eats, according to St. Paul; and to do the contrary, is to straiten the divine grace which, as saith the apostle St. Peter, is various and multi-form.” It is the *devil* again who is to bear the blame for the opposition to the spirit of Ignatius. “The stratagems of Satan,” says the Jesuit, “are many and very various; sometimes he openly strives to undo the works of the Lord; at others, he transforms himself into an angel of light (as saith the same apostle), and, under the color of religion, impugns religion, to the great detriment of the same religion and scandal of poor simple folk, stimulating some religious men [monks] who with the cloak of zeal and piety, disturb other religious men who are their brothers, and all soldiers and ministers of the same Lord.” Having finished his classification, he proceeds as follows: “Wherefore it has occurred to me to write this treatise, and to imitate in it the true men already named, the glorious and most learned Doctors St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, and (although with unequal wealth of spirit, learning and prudence) to give the reason for certain things of our Institute, which some oppugn, for not knowing well the reasons which the Company has for using them. I hope, with the infinite bounty of the Lord, that he will guide us in such a manner, that all those who with clear and dispassionate eyes should read it, may understand that the things

which at the present time seem novelties, were *ancient*, and used in the church of the Lord in *past ages*; and that our Institute has a most excellent end in view, and that the means she uses are most reasonable and fashioned to attain that end. And with this, those who, for not knowing our Institute, think ill of it, will be disabused; and those who knowingly oppose it, will give way or be confounded; and the Lord (whose work the Company is) shall be glorified as her author and protector; and the good will be edified and more kindly disposed to what they shall see founded in reason, in antiquity, in authority, in doctrine, and custom of the holy Fathers and masters of all Institutes.”*

Ribadeneyra fulfils his promise. To the Catholic triumphantly he proves all he undertakes. Fathers, Councils, and Catholic Reason fly forth at his bidding, and every distinctive characteristic of the Society is proved to be established, as he promised, in the antiquity, authority, doctrine, custom of the Fathers, and Catholic Reason. By this Jesuit's showing, you will be astounded by the fact (if you did not believe what I said of Ignatius and his Institute, in the first pages of my work)—you will be astounded by the fact, that the essential features of this least Company of Jesus are as old as the sun of Rome. Her name, her absence of any peculiar dress, the absence of a choir, her gratuitous services, *blind obedience—obediencia ciega que pide y enseña la Compañía*,—her eschewing of church-dignities, manifestation of conscience; in a word, all are antiquities, and only revived by holy Father Ignatius. In truth, there's nothing new under the sun!

This establishes the fact that Ignatius and his companions knew what they were about. They worked with an object. We can now believe that before drawing up the Constitutions, Ignatius had read the rules and histories of the religious orders;† and only selected what accorded with his own peculiar organisation. Thus all the mind of Catholic antiquity had a share in constructing the Jesuit. The multiform man is but a patchwork after all. “Legion” is a subscription-devil. The whole mystery is explained. All is quite natural. The “inspiration,” the “revelation,” the “lambent flame” round about his head, which the Jesuit biographers talk about, is all moonshine for “poor simple folk,”—*la gente simple y vulgar*. Neither Christ nor the Virgin Mary has a share in the Jesuit, as the Jesuit Tollenarius affirms in the famous *Imago*.† He is the joint manufacture of the Fathers, the Councils, Catholic Reason, and Don Ignacio, *ci-devant* warrior, penitent, anchoret, strolling preacher, pilgrim, and now General of the Jesuits, and sturdy right arm of the pope and popedom. Such a man, and such companions, (Ribadeneyra, whom you have heard, was one,) are expressly needed. The pope of Rome, the Catholic kings of the earth, bethought them that such men would be valuable friends to their cause—the subjugation of the masses, at that time set in commotion by the ardent breathings of liberty, civil and religious. Oh! 'twas a glorious prospect—a spirit-stirring something-beyondness! Far across the wide

* *Tratado . . . de la Comp. de Jesus. Dedication.*

† Bouhours, ii. 343.
† Post Christum et Mariam Societatis Auctor et Parens Sanctus Ignatius, p. 78.

oceans, too, Atlantic and Pacific, millions were waiting, ready to be subdued to the yoke. The sword would compel, but "Christianity" would induce, subjection. The preaching of the Gospel could secure the reign of Mammon. The banner of the cross would sanctify the tyranny of kings. And the kings of the earth made friends with the Jesuits, gave them their hands, and with their hands, right joyously, full purses; and for a time they worked together in amity—friends indeed because friends in need. The first movements of the Jesuits heralded the sublimest epoch of their achievements. They began with hazardous enterprise: they have rarely shrunk from peril. If they become monopolists, they will be visited with the odium of those who cannot cope with them either in the peculiar quality of their commodity, or the price of the article, which was dirt-cheap. For "nothing" you might have the services of men of action and men of study: men qualified for daring enterprise, and men capable of profound policy; men of dauntless resolution, and men of insinuating manners; men who can win the favor and gain the confidence of the gentler sex, and men who can mingle in all the intrigues of state policy; men who, with a martyr's zeal, will risk everything for the conversion of the heathen abroad, and men of polemic skill to carry on controversies at home;* but, withal, in mercy, excuse him, if you can, should you find, for ever and ever, in the Jesuit, a complete devotedness, body and soul, to the *interests of his order*, ever ready—nay, eager—at the least sign of holy obedience, to perform any function in that Company, which now undertakes, with papal approbation, that is, *secundum artem*, to drug mankind with what she calls—

A THOUSAND NOSTRUMS FOR ALL DISEASES.†

* Baptist Magazine, No. cxi.

† Mille agitent morbi, mille ulcera, mille dolores;

Illa domus causas mille salutis habet.—*Imago*, p. 454.

For Man's thousand diseases and ulcerous ills
This Company mixes her doses and pills.

BOOK IV. OR, LAINEZ.

SPLENDID was the prospect before Ignatius and his troop: full of difficulty, but full of hope—for an unconquerable Will impelled them: to dare, was to be victorious. The Vicar of Christ had declared to the disciples, the designs and intentions of the Eternal respecting their leader. Two worlds of virgin-pagans were added to the world of cast-away Christians. The barbarians, as they were deemed, of the East, and the cannibals of the West, were destined to compensate the Church for her losses in this little old world of ours—*nostro piccolo e vecchio mondo*. These barbarians and cannibals were to supply the place of the heretics consigned to perdition. But it was incumbent that a man should arise full of charity, zeal, courage, and Apostolic zeal wherewith to fill a multitude of such heroic workers, ready to sacrifice their labor, sweat, blood, and life, to the preaching of the Gospel and the conquest of souls; craving nothing in return—stipulating no reward for their labor, excepting only the “merit” of the performance—whithersoever the sign was given to them, thither to rush professionally bound, to do the work of the ministry, enlarging the limits of the Church, and God’s kingdom, as far as worlds were discovered, and realms could be penetrated by a dashing, headlong apostolate. Nor was the little old world of Europe to be resigned to the heretics without a struggle. Luther and Calvin would find their match in Ignatius and his Jesuits. They would be met by preaching, teaching, writing, disputing. Schools would be planted against schools, pulpits would be raised against pulpits, voices would be opposed to voices, learning to learning, books to books, until the bank of heresy be broken, and its masters ruined for ever.*

A beautiful prospect—in the issue to the pope and his Catholics: but dismally the reverse for their antagonists. The struggle would be fierce—inhuman passions would be roused—dread calamities, individual and national, would attend—but what mattered that? The end seemed desirable. Let it be attempted. Let the strife begin. God wills it. God has raised up a man to fight his battle. The broken-down knight of Pampeluna is the Mohammed of Christendom. Has not such a deliverance chanced many a time and oft in the troubles of the Church?

* Bartoli, *Dell’ Ital.* p. 1, *et seq.*

Rose there ever a "leader of heresy" without "a champion of the faith" to shiver a lance with the monster? Did not the great Athanasius brave Arius to the face? Did not Cyril of Alexandria put down Nestorius? Was not Jerome a match for Vigilantius, and two others besides? Did not Augustin demolish the Manichees? Did not Bernard crush Abelard? Did not Dominic annihilate the Albigenses? And even at this blessed hour—if there be another heresy brooding in the breast, biding its time, there will arise, as there will be needed, the heart, the hand, the zeal, the chivalry of some new David to shatter the head and humble the pride of the blaspheming Goliah.* And men will suffer, without being bettered in body, in heart, in mind. Civilization will be retarded. Men will retrograde. It will require hundreds of years to school memory into forgetfulness of the hideous strife, of which there will be ten thousand monuments in every history—in every land—which the minds of our children must learn to remember, to be treasured as a new gospel, but bereft of all charity—all brotherly love—all the sweetest feelings that enable us cheerfully to work through our pilgrimage to heaven.

Ignatius was the new David of the present strife. His nine other Davids demand a short description. Peter Lefevre was the son of a Savoyard goat-herd. Evincing an aptitude and inclination for study, his father took him from the flock and sent him to college. He became a proficient in Latin, Greek, and Rhetoric; and subsequently proceeded to Paris, where, in the college of St. Barbara, he took his degree in 1530. He had just commenced his course of theology when Ignatius entered the same college to commence his hopeless philosophy—but also, as it appears, to gain a proselyte in Peter Lefevre. They became acquainted. "Ignatius could not have found a soul better adapted to his design, nor Peter a companion more to his taste." Ignatius set his eyes on Peter as a fit "companion of the work he was machinating,"—*per compagno dell' opera che machinava*,—and Peter confided in Ignatius as "a master of his soul, which was beyond his own guidance." It appears that he had the misfortune to be strongly tempted by the flesh. Scruples of conscience supervened. He found a refuge in the man of the "Spiritual Exercises." "Against the suggestions of carnal concupiscence, gluttony, and vain-glory, which were so troublesome to him, Ignatius prescribed his own practical method of pulling up, by the particular Examination of Conscience, the roots of those affections, one by one, from the heart, where such poisonous herbs usually sprout." For two years Ignatius attended the patient, apparently without alleviating the symptoms of the disease. Peter was still in utter perplexity, not knowing what to do with himself, soul or body, when Ignatius, seizing the happy moment, told him, as though in confidence, that he intended to cross the seas for the Holy Land, there to give his labors and his life for the conversion of the infidels. Peter

* Bartoli's notion. "E forse hora se ne tiene altri in petto, e trarranneli a luogo e a tempo, secondo le contingenze de' secoli avverine, ove a spezzare la fronte e l'orgoglio d'alcun nuovo bestemmiatore Golia, sia mestieri il cuore, la mano, il zelo, ■ la gagliardia d'alcun nuovo David."—*Dell' Ital.* p. 3.

rushed into his arms—his heart was full of affection—embraced him tenderly, and offered to be his companion. The Jesuits call him “the first-begotten of Saint Ignatius”—*il primogenito di S. Ignatio.** Lefevre made himself useful to his patron; he proved himself worthy of the choice by the cultivation of those qualities which were at first evident in the man predestined to be a Jesuit, by the founder. He possessed the most peculiar dexterity in throwing spiritual hints into familiar conversation, conversing in a manner so ingenuously familiar, without betraying any artfulness, and yet with such exquisite art, and with such powerful effect, that he seemed to put his hand into the heart of his hearer, there to stamp the idea and emotions he sought to excite. His method was to fall in cleverly with the conversation of those whom he met, just as if he embarked in the same ship with them for a voyage of their choosing. Then, by degrees, putting his hand to the helm, he turned the argument to his design, which, we are assured, was always the soul’s salvation, and he did it so well, that imperceptibly his hearers found themselves where they, at first, least expected. He always took his objects by surprise; his arms were ever invisible; he was never suspected, and, therefore, found no resistance. In the opinion of Ignatius he had no equal in the management of the “Spiritual Exercises.” He won for Ignatius three new companions—Lejay, Brouet, and Codure, three choice spirits, all masters in theology, and two of them priests; the first a Genevan, said to be an angel in mind and a rare genius; the second, a Frenchman or a Belgian, just as it suited his purpose to declare. “He gave out that he was of Picardy, for a very useful reason,” says the Jesuit Damian. “It was lest he should be driven from Paris and France on the breaking out of the war between King Francis and the Emperor, he being born in Cambray, and, therefore, a subject of the latter. This *dissimulation*,” observes the Jesuit, “made up the military band of ten”—*et valuit ea dissimulatio ad Decuriæ numerum.*† Codure was a Frenchman. Francis Xavier was the Founder’s second acquisition. In the opinion of the Jesuits, “if Ignatius had made the conquest of no other member, he would not have been at all less fortunate than he who *finds a precious pearl*, and, in order to possess it, gives all he has, becomes fortunately poor, and with a single but most advantageous gain, compensates for a thousand small losses.‡ Xavier became the “Great Apostle of the Indies”—the “Alexander of the Missions,”—which last was nearer the truth, as we shall see in due time. Xavier was born in Navarre, at a place of the same name, not far from Pampeluna, where Ignatius received his salutary shot—*il salutevole colpa*. He is stated to have sprung from one of the oldest and most illustrious families of Navarre. He studied at Paris, graduated and professed philosophy for more than three years, with great applause. When Ignatius insinuated himself into the heart of Peter Lefevre, who was Xavier’s friend, the latter looked upon him with contempt and loathing. The excessive humility of the man was

* Bartoli, Dell’ Ital. 96—100.

† Bart. *ubi suprà*, p. 101.

† Synop. Primi Sæc. S. J.—*Pranar.*

revolting to Xavier. His spiritual suggestions elicited a joke or a scoff. It was thus evident that a different method must be tried on one who seemed, at the very first, a pearl of great price. Xavier was ambitious. Ignatius resolved to attack him by that ambition itself, just as Judith, says Bartoli, with the love of Holofernes, to gain him first thereby, and triumph over him at last. Xavier was anxious to shine —eager for literary renown. Ignatius applied himself to find him pupils and hearers. He won and brought them to him. In every possible way he made himself appear interested in the honor of the young professor. Xavier had a heart: it was touched: it melted at this display of kindness: he began to look on Ignatius with different eyes: the most despicable of men becomes amiable when he shows himself “a friend in need”—I mean, as the world goes: for, in truth, it is not every heart that would receive a blessing or a gift from the thing it despises. Ignatius stopped not there: “he tempted him, he seduced him by the enticement of praise . . . he became Xavier's admirer: then, by degrees, insinuating himself into his confidence, and mastering his ambitious desires, he led him away.” “Believe me,” he said, “the vain honors of earth are too little for a heart so generous as yours. The kingdom of heaven alone is worthy of you. I do not pretend to extinguish your ardor for glory, nor to inspire you with grovelling sentiments. Be ambitious—be magnanimous: but give your ambition a higher flight, and display the greatness of your soul by despising all that is perishable.”* Such is the Jesuit account of Xavier's conversion. True or false, it exhibits a *method* whose efficacy has its source in a perfect knowledge of the heart. If Ignatius did not win Xavier by a similar method, there can be little doubt that it was practised on many occasions, and for many purposes, by those who so glibly and ostentatiously describe the process.† The youth, only in his twenty-second year, joined Ignatius. Lainez and Salmeron were Spaniards: the former in his twenty-first year, a “master in philosophy;” the latter in his eighteenth, and yet “consummate in Greek, Latin and Hebrew.” They were travelling in quest of knowledge, after the manner of the ancient sages, and had a mind to see Ignatius, who is said to have been even then “in the odor of sanctity.” He met them at the gates of Paris. Their conquest was easy. Ignatius passed them through his Exercises; they emerged accomplished—destined to be famous, both of them—and one to succeed the founder in the Generalate. Bobadilla was also a Spaniard—a man of fire and energy—“no ordinary genius,” in quest of divinity at Paris: but he fell into debt. Ignatius gave him money and the Exercises, and he remained his perpetual companion. Simon Rodriguez was a Portuguese, concerning whom his father had predicted on his death-bed “that God had chosen him for great things in his service.” He joined Ignatius with the intention of preaching to the Turks in Palestine. These were, with Ignatius, the ten first Jesuits, now about to interest us with their attempts and achievements.‡

* Bouhours, i. p. 188.

† Bartoli is, as usual, excessively voluminous on the subject. *Ubi supra*, p. 101, et seq.

‡ Bartoli, Bouhours, Maffeus, &c.

The reader will not be surprised to hear that amongst the innumerable faults found with the Jesuits, the very *number* of the first founders has been considered portentous. The number Ten, says the Calvinist Misenus, is termed *Atlas* by the Pythagoreans: whence, not without a mystery, the first who formed the Company were ten, for thus the Jesuits support the popedom, as *Atlas* bears the burthen of the skies —*vertice supposito sidera fulcit Atlas*. It is unaccountable how a Calvinist could assimilate the popedom to the *skies*: but a *Jesuit in disguise*, on the contrary, found in the number a presage of the wonders which the Company would perform. With admirable wit, at least, “Florimond de Raimond,” (the *Jesuit Richeome*,) a staunch opponent of the Protestants, said that “the Company would be that *decuman, or tenth wave*, by which the bark of the pirate Luther would be sunk.”*

Scarcely was the Company established by papal mandate, when the ten first Jesuits found themselves in position. Ere the Constitutions were drawn up, the Society was in action. What were they to do? Work. That was the watchword. Anticipating the theoretical network of the Constitutions, Ignatius issued a few regulations for the guidance of his soldiers, the sum total of which was, “to have God before their eyes always as much as possible—with Christ for a model—to see God in their superiors—obedience being an infallible oracle—a guide that never leads astray:—mutual charity, silence, except when forced to speak, religious deportment, were enjoined. Wit, eloquence, wisdom, were nothing in comparison of virtue: affronts and reproaches would be their best reward for their services to their neighbor, the only recompense that the world gave to the labors of Christ. Should they commit a fault which might become public, they were not to despair; but rather to give thanks to God for permitting their fault to teach them the weakness of their virtue: let them be more humble for the future, and let others profit by the warning. Let them be neither excessively gay, nor gloomy, nor cast down; but firm in their vocation, ever on their guard against the evil spirit, with his contradictory suggestions to deceive by the propensities.”†

Francis Xavier was despatched to India as Apostolic Legate. Bobadilla had been appointed, but he fell ill, and thus unfortunately lost the chance of being canonised for converting millions to the faith and innumerable and stupendous miracles; but he would have given more trouble than Xavier, and thus his illness was a blessed event for the nascent Society. When the man fell ill, Ignatius “thought before God

* *Decumus*, i. e. *decimus*, means *tenth*, and also *huge*, in which sense it was applied to a *wave* by the Latin poets—*decumani fluctus*. Ovid, with his occasional affectation, says—

“Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes:
Posterior nono est, undecimoque prior.”—*Trist. lib. i. 2.*

As the storm-wave of humanity, kings and nations, the Society should bear this motto in her “pride of place.” Bartoli quotes those words of “Florimond;” but he takes good care not to say that *this* Florimond was no other than the Jesuit Richeome, with ■ borrowed name. See Placcius, Moreri, and Barbier.

† Bouhours, p. 295.

to fill his place" and go himself to India—which would have been, perhaps, more disastrous for the Company; "or rather," adds the Jesuit, who never flinches at an interpretation, "or rather, he thought before God to choose him whom God himself had elected:"—a celestial ray illumined him at once—and Francis Xavier was the man. "Xavier," he exclaimed, "I had named Bobadilla for the Indies: but Heaven names *you* to-day; and I announce it to you in the name of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Receive the appointment which His Holiness lays upon you by my mouth, just as if Jesus Christ presented it himself, and rejoice to find the means of satisfying that ardent desire we had to carry the faith beyond the seas. This is not Palestine only, nor a province of Asia, but immense lands, innumerable kingdoms—an entire world. It is only so vast a field that is worthy of your courage and your zeal. Go, brother, whither the voice of God calls you, whither the Holy See sends you—and inflame all with the fire within you—the fire divine.—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino.*"* These last words were the Founder's talisman on all similar occasions: they fanned the flame of enthusiasm: for where is the heart that would not brave every peril whereat humanity shrinks, if but sublimed by that unlimited confidence in its power by those words of fire inflamed. Other posts were filled with equally resolute champions of the faith and popedom. To Venice was sent Lainez, Le Fevre to Madrid, Bobadilla and Lejay to Vienna and Ratisbon, and to Ireland were despatched Salmeron and Brouét, whose mission is somewhat important and interesting.

Pope Adrian IV., an Englishman, had, in the twelfth century, made a grant of Ireland to King Henry II. of England, on the simple conditions that the king shoud pay him a yearly tribute for each house in Ireland, that the Catholic religion should be restored to its former respectability, and the people be made to lead a life of commendable decency.† If the first condition proves that there were houses in Ireland, the other two suggest the probability, at least, that neither the religion nor morality of Ireland was then in a flourishing condition. However, a papal grant is not a bird in the hand: though the pope—a man who had been a beggar long enough to feel for others—did not think proper to consult the will of the people, Henry smothered the Bull, biding his time, lest he should burn his fingers. Providence—

* This usual phrase of Ignatius in the original, is taken from Nieremberg: the speech from Bouhours. It is astonishing how diffuse and profuse the Jesuits are in all such matters. However, there is really history in all they write—quite as much as in their deeds recorded. They tell us that Xavier had been forewarned by dreams of his appointment. He dreamed that he carried a huge and very black Indian on his shoulders. You will see the thing engraved in the *Imago*. He also beheld in a dream vast seas, full of tempests and shoals, desert islands, savage lands, everywhere hunger, and thirst, and nakedness, with endless labors, bloody persecutions, "perils of death." Suggested as usual by *desire*, these dreams are possible enough; but the Jesuits will have them to be supernatural.

† "Titulus ille prium Henrico collatus fertur ab Adriano IV. . . . eâ lege, ut Sedis Apostolicæ singulos asses pro singulis Hiberniæ domibus quotannis persolveret, ac Catholicam Religionem ad pristinum decorem, et populum ad laudabilem vitæ normam redigeret."—Arsdekin, *Theol. Trip.* t. i. p. 306.

you may be sure *that* was his interpretation—came to his assistance : an adultery was committed by one of the kings of Ireland : he was expelled : Henry received him with open arms, espoused his cause, and permitted some Welsh adventurers to attempt the conquest of Ireland for himself, which they effected with the greatest possible ease. In 1174 Henry saw himself acknowledged lord supreme of all Ireland. The consequences were most disastrous to the people. A griping aristocracy amongst whom the country was portioned, rioted in their revenues without a thought for the national welfare, the religion of the people, or their morality. Selfishness and oppression swayed the destinies of those Christian *Catholics*—be it plainly understood, for there were no Protestant persecutors in those days of Catholic (or universal) Catholicism. The evils, thus begun under the reigns of orthodoxy, were not likely to cease when “religious” rancor was superadded to national oppression, as a stirring cause of resistance. Men were not wanting to make both causes serve their selfish purposes, whilst the misguided *people* infallibly smarted for their betters. “Roaring bellows of sedition” fanned the flame, and “incendiary Pharisees” stirred up the embers. A “rebellion,” of course, followed, in the reign of Henry VIII., and the Pope of Rome, Paul III., of Jesuit notoriety, took the Emerald Isle under his immediate patronage.* The Irish, who had little reason to be satisfied with English rule and English contrivances for the last four hundred years, were easily brought to abhor, and well they might, the proceedings of Henry VIII., in religion and morality, whilst the Catholic party took care that this “virtuous indignation” should fester into the loathsome ulcer of “religious” rancor. Many circumstances combined to aggravate the question. In every other country society had taken a step in advance. For good or for evil, it matters not here to prove, but still there *was* movement. The hitherto stagnant compound of mind and sentiment was stirred to its uttermost depths. Hopes and fears flamed floating on the surface, and kept it simmering. There was nothing of the kind in Ireland. No hope, no prospect, gave Irishmen a motive to spring from their childhood, when all the world else was grown older, if not better. Civil dissensions, beggarly contests about “dirty acres” and pelf, kept up their natural eloquence, practised their tongues, but their minds slept on—the motiveless inaction of children. Political chaos, moral anarchy, were the products of aristocratical domination ; but in the *theory* of their ancient religion there was no mutation. This was, this is at the present time, the result of mental supineness. It holds also to the Irishman’s nature, his organisation. An Irishman is essentially a man of *out-sides*—a man of surface, which is, however, always interesting as a pretty landscape. In depth he is greatly deficient. Over the surface of things

* The hopes of the pope were centred in young Gerald, a boy of about twelve years of age. He was conveyed beyond the reach of Henry, and after being chased from country to country by the tyrant’s policy or revenge, “he was at the recommendation of Pope Paul III. taken under the protection of the Prince Bishop of Liege, and afterwards into the family of his kinsman, Cardinal Pole.”—*Lingard*, vi. p. 324. Would to Heaven that we could ascribe this “patronage to sympathy for affliction.”

he sports and shakes off wit from his active wings. Reasoning fatigues, overpowers, disgusts him. He will grant your conclusions if you will spare him the trouble of following you through your major and minor. But his self-love, his pride, are splendid to behold in every phase of his calamities. These support, these rouse his energies, these constitute his motives of acquiescence or resistance, as the case may be ; and these motives were, and are, the foundation of his clinging to the old religion, even when really of no faith whatever, if tested by the dictates of morality. Hence, a Catholic bishop said that “the Irish believe like saints, though they sin like devils.” His country, unfortunately, had not a fair chance to embrace the opportunity of enlightenment when the meteor shot athwart the firmament of Europe in the sixteenth century. Successive attempts had prepared other countries for religious and intellectual reform. In her distant nook of the world, far from the scene of intellectual agitation, how could she learn to think, and reason, and adopt a vigorous conclusion ? She knew nothing of Huss, nothing of Wycliffe ; she had heard nothing of that booming sound which preluded to every thoughtful ear the bursting of the *Aetna* ; and the dense mist above her shut out the bright lightnings of the conflagration which fired the intellect of the sixteenth century. Ireland remained “Roman Catholic.” She could neither reason herself out of her faith, nor had she any reason to please her masters by adopting theirs. It did not offer to rid her of oppression. It would not be accompanied by bodily and mental alleviation, to judge from past experience, since what was English and what was oppressive had always been one and the same. The priests took admirable care to deepen the notion. In fact, had Ireland been even inclined to join in the Protestant movement, had she even been able to reason herself into doubt of the old religion, coming from England it was sure to be resisted. In her circumstances it could only be another motive for withstanding the enemy who, not content with forcing his yoke upon her neck, would nail a religion on her mind. Resistance was natural ; but, unfortunately, it was the resistance of a madman ; violence and torture stilled it cruelly. The first suffering, the first shedding of blood, the first “martyrs” established a “party” which would ever “stir,” and has always “stirred,” the resourceless people to their own destruction—fooling the noble race of Irishmen—ever fooling them as though they were gaping idiots born only for suffering and starvation. And what was the watchword ? Why, the *Authority of the pope*—that cruel thing which had sold their country to the English invader. Fitzgerald proclaimed himself its champion ; “he took arms in Ireland, in defence of the pope’s authority.”* His attempt was stifled. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, who followed in his track, had no better success. Henry’s power and patronage bore down all opposition. Irish parliaments voted everything he pleased, just like his English convocations. They passed statutes abolishing papal authority, declaring Henry head

* “*Pro pontificis auctoritate in Hiberniâ arma sumpserat.*”—*Pole. Lingard*, vi. p. 325.

of the Irish Church, and liberally gave him what did not belong to them—the first fruits of all ecclesiastical livings.* Partial insurrections followed, if party contests can bear the name—contests without one rational hope of success in a cause which, to triumph, demands unity of council, in the midst of national fixity, industrial energy, and moral perseverance, totally devoid of those freezing, petty motives, inseparable from sacerdotal and papal influence. Partial insurrections followed; but Henry's power and patronage rose above all. The Irish chieftains and the lords of the pale outstripped each other in professions of obedience to his authority. A parliament assembled. Ireland from a lordship was raised to the rank of a kingdom. Regulations were made for the administration of justice in Connaught and Munster; commissioners were appointed with power to hear and determine all causes, which might be brought before them from the other provinces. The aristocracy were gratified, the chieftains were satisfied, the people were unquestionably better off than they are at the present day; in a word, “never,” says Dr. Lingard, “since the invasion of the island by Henry II., did the English ascendancy in Ireland appear to rest on so firm a basis as during the last years of Henry VIII.”† And that was the very time when Pope Paul III. thought proper to send two Jesuit spies, emissaries, or “envoys,” into Ireland: and Ignatius, the man of such admirable speeches, and such admirable regulations, as we have read, lent himself to the design—supplied the “incendiary Pharisees—the roaring bellows of sedition.”‡

Brouet and Salmeron were the Jesuits appointed: the first a Frenchman, the latter a Spaniard. It appears that Paul III. took the mendicants at their word, and intended them to work their way as well as they could to the “any place” of their vows—for they were to start, apostolically, *sine sacculo et perá*, totally dependent on Providence: but a papal functionary, Zapata by name, who happened to be thinking of joining the Jesuits, resolved to put on his boots and make the journey his novitiate, and to defray its expenses, as well as to share its peril and fatigues. In Sept. 1541, the three set out on the expedition. The Jesuits were invested with all the powers of Apostolic nuncios—so important did this “mission” appear to the papal patron of Ireland. As usual, instructions were given to the emissaries by Loyola. They have been handed down for the enlightenment of his posterity:§ such being the object, they will, independently of their curious structure, be deemed interesting. I must, however, preface them with an extraordinary

* “Ignorance of the recent occurrences in the sister island, gave occasion to a most singular blunder. One day the parliament confirmed the marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn; and the next, in consequence of the arrival of a courier, declared it to have been invalid from the beginning.”—Lingard, *ibid.*

† Lingard, vi. pp. 326, 327.

‡ Read the admirable introduction to “Facts and Figures, from Italy.” Those apt pantomimes of the tribe occur at page 10. See also Beaumont's work, “L'Irlande Sociale, Politique et Religieuse.” There is much in that book; it must suggest useful thoughts, if we pardon the Frenchman his peculiar prejudices.

§ “Ut Societatis posteri quales ad has expeditiones Ignatii sententiâ requirantur, intelligent, non ab re fuerit, quibus ille monitis abeuntes instruxerit, indicare.”—Orland. lib. iii. 47.

admission by a modern historian of the Jesuits, whose voluminous work is intended to show up and defend the sons of Loyola. He says: "In these instructions Loyola takes care not to speak of those which the pope has given them; he keeps aloof from politics. Salmeron and Brouet are the pope's delegates: they have his confidence. Ignatius endeavors to render them worthy of it, but he does not go beyond. He knows that the new legates are diametrically opposed in temper and disposition—that Salmeron is hasty, petulant; that Brouet has in his heart something angelical and persuasive; and so it is Brouet whom he appoints to hold communication with the Great. All is combined by Ignatius so as not to injure either of them, but rather to make them accord for the interest of the Church."* It is possible to combine "religion" with political machination, and, leaving to the pope, the wily Paul III., the care of instilling the dictates of the latter, "the most wise Father" confined himself to the former, but in as political a manner as can well be conceived, and most admirably brought home. It proves beyond a doubt, how well he, or the Jesuit composer of the document, had studied mankind:—

"I recommend you to be, in your intercourse with all the world in general—but particularly with your equals and inferiors—modest and circumspect in your words; always disposed and patient to listen, lending an attentive ear till the persons who speak to you have unveiled the depth of their sentiments. Then you will give them a clear and brief answer, which may anticipate all discussion.

"In order to conciliate to yourselves the good will of men, in the desire of extending the kingdom of God, you will make yourselves all to all, after the example of the Apostle, in order to gain them to Jesus Christ.† Nothing, in effect, is more adapted than the resemblance of tastes and habits to conciliate affection, to gain hearts.

"Thus, after having studied the character and manners of each person, you will endeavor to conform yourselves to them as much as duty will permit:—so that, if you have to do with an excitable and ardent character, you should shake off all tedious prolixity.

"You must, on the contrary, become somewhat slow and measured in speech, if the person to whom you speak is more circumspect and deliberate in his speech.

"For the rest, if he who has to do with a man of irascible temperament, has himself that defect, and if they do not agree thoroughly in their opinions, it is greatly to be feared lest they permit themselves to be hurried into passion. Wherefore, he who recognises in himself that propensity, ought to keep watch on himself with the most vigilant care, and fortify his heart with a supply of strength, in order that anger should not surprise him: but rather that he may endure with equanimity all that he shall suffer from the other, even should the latter be

* Cretineau-Joly, Hist. i. p. 137.

† Into what disrepute have the Jesuits brought those words of the Apostle! The perfection of the law of charity and brotherly love in devoting ourselves for the good of each other, is interpreted into copying their manners, tastes, and habits, in order to "gain" them first to *ourselves* and then "to the Lord!"

his inferior. Discussions and quarrels are much less to be apprehended from quiet and slow tempers than from the excitable and ardent.

“ In order to attract men to virtue, and fight the enemy of salvation, you shall employ the arms which *he* uses to destroy them—such is the advice of St. Basil.

“ When the devil attacks a just man, he does not let him see his snares: on the contrary, he hides them, and attacks him only indirectly, without resisting his pious inclinations, feigning even to conform to them;—but by degrees he entices him, and surprises him in his snares. Thus it is proper to follow a similar track to extricate men from sin.

“ Begin with praising what is good in them, without at first attacking their vices: when you shall have gained their confidence, apply the remedy proper for their cure.

“ With regard to melancholy or unsettled persons, exhibit, whilst addressing them, as much as you can, a gay and serene countenance: give the greatest sweetness to your words, in order to restore them to a state of mental tranquillity—combating one extreme by another extreme.

“ Not only in your sermons, but also in your private conversations, particularly when you reconcile people at variance, do not lose sight of the fact that all your words may be published; what you say in darkness may be manifested in the light of day.

“ In affairs anticipate the time rather than defer or adjourn it: if you promise anything for to-morrow, do it to-day.

“ As to money, do not touch even that which shall be fixed for the expenses which you shall pay. Let it be distributed to the poor by other hands, or employ it in good works, in order that you may be able, in case of need, to affirm on oath, that in the course of your legation you have not received a penny.

“ When you have to speak to the Great, let *Pasquier Brouet* have the charge.

“ Deliberate with yourselves on all the points touching which your sentiments might be at variance. Do what two out of three persons would have approved [if called in to decide].

“ Write often to Rome during your journey,—as soon as you shall reach Scotland,—and also when you shall have penetrated into Ireland. Then, every month, give an account of your legation.”*

The immense importance of political dexterity is much more striking in these Instructions than its pious hints. If it be necessary, or even expedient, for it cannot be lawful, to inveigle minds into piety, that piety must have its foundation in the weaknesses of our nature—our lowest sentiments—those which make flattery a motive. It may be an excuse for Ignatius and the Jesuits that the “conquest of souls” was their passion, the destiny to which they deemed themselves called,—that they disregarded the means in the end so beautiful in theory. If it be an excuse, it is no justification. No workers unto salvation were

* Orland. lib. iii. 48; Cretineau, i. p. 134.

ever placed in more difficult circumstances than the Redeemer and his Apostles; and yet when did they ever stoop to imitate the devil in his manœuvres, as Ignatius with Basil advises, in order to allure men to virtue and fight the enemy of salvation?*

And the pope's Instructions; what were they? Results will show their import, whilst we bear in mind Paul's patronage of Ireland. Brouet and Salmeron reached Scotland. James V., father of the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and the *Zerbino* of Ariosto—barring the Scot's amours—was reigning in those times of trouble. Already had the pope negotiated with James when he resolved to publish his sentence of deprivation against Henry VIII. James had promised to join Charles V. and Francis in their efforts to convert or crush the apostate monarch: but the papal Bull was disregarded by Charles and Francis, who soon took the field against each other; and the Scot wisely resolved to keep on good terms with his terrible uncle. Henry was trying to "convert" him. A Catholic kingdom in his flank was the bugbear. He dreaded the machinations of Rome in the haunts of orthodoxy. And he was right in his conjecture. The Scottish king held out. In the very year in question his parliament had passed laws in support of the old doctrines and papal supremacy. Beaton, his minister, made a cardinal by Paul III., had been at Rome, and the Jesuit envoys arrived with letters from the pope, and confirmed the Scot's determination or deceived him with false hopes—certainly obtained his promise to resist Henry's entreaties. Tired with entreaties, the English tyrant "tried what virtue there was in stones," and sent the Duke of Norfolk with ten thousand men to invade the Catholic kingdom. Doom followed apace: the Scots disdained to fight under the detested Sinclair—the royal favorite—if we may believe their own historians; or believed the number of the enemy greater than it was: the result was, they fled without a blow—men and leaders in irremediable confusion. James sank under the calamity. He sickened and died—because "he could not digest a disaster," says Drummond of Hawthornden—like Napoleon at St. Helena, who silenced his consulting physicians by frankly

* The following is stated to be an extract from a Sermon preached by Dr. Brown, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at the time in question: but the Sermon is said to have been delivered in 1551. It was given to Sir James Ware, and is in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. i. p. 556; in Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 85; and in almost every hostile history of the Jesuits:—

"But there are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many; who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner. Amongst the Jews they shall strive to abolish truth, and shall come very near it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the heathens a heathenist, with the atheist an atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the reformers a reformato, purposely to know your hearts, your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like 'the fool that said in his heart, There is no God.' These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, by fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins; yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this Society, even by the hands of those who have most succored them, and made use of them; so that, at the end, they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favor than a Jesuit."

stating his disease to be “a Waterloo driven inwards.” Thus the Scot kept his promise to the Jesuits, and paid the penalty. He died exclaiming : “ By fraud or force my poor kingdom will fall to Henry of England. It came by a lass, and by a lass it will go.” But the Jesuits left a Cardinal Beaton where the “merit” in the king’s “promise” was shared by that “cruel antagonist of the Scottish Reformation.”*

From Scotland, Brouet and Salmeron hurried to Ireland. Disguised, almost as beggars, without an asylum, in an unknown land, whose language they knew not, still, we are assured, they gained the confidence of the most faithful, and were soon surrounded by a flock “whom their own audacity rendered audacious.”† In the short space of four-and-thirty days these primitive Jesuits, according to their own account, visited every part of the island. Rapidity of locomotion will always be the characteristic of Jesuit-angels. Frightful was their account of matters in Ireland; infinitely worse than they expected—religion, morality—all that was Irish at the lowest ebb: the people barbarous, savage, and what was worst of all in their estimation, totally destitute of priests. The chieftains had not only sworn fealty and obedience to Henry, but even to burn all the pope’s letters, and to deliver up his men whenever they found them, to the king or his viceroy. The Jesuits despaired not, however. They frequently changed their lurking places, and chose their opportunities. They set to work with Masses, confession, “indulgences of sins,” and permutation of vows.‡ According to their own account, nothing could exceed the joy of the Irish at their advent—or the hopes they conceived at the promises of the Jesuits: “the joy of the Catholics was greater than their discretion,” and “from the energy of their glances, from the hopes whose secret their every word betrayed, the sectarians surmised that something unusual was passing in Ireland.”§ The Jesuits were known to be there: a price was set on their heads; confiscation and the penalty of death were proclaimed against every family or individual who should harbor Salmeron and Brouet—evidently not confining their mission to *pious* exhortations, to masses, confession, indulgences, or permutations of vows. In effect, another account expands the admissions above given, stating that the severity they exercised against the people, the heavy sums they exacted from them in confessional mitigation of the least fault, and their machinations against the government, exposed them to such imminent peril that, to avoid falling into the hands of Henry VIII., to whom the people threatened to deliver them, they took flight and went to France on their way back to Rome, to Father Ignatius, and Pope Paul III.|| But they took Scotland in their flight, and saw enough to make them despair. In vain the pope ordered them back into Scotland: they remonstrated !¶ The attempt would be desperate. Then

* Orland. lib. iii.; Cretineau, i.; Lingard, vi.; Andr. Hist. i.

† Cretineau, ibid. p. 139.

‡ “Cumulatam peccatorum indulgentiam tribuebant.” Orland. ib. 58.

§ Cretineau, i. p. 140.

|| Hist. de Dom Inigo, i. p. 210.

¶ “Sed illi hæsere tamdiu dum certior Pontifex factus, quo ejus Regni loco res essent.” Orland. ib. 60.

it was that they were ordered to return home, and gladly obeying, they had the misfortune to be imprisoned as Spanish spies at Lyons. The Cardinal de Tournon set them free and gave them money and horses for the Roman journey, having found them, as may be supposed, in a pitiful plight after all their adventures.* Such was the result of the papal scheme in Ireland. The "day of deliverance" was not come. It was deferred to the time when a Gregory should fill the papal chair, and a Philip II. the throne of Spain.†

Salmeron and Brouet fell back to their General's quarters: they were at once placed in position—new battles were to be fought. Troubles times had supervened. Heresy had penetrated into Italy—scandal was in the priesthood. Brouet and Salmeron rushed to the rescue. The latter was unfortunate: instead of vanquishing heresy, he was himself accused of error, deferred to the Inquisition, but was acquitted and quieted for two years, whilst the angelic Brouet succeeded in reforming the priesthood and monkhood of Foligno, a small, but populous city in the States of the Church. Its priests and monks were as ignorant as they were depraved: Brouet had to teach them grammar as well as the Ten Commandments.‡ And the nuns of Reggio, too, he reformed: he curbed the passions of these foolish virgins—this excellent Brouet, "with the kindness and look of an angel," according to Loyola's blessed opinion.§

Heresy was dominant in Lombardy. Ochin, the famous reformer of the Franciscans, and ultimately the friend of Calvin, the Reformer, was the leader of its troops. Brouet became its opponent. What was his strategy? What were his tactics? He shunned a pitched battle, but vanquished in detail. In familiar conversations, he talked only of forming charitable confraternities for the benefit of the poor. The poor adopted the idea. From this point he advanced to the moral reformation of his co-operators. The example fructified. Then he discussed the Christian doctrine in public: his charities and skilful catechising carried all before him, and Ochin, the heretic, was compelled to retreat. Brouet remained in possession of the field, and fortified his entrenchments.||

What could resist that Jesuit method? It begins with providing for the immediate wants of hungry and naked humanity. It gains the heart. The mind must soon surrender. The minds of most men are in their stomachs: a hungry stomach is the universal conventicle of rebellion. Then fill the stomach, and the mind will readily be filled with your sentiments—if you choose to imitate the Jesuits.

Fame's trumpet proclaimed renown to the Society of Jesus. The

* Orland. *ibid.* 61.

† In spite of the flight of these Jesuits, and their evident dread of the dangers on this occasion, at least, we are actually told that they had conceived, on their departure from Ireland, the daring project of penetrating into the very presence of Henry VIII. in order to plead the cause of Catholicism. "The plan was impracticable," says Cretineau "but that martyrdom was of little consequence in their estimation. They had an end in view—they walked blindly as a soldier to victory."—i. p. 141.

‡ Cret. *ib.* 143; Bartol. *lib.* 1; Orland. *lib.* iii. § Cret. *ib.* 144; Bart.; Orland.

|| Cret. *p.* 144; Bartol. *lib.* i.; Orland. *lib.* iii.

“New Order” was the theme of every tongue : the infant Society was fondled in her cradle. In 1545, five years after the foundation, William Duprat, the bishop of Clermont, and son of the French Chancellor of that name, came forward as the patron of the Society. He founded a college : he lodged the fathers in his palace, which was afterwards converted into a house of the Order : he bequeathed a portion of his fortune to the Society at his death.

Another Frenchman was dazzled by the brilliant image of the first Society. William Postel played the first entertaining episode under the magic wand of the “Spiritual Exercises.”

This “universal genius,” as he was deemed, and “wonder of the world,” as he was called, offered himself to Ignatius. In addition to his immense learning, Postel was the friend of kings : lords of high repute were his courtiers. He was in the prime of life. He came from the court of France. This conquest seemed indeed a precious boon to Ignatius. He received the novice with exultation.

The result was afflictingly disastrous. The “Spiritual Exercises” began, and proceeded; but failed in the issue: they were to Postel the proximate occasion of extravagant visions. His mind became disordered: he talked of a new coming of Christ, launched into all the errors of Rabbinism, and established, on judicial astrology, the principles of his faith.

Ignatius could not undo the work of his Exercises: the ghost was raised, but could not be dismissed. Salmeron, Lainez, a cardinal, tried to cure the learned novice. Ignatius tried: but the saint too failed. Postel was expelled, because “he might have become dangerous to the Society.” He was imprisoned for his errors: but he never recovered. He died a visionary, after deluging the world with innumerable works, the most extravagant in conception and execution, issuing from “the soul of Adam,” which he said had entered into his body. Such was the effect of the “Spiritual Exercises” on Postel. The tendency to monomania may have been in him before; but had it been apparent, he would not have been received by Ignatius: the “Spiritual Exercises” matured his insanity, if they did not produce that “religious excitement” which Esquirol numbers among the causes of insanity.* All his fantastic productions were published after his short experience of the Ignatian method.†

The expulsion of Postel produced considerable sensation; it tended to prejudice the Jesuit cause in France. To this remote event is attributed the feud between the French University and the Jesuits,

* Des Maladies Mentales, t. ii. p. 726.

† Some of Postel’s notions were curious. He believed that women would one day sway over men; that all sects would be saved by Jesus Christ; and that the greater part of the mysteries of Christianity might be demonstrated by reason. His life is interesting independently of his connection with the Jesuits, and his numerous and singular productions. He died in 1581, at a very advanced age, after enjoying continued good health, which he attributed to his *perfect chastity*. The Jesuit Desbillons published a work on this remarkable man, and undertakes to prove his *predisposition to insanity*. *Nouveaux Eclaircissements sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Guillaume Postel*. Liège, 1773.

which has lasted three hundred years. But the cause of the contest was far deeper in the human breast; the University-men were monopolists, and so were the Jesuits. They could not exist together: they battled anon: they were destined to enjoy alternate triumphs. The battle of life includes trade, politics, public instruction, and religion.—Selfishness arms the combatants; corporate interests point the blade; short-lived triumphs reciprocate encouragement; the strife will last for ever.

Victory and defeat are the same to the Jesuit-heart in their result, which is continual effort—the resolve to make the most of the opportunity. Under the watchful eye of the Founder, the Society was struggling for the mastery; her difficulties will soon be forgotten in her triumphant success.

John III. of Portugal opened his kingdom to Ignatius: Rodriguez marched to the post. Funds were provided, a college rose in Coimbra—the splendid beginning of a terrible end; but triumphs, not disasters, are now before the Jesuits.

Lefevre and Dejay were in Germany, reforming the Catholic clergy, and doing battle to the Reformation. The desperate hatred of both Catholics and Protestants pursued the Jesuits; they threatened to throw Lejay into the Danube. The Jesuit smiled, saying: “What do I care if I enter Heaven by water or by land!” The stormy Bobadilla soon dashed into the same field vacated by Lefevre, who was hurrying to Spain in order to found the great college and house of the Professed, at Valladolid. This achievement was to crown Lefevre’s devotedness to the cause. The great and the people received him with exultation. His work was done: he sickened: he was dying: at Rome, in the arms of Ignatius, he expired soon after, exhausted by his labors. It was a sore affliction, a heavy loss for the brotherhood. Ignatius found it necessary to devise some consolation. He had, as the reader remembers, seen the Virgin Mary with the infant Jesus in her arms;* he had seen the Holy Trinity collectively and in detail; God the Father had placed him with God the Son; to the beatific vision he had been introduced, in order to behold, after the fashion of Dante, “in a great circle of the blessed, his companion Hozes, who had just died, all shining with light, and beautiful as any of the celestials.”† All these things had happened to Ignatius, or he was a most blasphemous and arrant deceiver to invent them, whatever was his motive. And now, to console his disconsolate brethren, he pretends to

* There is something very absurd in this vision. To represent Mary with the Infant in her arms is fair enough; but for a man to say that he *saw* the veritable embodiment is stupendously absurd. It presupposes the continued existence of the Redeemer’s *infancy*. Strange, that the absurdity did not strike the inventor, naturally so shrewd; but the fact is, in these matters, to gain belief, the most improbable, unnatural, impossible concoction, is always the most successful. The present reminds us of the two skulls of St. Patrick, exhibited to the tourist in Ireland. Expressing his astonishment at the duplicate, he was told that the small skull was that of the boy Patrick, and the large one that of the full-grown saint.

† Vide con gli occhi dell’ anima il Paradiso aperto, e qui, in un gran cerchio di Beati, il compagno suo luminoso, e bello, come un di loro. Bart. *Vita*. lib. ii. 37.

prophecy : he pretends to foretell what he knew, as any man might know, was about to ensue. Ignatius told the brothers that at the very same time there was a man meditating to join the Society, who would not only retrieve the loss of Lefevre, but surpass his gains; alluding to the *Duke Francis Borgia of Gandia*, who had been in constant intercourse with the Jesuit Araoz for the last three years at least ; who had corresponded with the prophet ; whose wife had died two months before, leaving him free to follow out his intentions ; who had founded a college for the company at Gandia, which the *same Lefevre* had organised, not omitting to stimulate the duke with the "Spiritual Exercises," as we are expressly told ; in fine, who took the vows, about a year after, with peculiar dispensations by Father Ignatius, as we shall presently witness.* And yet we are told by a Jesuit that "God had some years past revealed to Saint Ignatius the designs he had on Don Francisco ; that Ignatius had affirmed the same at a time when he could have no human knowledge of the thing, during the life of the Duke's wife ; that one day, exhibiting a letter which he had received from the Duke to a certain learned and pious doctor, he said : 'Do you think that he who writes to me is to enter our Company, and is even, some day, to be its General ?'"† So much for the "very authentic testimony of this prophecy."‡ In truth, these are the contrivances which show forth the character of this wily Spaniard throughout his career. These explain the hold he had on the minds and hearts, the credulity and weaknesses of his followers. As devout as Mohammed, but somewhat altered to suit the circumstances of his advent, spiritual power, domination over minds and hearts, constituted the avarice, the concupiscence of his heart. No apparent immorality could disenchant the mind of his beholders. It was necessary that he should not be, or seem to be, as other men ; but it will require a degree of credulity which we may pray never to possess, in order to induce us to hold Ignatius for anything but a wily practiser on the human heart and mind, in order to gratify the peculiar ambition within him—an ambition which, in its workings, is even like unto avarice of self, and concupiscence of lust.

The success of his scheme surpassed his expectations. In 1540, when the Company was established, he had but ten followers, vagabonds like himself, houseless, dinnerless. In 1543, there were eighty Jesuits, the pope having consented by a Bull to rescind the restriction which limited their number to sixty. Henceforth the word "Infinite" would be engraved on the Company's portals : all the world might knock and enter : work would be found for all sorts, all manner of aspirants without exception. Within three years after, the Company possessed ten establishments in various parts of the world ; and in 1549, only nine years from the foundation, there were twenty-two establishments and two provinces§—spiritual-military divisions, each with its chieftain or superior holding on the skirt of Ignatius with one hand, and directing

* See Verjus, "Vie de S. Franc. de Borg." i. pp. 78, 79, 88, 93, 96.

† Id. ibid. p. 101.

‡ Id. ibid. ; Bartol. Dell Ital. lib. i. p. 99.

§ Orland. lib. iv. l., et lib. ix. l.

the march and order of battle to pairs, to decades and hundreds, to whom he had but to say "Do it"—and it was done. Everywhere the Jesuits were in request; all were eager to receive the new Apostles—the desperate spiritualists who stuck at nothing. And what a method was theirs for imposing on the people extravagant notions of their extraordinary sanctity and perfections: to what trials did they subject the men whom they destined to uphold those notions. Rodriguez in Portugal, in order to test the firmness of a novice, ordered him to walk the streets of Coimbra, and to pray in the churches he passed, without a cloak on his shoulders, or cap on his head, but bearing in his hand a hideous and grinning skull. This man had been a noted musician and singer of Coimbra. A crowd of boys pursued the penitent, hooting, hissing, bitterly gibing, and insulting. He performed the task, and was thereupon received into the Society. The same Rodriguez would send forth, in the dead of night, some of his men to perambulate the streets, awfully roaring, "Hell! hell! for those who are guilty of mortal sin." Others he would cover with rags, and send them to beg in every street. Thus he shamed them—*ad incutendum ruborem valuit plurimum*. Some he dispatched in the evening to the highways and byways to cry out, "Alas! alas! ye sinners desist from sin, since you must die."* The public hospitals were places of trial for the novices. To the dwelling of loathsome disease, the taverns of death, Ignatius would send his future Jesuits on trial. The officials were apprised of his object; they carried out his intentions; and treated the penitents worse than servants, abusing their silence and equanimity. They loaded them with labor and insult. They would command them to dig graves, to bury the dead. By night they made them watch beside the sick, cheating their weary eyes of sleep so hardly earned by their daily labors. On their weak and tender shoulders they placed vessels of water, and wood, and other burthens. It was a ceaseless round of occupation on occupation, labor on labor—nay, even all time for prayer and attending at mass was denied them, except on festivals and Sundays. Thus Ignatius would "mortify" even their pious desires! And why? Because he wished utterly to break the human will, to make it "indifferent to all things," except thrice-holy Obedience. Whatever was humiliating in menial offices, whatever was horribly nauseous, whatever was difficult and harassing, the servants of the hospital, glad to find substitutes, consigned to the penitent sons of Loyola. They were stinted in food, and the little they got was of the worst description: even dry bread was denied them. If the probationers happened to be priests, which was often the case, they added to these labors the care of pious exhortation to the sick, and the administration of the sacraments. Ignatius would send to inquire into the conduct of the probationers, to suggest the particular inflictions requisite in particular cases—in fine, to discover who was to be retained or expelled from the Company. Nor was this all. Those whom he thought worthy of his band, he continued to "try" in a variety of

* Orland. lib. v. 52.

ways. He would appoint them not only to one office, but to many at the same time ; and thus, not only to preclude idleness in the house, and to compensate for the fewness of numbers, but also that their peculiar qualifications might be apparent from that variety of occupations, and he might see in what each member could excel. Thus it was that many became fit for many purposes, whilst one was occupied and kept in many functions at one and the same time—*ita multi ad multa evadebant idonei, dum unus pluribus occupatur et distinetur officiis* : nor was there ever wanting a proper agent for any business, all being trained habitually in almost every function, and in every office—*nec unquam deerat, quem cuique negotio præficeret, omnibus omnium pene functionum usu, munerumque jam doctis.* The consequence was, that even those who were naturally timid and irresolute, became bold and courageous, when applied to various purposes ; for as we pine in longing and inactivity, when we are passed over in the appointment of functions, so are our spirits raised when we are selected. Since nature herself—which is sharpened and polished by long practice—does not make us so inert and sluggish as we are rendered by the consciousness of being thought sluggish and reputed lazy. As an instance of this indefatigable activity, the public secretary of the Company, John Polancus, may be mentioned. Whilst he was the depository of the Company's secrets, he had to preach, to fill the offices of catechist and procurator,—nor did these occupations exempt him from performing the functions of cook and bed-maker to the establishment.*

In distributing his employments, Ignatius always consulted the *inclinations of the employed.* He insisted on their perfect readiness to execute *any command* whatever :† this was the guarantee of *obedience.* He commanded according to their inclinations ; this was the secret of *success.*

For the distant employments of the Society, he selected men of great experience ; he chose the inexperienced to govern under his own eye at Rome : he would test their ability, and form them himself, whilst he watched their conduct.‡

To the laborious missions he sent only men of tried virtue.§

He would spare the weak and imperfect ; but his indulgence was sometimes intended to strike them with a sense of their weakness, and in order that *shame* should excite them to become more virtuous.||

If he gave them somewhat difficult employments, it was only when these were desired, and on the condition that should they be overwhelmed, they would frankly declare it.¶

Nevertheless, if he fell in with any of those violent and untractable spirits, whose rough temper is invigorated by a robust constitution, he would give them more work than the rest ; and if they chanced to get

* “ Itaque publicus Societatis scriba, cui omnia committebantur arcana, concionibus, sacrisque lectionibus simul operam dabat ; idemque et Christianæ doctrinæ, et Procuratori Generali officium administrabat ; nec tamen ■ culinâ, tricliniique muneribus erat immunis.” *Orland. lib. vii. 5.*

† “ En distribuant les emplois, il avait égard aux inclinations de ceux qu'il employait, quoiqu'il voulût que, de leur côté, ils fussent disposés à tout.” *Bouhours, t. ii. p. 24.*

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*

|| *Id.*

¶ *Id.*

ill, he did not much regret it, thinking that the infirmity of the body would perhaps promote the salvation of the soul.*

In refusing a favor, he gave his reasons, in order that those who were disappointed might be less dissatisfied; and that he who received a favor might be more reserved in repeating his applications. He seldom refused what he could safely grant, and he would sweeten his refusal with words of kindness, so as to ensure affection. His reproofs were seasoned with mild and polite expressions; or, at least, he would so qualify them that they were sharp and severe without being harsh and acrid.† But he was terrible in his wrath. When a certain member blamed one of the Fathers on one occasion for street-preaching, Ignatius, as soon as he heard of the fact, roused him at midnight, turned him into the street, and expelled him from the Company, in spite of his prayers for pardon.‡

His confidence in his followers was proof against evil-report; he would cherish them all in such a manner that each deemed himself a favorite. He even accommodated himself to the dispositions of all to such an extent, that he seemed to transform himself into them entirely, and all with an air so simple, and so natural, that he might be said to have been born as he affected to appear.§

An anecdote or two will give completeness to the method of Ignatius.

A rich man, who had been received into the Society, had a well-made and costly crucifix, to which he was much attached. The General permitted him to retain it. Meanwhile, the novice made great progress in virtue, and made great efforts to acquire self-control. As soon as the General perceived this, he said: "Very good! Since the brother is weaned not only from the world, but also from himself, we may take from his hands the image of Jesus Christ crucified, whom he has in his heart." The novice was deprived of his crucifix, and he resigned it without demur.||

His method with novices illustrious by birth or learning, was very curious. He treated them at first with great deference; he would call them *Count*, *Marquis*, *Doctor*, until they felt ashamed of the titles, and begged to be spared the distinctions. But when he saw that they relished the "maxims of the Gospel," and walked in the way of perfection, there were none whom he mortified more: he took pleasure in lowering a man of rank, in humbling a doctor; and he ceased not until they had forgotten what they were.¶

The following is truly remarkable: A young German, of good talent, was inclined to leave the Society. Father Ignatius, who had received him, and thought him adapted for the ministry of the gospel, did all he could to retain him; but the German would listen to nothing, so strong was his temptation. Father Ignatius, pretending to yield, begged the novice to remain yet a few days in the house, and *to live just as he pleased, without submitting to any rule*. He accepted the condition, and lived at first with all the license of a man who has shaken off the yoke of discipline. Then he was ashamed of the life he led, whilst he

* Bouhours.

† Id.

‡ Bart. 224.

§ Bouhours.

|| Id.

¶ Id.

thought of his companions, so modest and so regular, and he at length regretted his inconstancy.*

If he suspected that some secret sin was the cause of the temptation to leave the Society, he would often relate to the novice, very circumstantially, *the excesses of his own worldly life*, so as to inspire him with candor.†

Ignatius evinced the greatest tenderness in the care of the sick; he would spare nothing for their benefit, and if money was wanting, he sold the furniture to procure succor.

One of the fathers was tormented with melancholy; Ignatius ordered some of the novices who could play on certain instruments, and could sing well, to give a concert round the atrabilian's couch.‡

He often inflicted very severe penances for slight faults, in order to prevent the growth of abuses; he opposed strenuously all innovation in the Society, attempted under the name of improvement; he insisted on the perfection of his men, but checked the inclinations of his disciples at court, when he imagined they were striving too eagerly to recommend themselves to the favor of the great, which, it seems, was already evident in the case of the Jesuit Araoz, at the court of Spain. He seems already to have divined one of the causes which would be the ruin of his Society—the abuse of courtly influence.

Such is his method, as described by his Jesuit-biographers.§ Perpetually we have before us alleged spiritual ends effected by natural means,—admirably adapted and unerringly precise. At times we fancy we are reading the Cyropædia of Xenophon, or the Letters of Chesterfield, adapted to the ends of religious perfection. In every page we have proofs of devotion—of *spiritual* passion as contradistinguished from that whose object is sensual gratification. Ignatius applies in the training of his novice, as we have seen, all the means that the most cunning and crafty of men employ to compass their ends. He naturally succeeds—then calls the result “approved virtue,” “weaning from the world, and from self,” “relish for the maxims of the Gospel,” “the way of perfection.”

All is a splendid piece of machinery—a complicated but regular clock-work, kept in good repair, and constantly wound by a powerful motive, perfectly similar, in its effects, to that which actuates the long-nailed, paralysed, long-haired, dust-covered penitent of Brahma in his hideous transformation. What is that *motive*?

Each novice, each Jesuit, must necessarily differ in motive, according to natural disposition: but its intensity will be the same in all—because every natural disposition is studied, and developed, and appealed to, by the same objects (under different names) which roused its energies before. The Jesuit system does not transform a man: it does not stifle the passions. It changes the objects of his motive: his hopes and fears are kept alive perpetually, by his rules and regulations, and his work in hand. What is good in a man it does not essentially alter;

* Bouhours.

† Id.

‡ Id.

§ Bouhours. La Vie de S. Ign. ii. pp. 23—34.

what is bad (according to common opinion) it permits to remain under a different name : it uses both good and bad, indifferently, to compass an end. The German's frolic in the novitiate, (of which we have read,) and the trainer's method to extort a confession, are strong facts : the Jesuits themselves relate them : if untrue, they nevertheless attest an approved system, offered for imitation. Such facts as these—the whole life of Ignatius (that *Cyropædia* of the Jesuits, or model of fact and fiction)—evolve the history of the Jesuits more satisfactorily than the violent denunciations of their enemies, or the gushing laudations of their friends.

There are facts in the life of Ignatius which make us wish to believe that his followers have belied him, in representing their founder in other circumstances, which compel us to believe him an arch-deceiver. By his steady, unflinching perseverance, he merited success. His determined efforts necessitated achievement. His ambition was to gain the whole world by the means he invented or concocted. If there was more policy than human benevolence in his nature, it mattered not, as far as mankind are concerned. Thousands were benefitted by his head, if not by his heart. He opened a house of refuge for unfortunate women, and called it *Martha*; he opened another for endangered maidens, and called it *Catharine*. Neither of them did he call *Magdalen*. It seems as though he would delicately spare a blush to cheeks that wished to blush no more, by not perpetually reminding them by that usual name, of what they had been, and what they were required to become in return for—board and lodging. Ignatius actually put himself at the head of the penitent troop, and conducted them to the *Martha*. He knew how the degraded would feel that honor, and what the world would think of it: it was a fine sight to see, however. It is a wretchedly poor Christian sentiment to feel indignantly scornful of woman's degradation, by way of making her conscious of her iniquity. Full many would rise from the awful mire—the dismal torments of their crime—were they not irrevocably branded for ever—unutterably despised,—whilst he who has caused or shared the crime is not the less unworthy of leading to the altar the fairest, the purest, the richest of the land.

Ignatius founded houses for orphans of both sexes. He touched the hearts of Rome : they opened, and enabled him to be the kind father of the fatherless, the hopeless. He had a predecessor in this noble work, whose example was not thrown away on the founder of the Jesuits. A few years before, famine and disease had devastated the north of Italy. Many an orphan there was hopeless and without a helping hand. Cast-away they were ; but the million eyes of Providence looked sweetly upon them, and stirred the Bethesda of the human heart. A Venetian senator, Girolamo Miani, made a gathering of these cares of Heaven, received them in his own house—nay, he sought them out, even as the man anxiously seeking his hundredth sheep. His sister-in-law scolded him roughly, talked of his ruining himself, beggary for the comfort of strangers, and what not—the usual predictions that selfishness invents to clutch a copper or a morsel of bread. Girolamo heeded her not. He was a rich man: he had patronised the arts and the trades by collect-

ing costly plate and the handsomest tapestry: and now he would patronise the fatherless, and see if he would not enjoy himself more thereby. He sold his plate and his tapestry to get these poor little ones food, raiment, and instruction—food and raiment for body and soul together. A good thought, and a right good method, and most likely to succeed—for a sermon with a loaf is infinitely better than a text without one to the famishing poor and the helpless orphan. Girolamo found encouragement—which speaks a good word for that bad age—and so the good man set to work with heart and soul, and multiplied his charity. Sweet it is to see a good thought and a good deed expanding—even as a drop of cold water to a big warm ocean. At Verona, at Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, he established houses of refuge for the same good purpose. Now, good as well as evil will sometimes find followers, imitators,—and friends joined Miani. A congregation was enlisted amongst the regular clergy, and statutes were drawn up, on the model of the Theatines. The main object of the confraternity was extended from the care of orphans to that of unfortunate women. This was the Society *di Somasca*, founded by the good Miani, and approved by Paul III., in the year 1540, when he established the Jesuits. Here was a great enterprise, a noble speculation. Poor, helpless children its object, degraded but repentant woman its care. It succeeded. Earth and Heaven rejoiced, and blessed the good thought of the good Miani. It cost him his plate, and it cost him his pictures: but these were nothing in his estimation as compared to the joy he felt when the work was done. That is the time to compute your loss and your gains—and not till then. . . . Ignatius followed in the track of the good Miani, and cared for poor women and orphans. Let not the imitation diminish applause; it were better to cheer the deed, and wish for it a thousand imitators. And behold how, even to the present day, young orphan hearts are grateful to Ignatius. These orphan asylums founded by Ignatius, still subsist, now under the direction of old Girolamo's brethren, the Somasques; and every 31st of July, these children go to the church of the *Gèsu*, and in remembrance of him who furnished an asylum for so many generations of orphans, they serve at the masses which are celebrated on the day of his festival.*

And the children of Israel, too, claimed his attention. Many were converted. Ignatius founded a house for them, and if he did not hold out mercenary motives for their conversion, as is asserted—so desperate was his zeal—he sheltered, he fed, he instructed, or got them instructed, on their becoming Christians. He induced the pope to issue a mandate, by which Jewish children, who would turn Christians contrary to the will of their parents, should have all the wealth of the latter—*imo vero Judæorum liberis ad Christum contra parentum voluntatem venientibus, bona ipsorum omnia integra omnino essent.*† Bouhours, however, says that they “*en heriteraient*”—would inherit:—but this translation suits the times, not the original.‡ All money got by usury—the lawful owners being unknown—should fall to these converts; and a tax for

* Cretineau, i. 189.

† Ribaden. lib. iii. c. ix.

‡ Vie, i. 301.

the same object was levied on all the synagogues of Italy.* Hard conditions for the poor Jews decidedly: but the *end* was good. They had only to be "converted :" its premium would be bodily rest and exemption from taxation. That "only" was nothing to Ignatius, but what a bitter thing it was to the children of Judah. In truth, it was better to be a Jew, with taxation, than a "Christian" converted by such a motive. Not for the Jews alone did Ignatius yearn in his world-craving ambition. The Turks, the infidels of every clime—all were invited to enter the house of the catechumens.

In the midst of these labors, Ignatius followed in spirit all the journeys of his distant disciples and apostles. At a time when epistolary communication was both difficult and slow, and constantly endangered by the shifting scenes of war, Ignatius found the means of frequent correspondence. His craft and skill triumphed over every obstacle. He constantly knew the exact state of the missions, and could console, direct, and cheer his men in their ceaseless labors.^t He was the centre of his magic circle, thoughtful, looking into the future: his every Jesuit was a radius thereof, constantly progressing to the brink of the universe. And he was become the magnet, the motive-power of the moral world in the sixteenth century. As he had his apostles scattered over the world, whose achievements his will and approbation promoted, so had he friends in almost every court of Europe, whose good-will he insured by his extraordinary tact and discretion. He corresponded with John III. of Portugal; with Ferdinand, the king of the Romans;[†] with Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara; with Albert of Bavaria, and the notorious Philip II. of Spain, when Charles had flung on his shoulders the gloomy destinies of his kingdom. He "directed" Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V. Meanwhile he watched with the same solicitude over the imperfections of the least novice in the Society, as over the greatest interests concerning which the powers of Europe craved counsel.[§] An example will show the man's boundless influence.

A difference arose between the pope and the king of Portugal. The Cardinal Alexander Farnese, the pope's nephew, obtained the cardinal's cap from Paul III., for his friend, Michael de Silva, a Portuguese, then Bishop of Viseu, in Portugal. The king objected to the nomination, on the score of privilege: the subject was to owe that promotion only to his king. De Silva fled from his bishopric to Rome, where he was publicly and right honorably invested with the cherished purple. Vengeance pursued the ambitious fugitive: he was deposed from his bishopric, and deprived of its revenues, by royal mandate. The Vatican consoled the rebellious subject by investing him with power. De Silva was appointed apostolic legate at the court of Charles V. The quarrel was likely to become conspicuous, serious consequences to the Church, in those ticklish times, were apprehended, and the pope

* Ribaden. *ubi supra.*

^t Cretineau, i. 184.

† This title was given to the prince next in succession to the Emperor of Germany. It originated with the eldest son of Charlemagne. Napoleon gave it to his son in the cradle.

[§] Cretineau, i. 231.

"complained to Ignatius,"—such are the Jesuit's words—respecting the conduct of John III. The universal man wrote to Lisbon, where his advice was well received. He negotiated with the pope and the cardinal. He was successful: a clever compromise ensued. It is very characteristic. The king restored the episcopal revenues to the ex-bishop, and the pope granted the king considerable privileges in favor of the *Inquisition* established in his kingdom.* These external occupations never interfered with his domestic duties: the concerns of kings and queens revealed to him the wants of the age. These it was his object to supply by his method. His credit with the princes of the earth was, therefore, of infinite service to the general of a company, whose men should go forth perfectly trained, and instructed in all matters in which they might be called to take a part. The art of government is based on the knowledge of men and measures.

Already had Ignatius been opposed by rancorous enemies: his men were accused of the foulest practices. They were denounced as heretics; they were charged with revealing the secrets of the confessional; but the accusations were not satisfactorily brought home; the accuser, a priest of Rome, was punished with perpetual imprisonment "for certain crimes at last revealed," says the Jesuit biographer.† The opponents of the Jesuits are invariably represented in the worst light by their historians and friends; an imputation, an innuendo, a slur, a stab in the dark, are freely administered. Whatever foundation there may have been for the charges above named, it is impossible to discover; the Jesuits were acquitted by the papal authorities, and the charges are, in their broad announcement, improbable: they are incompatible with the present views of the Society. It had no leisure for crime: its virtue was high in the market: policy, if no higher motive existed, must have made the first Jesuits chaste, discreet, and orthodox. At all events, strong in papal protection, patronised by the potentates of earth, increasing in strength and numbers, in a word, with their glorious prospect, they could bid defiance to their enemies, whose discomfiture they pictured as the judgment of Heaven.‡

* Bouhours, ii. 21—23.

† Ribaden. lib. iii. c. xii.

‡ Quisquis es, insanis frustrè conatibus uti
Desine: nam *Solem nulla sagitta ferit*.—*Imago*, p. 565.

Vain are your efforts! Stay your aims begun—
Fools that you are! No arrow strikes the Sun.

BOOK V. OR, SALMERON.

Its presiding genius, the vigilant Ignatius, beheld the enlarging scope of his enterprise ; events aided in its development. The Council of Trent supervened. An appeal had been made by the Protestants, to a General Council of the Christian Church, for a judgment on the doctrines in litigation. Other motives, in other quarters, as the reader is aware, urged the measure on the pope in spite of his reluctance. He feared for his prerogatives. With regard to the Protestants, the decisions of such a council *must* be condemnatory. There could be no compromise in favor of litigants whose cause of contest—whose *protest* had been already judged, already condemned, by the very authority which would preside in a “Council of the Christian Church.” Pope Clement VII. had announced his acquiescence in 1530; he died, and left the fulfilment to Paul III.

The Council opened on the 13th of December, 1545, in the cathedral of Trent. It was destined to prolong its sessions, or sittings, for the space of eighteen years. Its object was to define, from the arguments and opinions of the bishops and other dignitaries, the fathers and doctors of Roman Catholic Christendom, past and present, the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. Its decisions would be final; anathema would be superadded to every clause against the presuming dissentient.* It would be the utter annihilation of heresy, as was fondly imagined. In a speech delivered at the opening of the Council, Bishop Cornelius Musso told the prelates assembled that they “should come into that city like as the worthy and valiant Greek captains went into the wooden horse wherewith ‘Troy was taken by surprise.’†

The infant Company of Jesus had flung into the controversial arena wrestlers of nerve and agility—an earnest she had given of the coming epoch, when her arsenal would send forth the armaments which blazed to the world as fire-ships of equivocal destination: only results would prove whether they destroyed the enemies of Rome, or damaged the cause for which they were fighting. Two Jesuits, Lainez and Salmeron, were selected by the Pope as theologians of the Holy See; another

* See the “Canons” following the Sessions. Each begins with “Si quis dixerit—if any one shall say,” and ends with “Anathema sit—let him be anathema.”—*Il Sacro Conc. di Trento.*

† Peignot, *Predicat.* p. xix. and elsewhere.

Jesuit, Lejay, represented the Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg. This distinguished honor riveted the eyes of the “religious” world on the young Society, so fondly rocked and cherished by the Father of the Faithful. Lainez and Salmeron were young; the former numbered but thirty-four years, the latter not quite thirty-one; but both were old in experience, and that constitutes the maturity of man. Ignatius gave them a preparatory lecture adapted to the occasion, and similar to that which he addressed to the Irish legates. After becomingly insisting on the standard preliminaries, the greater glory of God, the good of the universal church, and due regard for their own spiritual advancement, he proceeds to display his habitual tact and dexterity as follows:—

“In the Council you must be rather slow than eager to speak—deliberate and charitable in your advice on matters doing, or to be done; attentive and calm in listening—applying yourself to seize the mind, intention, and desires of the speakers,—so that you may know when to be silent or to speak. In the discussions which shall arise you must bring forward the arguments of the two opinions in debate, so that you may not appear attached to your own judgment. You ought always to manage, according to your ability, so that no one leaves, after your speech, less disposed to peace than he was at first. If the matters which shall be discussed are of a nature to force you to speak, express your opinion with modesty and serenity.

“Always conclude with these words: Better advice, or every other equivalent, excepted.

“In fine, be well persuaded of one thing, which is, that befittingly to treat the important questions of the divine and human sciences, it is very advantageous to discourse seated, and calmly, and not hastily, and, as it were, superficially. You must not, therefore, regulate the order and time of the discussion by your leisure and convenience, but take the hour of the party who wishes to confer with you, so that he may more easily advance to the point to which God wishes to lead him . . . In hearing confessions, think that all you say to your penitents may be published on the house-tops. By way of penance, enjoin them to pray for the Council. In giving the Exercises speak as you would in public.

“You will visit the hospitals by turns every four days,—each once a-week, at hours not inconvenient to the sick. You will soothe their afflictions, not only by your words, but by carrying to them, as far as you will be able, some little presents. In fine, if to settle questions, brevity and circumspection are necessary, so to excite piety, we ought, on the contrary, to speak with a certain degree of diffuseness and in a kindly manner.

“The third point remains, which concerns the care of watching over yourselves, and guarding against the shoals to which you will be exposed. And though you ought never to forget the essential of our Institute, you must nevertheless remember, above all, to preserve the strictest union and most perfect agreement of thoughts and judgment among yourselves. Let no one trust to his own prudence: and, as Claude Lejay will soon join you, you will fix a time every day to confer

on what you shall have done during the day, and on what you are to do on the morrow. You will put an end to your discussions either by the vote of the majority, or in any other way. In the morning you will deliberate in common on your line of conduct during the day; moreover, you will examine your consciences twice a-day.

" You will put these points into execution, at the latest, on the fifth day after your arrival at Trent."*

The conclusion of this document reminds us of those haughty mandates of Spain's proud royalty, signed with the whelming *YO EL REY*—I the king—the sign manual of the kings of Spain. Nothing but this is wanting to prove how fully Ignatius began to feel his sovereignty. These documents are useful: they are the full length portrait of Ignatius, displaying, as the documents of Cromwell, that deep shade of religionism which renders more striking the prominent light of policy. And how completely is the general convinced of his power, his influence. He defines the conduct of his men as though he were dangling and adjusting the limbs of a doll. Again, mark the curious injunction that they should make " small presents" to give more effect to their spiritual consolations—one of those trivial facts in appearance, which we overlook, until the knowledge of mankind and the secret of success flash on the mind from the eyes of experience. In truth, seldom have the Jesuits said to the needy—*A pater-noster you are welcome to, but neither gold nor silver:* seldom have they said so, because seldom it was that they could afford to lose an opportunity of making friends. From first to last, I unhesitatingly assert, they have given some real or seeming equivalent to the body, the brain, or the stomach, in return for the soul of their proselytes. " All these things I will give you if —" said the Jesuits; and poor humanity, ever fooled, ever wretched, ever guideless, could scarcely be expected to say: " Get thee behind me, Satan." The Jesuits made them happy, comfortable in body and soul, at least they thought so; and men were justified in being grateful to their benefactors, as long as they believed them such—until they discovered the tail of the devil somewhere protruding.

The general's instructions were fulfilled to the letter. Surrounded by princes, ambassadors, prelates, and abbots—all in gorgeous habiliments, with prodigal display, each striving to maintain the reputation of unapproachable magnificence—the three Jesuits applied themselves to more important matters, as the case required—to the work in hand. They preached, they heard confessions, and catechised. They begged alms, and distributed it to the poor. They gave their services to the hospitals. By these offices of charity they prepared the way for expressing their opinions with effect and consistent dignity; and conciliated to themselves among all ranks the greatest authority and favor.† Faithful to the letter of their vow, they were wretchedly dressed; the pope's theologians appeared in rags. Imagine the effect in that proud assembly. They inspired contempt in many, and struck horror into

* Cretineau-Joly, Hist. t. i. p. 252; Orland. v. 23.

+ " His videlicet caritatis officiis certam sibi viam," &c.—Orland. vi. 22.

the Spaniards—erant plerisque despectui, et ipsis quodammodo Hispanis horrore. Display and proud magnificence were the simplicity of God's ministers. Outward pomp was the representative of inward humility. Had Paul the tent-maker, lived,* he might have made a canopy for some great bishop, and stood outside, to hear his Epistles “wrested,” as Peter complains (2 Peter, iii. 16), for the sake of orthodoxy in pomp triumphant. And he would have seen how his successors, the magnificent dignitaries of the church, took umbrage at the rags of long-headed, deep-witted Jesuits, who knew what they were about. The Jesuits could not be endured in their selected, if not select accoutrement. The delicacy of episcopal pride turned up its nose, fairly revolted at wisdom in rags. The Jesuits were quite “indifferent” to the thing: *they* could sacrifice to the Graces as well as to expediency, and so they made themselves decent, *corporibus suis est adhibitus cultus*, and put on new dresses presented to them by one of the cardinals. Thus they acquired dignity in the Holy Council of Trent—*quo majore cum dignitate prodirent.*†

Lainez and Salmeron at once took a high position in the Council. Ignatius had commanded them never to pledge themselves to an opinion verging on innovation: they stood forward the champions of rigid orthodoxy. The thorny, interminable doctrine of Justification mystified the first sittings. Seripando, the general of the Augustines, attempted a modification of the papal dogma, distinguishing between Justification indwelling and inherent, and Justification applied and imparted—asserting the latter alone to be the Christian's confidence—man's righteousness being only inchoate, imperfect, full of deficiencies.‡ The Jesuits opposed the Augustines with all their might. Lainez was engaged to analyse the whole subject. With prodigious labor he produced a volume of heads and arguments.§ The majority gave into his decisions: his commentary was enrolled in the acts of the Council; and he was thenceforward appointed to sift in like manner all the topics in discussion.

Vast must have been the labors of this Jesuit. On one occasion, with characteristic audacity, Lainez exclaimed:

“ Since the dogmas of the Faith cannot be defined but according to the Scriptures and the holy Fathers, I shall not cite in defence of my opinion, any text, either of Father or Doctor of the Church, without having read his *entire work*—without extracting every passage, proving to demonstration the real opinion of the author.”

This was but the prelude to an overwhelming display. On that very day was mooted the subject of the Eucharist. In the midst of the most profound silence, made deeper than usual by the general curiosity produced by his promise, and the desire to entrap a Jesuit, Lainez spoke, and brought forward the opinions of *six-and-thirty* Fathers, or

* See Acts, xviii. 3.

† Orland. vi. 23; Cretineau, i. 256.

‡ See Ranke, b. ii., for an account of the matter, and a curious note to the above; also Sarpi and Pallavicino in their antagonist histories.

§ Orland. vi. 27; Cretineau, *ubi suprà*.

Doctors of the Church ! Among the rest he cited Alphonsus Tostat, whose writings were so voluminous, that, it is said, the whole life of a man would not suffice for their perusal.* Lainez had, however, studied them so well, and so perfectly seized their meaning, that the theologians were forced to accept his conclusions, deduced by a method of discussion so extraordinary, at a time when the art of printing had not multiplied books and scattered manuscripts. Lainez established his fame, but ruined his health : the result of his efforts was a fever, which compelled him to absent himself from the Council. This casualty proved the estimation in which he was held. The Council suspended its sittings until his recovery. At least, so the Jesuits assure us.† No greater honor could be reflected on the Society than that one of her members should be deemed absolutely necessary to the General Council of the Christian Church. Meanwhile, urged by the solicitations of the Catholics, Charles V. declared war against the Protestants, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the Council. Frederick, Duke of Saxony, and William, Landgrave of Hesse, their leaders, marched against the imperial forces, with an army of more than eighty thousand men. The city of Trent was menaced: the Council was suspended. At its re-opening we shall again witness the triumphs of Lainez. Other heroes, other exploits of the Jesuits have arrested the world's admiration.

We have beheld the first struggles and the first triumphs of the Society. Man, grateful man, but ever alive to what he conceives his "best interests," was eager to reward his masters or his servants—for the Jesuits were ready to be either, as circumstances permitted or expediency required. Man offered all he had to give: the Jesuits insisted on choosing for themselves. The bishopric of Trieste fell vacant. The "honor" was offered to a Jesuit. Ferdinand, King of the Romans, had the nomination: he cast his eyes on the Jesuit Lejay. A famous man was this Lejay. At Ratisbon, at Ingolstadt, at Nuremberg, he had scattered terror in the camp of the heretics, whence he had snatched many a convert to recruit the papal army. Trieste, situated on the very brink of the heretic land—Luther's Germany—could not have a bishop too Catholic nor too vigilant. Such a warrior of the Faith would be a Samson against the Philistines of Protestantism—doing battle for the chosen people. Thence he could point his left, *heart-wise*, to Rome aslant the Adriatic, whilst his right could "shake a dreadful dart" against Tyrol and the hills beyond. Lejay must be the man—so the Catholic cause seemed to demand. Such a champion was imperatively required. The *Church*—so dear to Father Ignatius and Paul III.—seemed to crave the boon of the Jesuit-bishop—seemed to crave it wringing her hands. The Jesuit declined the honor, notwithstanding.

* He was a Spaniard, Doctor of Salamanca and Bishop of Avila, A. D. 1400—1454. An edition of his works, published at Cologne, 1642, extends to seventeen volumes in folio. Bellarmine called him "the world's wonder." His epitaph was—

"Hic stupor mundi, qui scibile discutit omne."

"Wonder of earth, all man can know he scanned."

† Orland. xi. 38; Cretineau, *ubi supra*.

His general declined it: it was contrary to the Constitutions of the Society: it was manifestly inexpedient to the Company. For, should the precedent be once established, the Society might, in the process of time, be deprived of her best men, her most brilliant members. It would be the death of the Society.* Ignatius reminded the king, in a determined letter, that the Company had been formed with but one object fixed in the mind of each member, namely, to scour every region of the globe at the nod of the pope, in behalf of the Catholic faith. The pope had approved their efforts, nay God himself had done so. Let him look at the results of their enterprise. To remain as they were was a guarantee to the duration of their Company: to permit an innovation in the original conception would be its ruin. Hence he might clearly see what a plague, what a pest it would be if the Company undertook to make bishops—*quanta nobis pestis Episcopilibus recipiendis impendeat.*† With such and similar arguments, Ignatius got rid of the disastrous honor, which he begged to decline: and gave occasion to the sarcastic pope to exclaim: “This is the first time that a prince has heard such a request”‡—thus keenly insinuating, perhaps for all times and churches, a rebuke to ecclesiastical ambition. But Ignatius knew what he was about. A Jesuit was to march from city to city, from province to province, was to fly from pole to pole at the first sign of Christ’s vicar: such was the founder’s idea,§ and we may add, he was perfectly right in believing that the Society best deserved her best men—particularly in the hour of her struggle for the palm. Hereafter she would give from her superabundance—*when expedient*. In the following year, 1547, Bobadilla, the bolt of controversy, refused a similar honor—the bishopric of Trent.

Bobadilla was the indefatigable opponent of Protestantism in Germany. He accompanied the pope’s nuncio to the court of Charles V. Controversy ran high: all Germany was intent on the “religious” question. There was a conference at Ratisbon: Bobadilla rushed to the encounter. It availed little. Nothing could be decided where all was at stake, and nothing would be conceded on either side. The Jesuit pleased the Catholics, and Charles resolved, in the same conventicle, “to silence with the relentless sword the iron mouth of the Protestants, which neither imperial majesty nor the holy authority of the council could break or stop—*ferreum os Protestantium pertinaci ferro subigere*,” and to crush with severity those whom he could not

* “Quam ea res Societati noxia, quamque periculosa foret.”—*Orland.* vi. 33.

† *Orland.* vi. 34. There are fifteen reasons discovered by Orlandinus why the Society should eschew dignities. *Loc. cit.*

‡ Cretineau, i. 281.

§ Bouhours, ii. 47. This Jesuit puts also the following blast in the mouth of Ignatius on this occasion, addressed to the Pope, “whilst recalling his ancient military notions—en rappelant ses anciennes idée de guerre:”—“I consider all the other religious societies as squadrons of soldiers who remain at the post assigned by honor; who keep their ranks, who front the enemy, always preserving the same order of battle and the same method of fighting; but as for ourselves, we are scouts who, in alarms, in surprises by night and by day, ought to be ever ready to conquer or die; we ought to attack, to defend according to circumstances,—to throw ourselves on every point, and keep the enemy everywhere in watch.”—Bouhours, ii. 46.

bend by *his* clemency. The emperor's indignant energies were stimulated by the salient earnestness of the pope, who, resolved to spare neither expense nor anxiety in crushing those plagues, had sent a large army, under his grandsons Octavius and Alexander Farnese, to join the imperial forces. So far the Jesuit historians: but they omit to state that the same crafty pope *recalled* those troops at the very moment when they were most needed, and left the emperor "in the lurch."^{*} Thus, to suit his own purposes, he virtually became an ally of the Protestant cause. The interests of Catholicism were in his *head*—his own interests, and those of his family, were in his *heart*. The emperor's increasing success might spread encroachment to the papal throne: private interests decided the pope's neutrality on that remarkable occasion. But the emperor's good fortune baffled the wily pontiff. The victory of Muhlberg consoled the emperor for the pope's treachery. The pope's grandson did not share the laurels of Orthodoxy: but the son of Loyola—the Jesuit Bobadilla—in the foremost ranks fell wounded in the head. The thickness of his head-gear broke the violence of the blow, which had otherwise been mortal.[†] A few days after the battle, he preached at Passau. In a Protestant city the bold Jesuit announced a solemn thanksgiving to the "God of Armies" for the victory of the Catholic cause. Then through Germany he hurried, preaching controversy as he went. His flaming eloquence was heard at Augsburg, Cologne, and Louvain, where flourished a college of the Company, founded by Lefevre. At length, proud in unconquerable zeal, Bobadilla reached the imperial court, to be taken aghast by the compromising *Interim*, just published by the emperor. *Interim* means *meanwhile*, and it was the name given to a theological treatise, whose *temporary* regulations, pending the final decisions of the Great Council, were intended by the framers, Pflug, Helling, and Agricola, as a pacification sanctioned by the emperor, a healing to the religious mind of Germany, wounded, torn, ulcerated by its interminable polemical discussions.[‡] The pope's

* See Ranke, p. 66, and Robertson, Charles V. iii. 112, for the pope's political reasons. Capefigue also omits the fact—*La Ref. et la Ligne*, 146. So, also, Orlandinus, Cretineau, &c. Amongst the prodigies related as occurring during the battle, the Spaniards said that "the sun stood still, as at the command of Joshua." You will find ■ most amusing discussion, and refutation of these prodigies by the Jesuit Maimbourg, in his "*Histoire du Lutheranisme*," ii. p. 55. The Jesuits are great sceptics in other people's inventions, probably because they diminish the wonder of their own.

† Bobadilla's post was to attend the wounded; but the ardent Jesuit would mingle in the fray, *quippe res gerebatur ardenter*, with his exhortations, and promises of victory. The day before the battle of Muhilberg, or Mulhausen, he was in the foremost ranks at the crossing of the Elbe. Boucher, in his "dramatic" history of the Jesuits, shows us Bobadilla mounted on a splendid charger, crucifix in hand, and dashing over the dying and the dead.

‡ Luther was no more: he died in 1546. Orlandinus, the Jesuit, celebrates the reformer's death with horrible intensity. He says: "But whilst the Emperor, by the terror of arms, and the Pope by the General Council, are defending the ancient religion from the fury of the heretics, God as it were joining with them in a certain conspiracy, snatched from among men that portent of the universe, the sower of all evils, the anti-christ of these times. I am ashamed to call this infernal monster by his name—piget infernum hoc monstrum suo nomine nominare. That renegade of the Catholic religion, I say, that deserter of the cloister, renewer of all heresies, that detestation of God and men, in the twenty-second year of his falling off, after having supped sumptuously and

late conduct towards the emperor threw the whole burthen of the war on the emperor's shoulders: he was anxious to get rid of it, and was probably disgusted with the thought that he had been fighting for a cause which the wily pope made a convenience. Whatever were his motives in putting forth the *Interim*, it had the usual effect of toleration among men utterly maddened by the strong drinks of their "religious" opinions. In the estimation of the Catholics its concessions went too far: in the opinion of the Protestants it did not concede enough. In fact, all the essential doctrines and rites of Catholics seemed to be retained, but softly expressed, or set off with scriptural phrase, and muzzled by ambiguity. Certainly it permitted priests who had married, to retain their wives, and it indulged communion in both kinds, where the practice was established—and all only for a time, *until* the voice of the Great Council should boom like the last angel unto judgment. It was no finality—nothing to dépend upon—nothing that you could sleep on for ever, and could leave for your children to appeal to, as ■ *Magna Charta* of freedom, civil and religious. It was only a temporary concession—a mere musty morsel flung to a ravenous mastiff until he can be gagged completely. Protestants and Catholics, then, inveighed against the Interim: the former as against a deception, the latter as a cowardly concession. At Rome, by Paul III., it was denounced as a deed of rashness in the emperor, who was likened unto Uzzah, whose unhallowed hand touched the Ark of the Lord. Papal and Church pride was shocked to think that the emperor should dare to meddle with articles of faith and modes of worship. The pope had an emissary near the emperor—a man, a Jesuit, a host in himself, left behind when the pope's troops and grandsons deserted the emperor. Bobadilla's zeal knew no bounds. He attacked the Interim with his pen, and poured against it the flood of his eloquence. He struck hard, even in the imperial presence: *he feared no man*. Only one thing could be wisely done by the emperor at this bravado. He did *not* throw him into prison, starve, and stretch him on the rack, in order to make a martyr of an insolent, hot-headed, intolerant Jesuit, for universal ad-

splendidly, and sported with his jests as usual, on that very night, gripped and strangled by a sudden malady, vomited forth his most ungodly soul, a most savoury victim for Satan, who delights in such dishes, wherewith he satiates his maw—repentino morbo correptus, jugulatusque sceleratissimam animam vomuit, gratissimam Satanæ hostiam, qui se talibus oblectat escis, unde ejus saturetur ingluvies. At this announcement, the Catholic religion might have taken breath, being relieved of such a weight; all good men, all the orthodox, might celebrate a holiday—diem festum agere—if he had utterly perished; but the venomous chieftain left behind his viper-progeny over the whole earth, to the huge detriment of the Catholic interest—rei catholicæ labe—and he lives still in his seed, not less destructive to the human race, now that he is dead, than when he was alive. For where do not exist the impressed footmarks of his enormous crimes? We behold, with mighty grief, altars overturned, cloisters demolished, all that is sacred polluted; in fine, the uttermost devastation left by him in the widest kingdoms of Europe, and its provinces. WHEREFORE, our men must work the more vigorously, in order to kill and extinguish, as much as in them lies, all the disseminators of this fury, by throwing together the defences of the most excellent sanctity and doctrine; and let them be entirely persuaded that, with refractory men, and the enemies of the Catholic name, they have undertaken an eternal war—sempiternum bellum does not "go to these extremes" on Luther's exit, i. 299.

miration and worship. He quietly drove him out of court, and ordered him to leave the kingdom without a moment's delay. Proud of his banishment—he probably *expected* a more brilliant penalty—the Jesuit hastened to Rome, in hopes of a general glorification. What was his surprise to find a frown on the face of his general, Ignatius, who closed the door upon him, yea, shut him out from the House of the Professed, and turned the hero on the street “with his martial cloak around him.” Soon, however, he understood the whole matter, when the pope caressed him with “*tacit approbation*,” and when his astute general spoke loudly of the “Majesty of Kings,” but cleverly threw in a distinction that the hero “had at least sinned *formally*,” leaving the casuist to discover, if he could, the meaning. On the other hand, however, Ignatius was really anxious to give some little satisfaction to the emperor, who evidently had it in his power to injure not only the Society, but even the popedom—Rome herself—as had chanced before. Hence the seeming disgrace of the really triumphant Bobadilla. The emperor remained hostile to the Company: but it was still a fine occasion for such a display, and the Jesuits have never lost such an opportunity to captivate the minds of men. On one occasion, when the Marquis d’Aguilar, in conversation with Ignatius, alluded to the reports against the new Society, and told him that he himself was suspected of concealing great ambition under a modest exterior, and that public rumor alleged a cardinal’s cap or a mitre as the motive of his journey to Rome, Ignatius made no reply, but a sign of the cross: then, “as if suddenly inspired by God, he made a vow before the Marquis to accept no Church dignity unless compelled under penalty of sin, by the pope, and he repeated the vow some time after, in the presence of a cardinal.”* The man who loses not an opportunity is only second to him who can make one.

Only seven years had elapsed since the foundation of the Society: they had sufficed to render her name famous among men; blessed by the majority of the Catholics, and detested by the Protestants. We have witnessed the exploits of her light troops in their rapid evolutions. In the defence of the faith she had hitherto battled with success. At the court of princes she was in favor. Priests and doctors of universities were crowding to her novitiates. Her arsenals, her numerous and flourishing colleges in many kingdoms were filled with men skilfully, though bitterly, trained, ready, eager for work. One thing was hitherto wanting, great in itself, but greater still in its endless consequences to the Company and to men—I allude to the *public instruction of youth*. On this foundation the Jesuits will build their fortress of influence. Youth will be trained to love, to admire their teachers, and the Company to which these teachers belong; for the Jesuit method will be one of fascination—a heart-penetrating, bewitching inculcation—full of sweets and flowers, natural and artificial—all that the young love dearly, and parents love to see; all that all men would wish to achieve for the sake of partisan triumph, if not for the love of God and hu-

* Bouhours, ii. 47. For all the facts of this section, see Orland. vi. 53, *et seq.*; ib. viii. 35; Cretineau, i. 284, *et seq.*; Bouhours, ii. 68, *et seq.*; Maimbourg, ii. 97, *et seq.*; Robertson, Charles V. iii. 172; Mosheim, ii., &c. &c.

manity. The standing motto—the ceaseless effort of the Jesuits will be “to conciliate the parents of their pupils to the Company,” and when this is accomplished, they will say: “It is good—it is well—*parentes discipulorum nostrorum conciliare Societati*:”* for the result hoped for, from all the works of charity which the Jesuits will perform, shall be an engulfing monopoly—“the result will be, that all will gladly run to us—*hoc enim faceret, ut omnes ad nos libenter concurserent*.”† The rising generation will thus be in her interest; and, therefore, in process of time, the risen generation will not be against her, but will rather fill her schools with another, and so on forever; as Ignatius prophesied, the Company will flourish, influence generating influence, as experience testifies, and as flies swarm in the shambles; for admiration—look to it, ye lions of a day—for admiration is a matter of *fashion*, as well as a lady’s habiliments. In the glorious day of Jesuit monopoly, let those beware who attempt to compete with the party. In all other hands white *must* be black, and it will be “godless” to give education—“godless” to teach a gulled nation, except by the Jesuits.‡ In possession of this immense fulcrum—public instruction according to the Jesuit method—should the Society ever lose her lever, it will prove, perhaps, that there is some radical defect, or positive error, in the conduct of her members, or their inculcations, or their system in general. It may turn out to be an abuse, say a partial abuse of what is good; if so, then there may be a hope that dispassionate men will acknowledge, adopt, and rejoice at, the discovery. The opportunity to commence public instruction was vouchsafed to the Jesuits in 1546. It was an interesting beginning.

The Duke of Gandia, Francis Borgia, gave Ignatius the opportunity to enter upon an enterprise so useful, and just then the subject of his thoughts.§

Gandia is a city in the south-east of Spain, in sunny Valencia. It looks upon the Midland Sea, and only Murcia separates it from Grenada, its Alhambra,—the Generaliffe,—its orange groves, crystal fountains, transparent pools, and memories of the past, those deathless thoughts of the wretched. The Duke of Gandia had a number of baptized Moors on his estates. They had been baptised, but the sacred water was no Lethe to *them*. They still thought of Grenada, its cruel fall, and sighed in their hearts: “Praise be to God! There is no God but one, and Mohammed is his prophet; and there is no power but from God.”||

* Instruct. iv. 3.

† Ibid. Observe, I do not quote from the *Monita Secreta*, or Secret Instructions of the Jesuits, but a part of the *Institute*, edited by the General Aquaviva, and resolved in the Fifth Congregation.

‡ I quote from the biting author of “Facts and Figures,” and cannot avoid the pleasure of repeating his most vigorous stanza in full:—

“ ‘Tis ‘godless’ to give education,—
‘Tis ‘godless’ to teach a gulled nation,—
But ‘GODLIKE,’ oh call it, to shoulder your wallet,
Swelling huge in this hour of starvation!”—p. 17.

§ Bouhours, ii. 48.

|| An inscription on one of the pillars of the Gate of Judgment, at the entrance to the Alhambra.—*Jacob’s South of Spain*.

The greater part of these Moors had not cordially renounced Mohammedanism; the Duke of Gandia wished to insure the salvation of their children, the young *Moriscoes*.* For this purpose education was thought necessary, and the Jesuits were invited to commence operations. The children of all his vassals should reap the benefit. The first public college of the Society in Europe arose in the city of Gandia. The duke applied to Ignatius; Lefevre, then at Valladolid, was ordered to transact the preliminaries, according to the general's views and intentions, and forthwith professors of five or six languages, learned men all, and selected by the general himself, took possession of the benches, and opened the classes, each with a Latin harangue before the duke and all his court.[†]

The first idea (the duke's) was to instruct the children of the Moors, and those of his vassals, in the first elements. For this excellent purpose, huge professors of six languages, with Latin harangues, were surely not necessary; but they *were* necessary for the expanded idea (Ignatius's) which arose therefrom like the great black column from the sea (in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments"), advancing, winding about, and cleaving the waters before it—then appearing what it was, a giant of prodigious stature,—and from the great glass box on his head (shut with locks of fine steel) leading forth a lady magnificently appareled, of majestic stature, and a complete beauty—the lady of an hundred gallants, whose hundred token-rings she complacently dangled. The "first elements" were soon interpreted into "poetry, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology;" and by the duke's application to the pope and the emperor, the college was raised to an university—the rival of Alcalá and Salamanca, with all their privileges, rights, and immunities. The professors were to adopt the best methods that could be devised, and in each faculty the solidest authors. Ignatius (who seems to have learnt enough by this time to become critical) appointed Aristotle for philosophy, and Saint Thomas in divinity. He recommended the masters vigorously to cultivate the memory in those pupils whose judgment was unformed; to accustom them betimes to a good pronunciation in reciting what they committed to memory; to rouse the youthful minds by continual disputations, in stimulating them with emulation, and sometimes pitting the most advanced and the cleverest with those who were less so, in order to animate some by glory, and others by shame.[‡]

The idle and licentious were to be punished, but the masters themselves were not to whip the boys. This prohibition would preserve their religious decorum, and prevent anger in the correction. There

* The name given to the Moors who remained in Spain after its restoration, and to their descendants, till expelled by Philip III., 1604. See, for an interesting account of this cruel expulsion, *History of Spain and Portugal*, "Library of Useful Knowledge," p. 141, *et seq.*

[†] Bouhours, ii. 49.

[‡] "Qu'on éveillât ces jeunes esprits par des disputes continues, en les piquant d'émination, et opposant quelquefois les plus avancés et les plus capables à ceux qui le seraient moins, pour animer les uns par la gloire, et les autres par la honte."—Bouhours, ii. 51.

was to be a public corrector: if one could not be had, some means of castigation must be devised--either administered by one of the scholars themselves, or in some other convenient manner.*

The most refractory or scandalous scholars were to be expelled not only from the schools, but even from the very city, or imprisoned. Royal powers to that effect were to be obtained.† Such was the method by which the Jesuits proposed to cut admirable statues out of the roughest rock, the hardest marble.‡

The morals of youth were formed and promoted as follows:—Ignatius expressly forbade any Latin or Greek classic to be read, without being expurgated of its impurities:§ the pupils were to hear mass daily, and go to confession every month (communion would, of course, depend upon their state of conscience).|| At the commencement of class-hours, all should recite a devout prayer, to beg the grace of profiting by their studies.¶ Once a week they should be catechised in the doctrines of

* Bouhours, the Jesuit, omits the last suggestions, which are given in the Constitutions, part iv., c. 7, § 2, & D.

† “Si scholasticus aliquis rebellis, vel sic offendiculi causa aliis esset, ut non solum scholiis eum, sed etiam civitate expelli, vel in carcerem conjici conveniret,” &c.—*Const.*, part iv., c. xi. B.

‡ Πλάττετε τρισμάκαρες, καὶ γλάπτετε, ὡς νοογύρπται,
Ἐν τοῖσιν κεκρύθιν θαύματα πλεῖστα πόνοις.—*Imago*, p. 468.

Then carve on, and fashion, O thrice-happy sculptors of mind,—
In labors where thousands of wonders lie hid and confined.

§ If they cannot be thoroughly expurgated, such as “Terence,” they were not to be read at all. Everybody knows what Byron said of the Delphin Classics with the objectionable passages at the end; but an expurgated book, in the true sense, is one of the queerest looking things imaginable—lopped, blotted, scratched, and pasted over—giving the idea of a leper with his sores. Think of “Lemière’s Classical Dictionary” expurgated for the use of Catholic students! Every page, every column disfigured with the plague-spots—heathen gods crippled in their wickedness, and goddesses cut short in their evil ways—heroes made decent by black ink, and kings justified by a penknife. These books are temptations to the young mind: its curiosity yearns to read what is denied. I do not speak from my own experience only. The look, the manner, a striking remark of a master on such passages, would obviate all the danger which curiosity prolongs in their absence. It has been thought that Christian works might be substituted for the classics—and La Croze accused Hardouin and the Jesuits of the intention—but the preference will always be given to the beautiful lepers of paganism. Jouvency, the Jesuit, substituted passages for those expunged in Horace—for instance, Book i. Ode xxii., instead of the two last lines—

“Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
Dulce loquentem,”

he printed—

“Sola me virtus dabit usque tutum,
Sola beatum.”

|| A Catholic must go to confession, but it is for the priest to judge whether he is in fit state to receive absolution, which is the necessary preliminary to communion. A state of habitual mortal sin is the usual impediment.

¶ School hours conclude also with a prayer, preceded by an anthem to the Virgin. Every theme, translation, or other class-paper, is headed “To the greater glory of God,” in the respective languages, and at the end, “Praise God always.” All these regulations were in operation at St. Cuthbert’s college, where I studied about six years. It is not a Jesuit college, as some have asserted: but a Catholic secular college, organised on the Jesuit system of education. The history of this place is a monument of determined perseverance. The founder (Bishop Gibson) began to build with fourteen pounds only, and in about thirty years after the first stone was laid, the college was flourishing and funded. Like Stonyhurst, it is now affiliated to the London University.

faith, and the principles of morality. In addition to this, the masters were to take every opportunity, in and out of class, to converse familiarly with their pupils on religious matters.* The Jesuits represent the formal devotion which resulted from their moral training by the image of a mongrel earning his supper.†

Herein, at length, is the mighty hope fulfilled! The Society has now the means of selecting from the infinite varieties of human character, intellect, external appearance, and dispositions—from the youth of all ranks—from the peasant up to the noble—vigorous, talented, handsome recruits, for self-expansion and faith-propagation.

“For as much,” say the Constitutions, “as good and learned men are comparatively but few,—and most of these are of an age to look for rest from their labors,—we conceive it to be extremely difficult to increase our Society by the accession of such men, seeing how great labors and self-denial its Institute requires. Wherefore all we, who desired its preservation and increase, for the greater praise and service of our Lord God, thought fit to pursue a different course, namely, to admit youths of a promising character and abilities, who are likely to become good and learned men, fit to cultivate the vineyard of Christ our Lord: also to admit colleges upon the terms set forth in the Apostolic letters, both in universities and elsewhere; and if in the universities, whether they be placed under the charge of the Society, or not.”‡

Then, the indispensable “Spiritual Exercises” will fulfil their object—will enable the students to choose *a state of life*—for, “it may be truly said, that our Society has by *this* instrumentality, for the most part, come together from the beginning, and subsequently increased.”§

“*Licitè moveri*,|| it is lawful to be influenced” to enter the Society, though heaven must confirm the impulse: here, then, is the field open: vigorous, talented, handsome youths stand in array—*licitè moveri*—they may be influenced, *et cum merito*, and there’s merit in the thing.

Such was the beginning of Jesuit academical instruction. The University of Gandia was founded in 1546. Barcelona, Valencia, and Alcala, soon had colleges of the Society. Some were getting rich; but others were poor, by the number of pupils which increased disproportionately to the revenues.¶ Of course the Jesuits taught gratuitously.

We shall soon see the effects of these extensive operations: once

* Bouhours and Const., part iv.

† “*Nec capit ille cibum, dominas nisi supplice gestu
Et sibi munificas hæserit ante manus.*”—*Imago*, p. 478.

“Nor shall he have his supper, till
He sits and prays against his will.”

‡ Const., part iv. Proœm. Dec. A.

§ Direct. Exerc. Spir. Proœm. § 7:—“ut verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maximè medio et initio coalusse, et posteâ incrementum accepisse.”

|| Xam. Gen. c. iii. § 14. “Si affirmet se fuisse motum” [scil. à quopiam de Societate], quamvis licet et cum merito moveri potuisset, ad majorem tamen, &c. . . . Creatori et Domino suo se totum commendet, perinde ac,” &c.

¶ Cretineau, i. 283.

begun, their onward march was imperative ; and if jealousy envenomed the hearts of rival establishments, if it was but natural that the locust-like spread of the Jesuits should frighten the old established dignitaries of the Preceptorate, it is certain that the Jesuits cared little for their fright and jealousy. The Society's motto, "For the greater glory of God," the favor of the pope, the love of pupils, the admiration of parents, the support of kings and nobles, and, above all, their own determined energies, pushed the Jesuits onwards in their career, with more blessings than maledictions, consoled and rewarded for their labors, culling from each event the idea of another, which they soon produced. Le Sage observes that the virtues and the vices of men in authority do not escape the notice of the public;* of this the Jesuits were always aware; and endeavored to provide against the rumor of vice by the scrupulous integrity of their men in authority, and the primitive fervor of their rules and regulations. The greatest discretion was becoming necessary to defend the characteristic boldness of the young Society; but Ignatius was its vigilant guardian, always able to devise an escape from peril, to modify disaster, and, above all, to avoid unnecessary hazard in the Society's unlimited avocations, which were now becoming somewhat multitudinous.

A pious lady is on her way to Rome. The reader remembers the good Isabella Rosello, who was so kind to Ignatius in his troublous times at Barcelona. No stranger to the fame of her protégé was Isabella. Woman remembers more intensely those whom she has favored or befriended than those who have claims on her own gratitude; and to see the whole world honoring what she has honored, loving what she has loved,—that is her soul's delight.

The holy man's exhortations, when he dwelt where she lodged him,† had fructified in his absence; she brings the fruit to the sower. She has resolved "to leave the world, and to live according to the evangelical counsels under the obedience of the Society."‡ *Obedient women!* Obedient after the *Jesuit* fashion!

This was certainly a fine idea. Female Jesuits! What a vista opens to the imagination at this idea! And Isabella was in earnest too, for she had gained two companions, "Roman ladies, very virtuous," and had even "obtained the pope's permission for herself and for her companions to embrace that kind of life."§

"The Puritans owed much of their success to female agency," says Bishop Lavington,|| "and the influence of the ladies is equally recognised at the present day. The result of experience has satisfactorily proved that the executive duties of Bible Associations are *best* conducted by FEMALES. Their example is powerfully interesting, and their exertions in this good cause have already been productive of a happy effect."¶

* *Le Bachelier de Salamanque*, t. ii. p. 23.

† Bouhours, i. 126. "Où apparemment Isabelle Rosel l'avait mis."

‡ Id. ii. 52.

§ Id. ii. 62, *et seq.*

|| Methodists and Papists compared, Introd. sec. 29.

¶ The Southwark Report, &c., pp. 55—67, quoted by the Bishop: the italics and capitals are his.

But Father Ignatius was not to be entangled in this silken net; it promised nothing but confusion to the man of steady order and plain cause and effect. Brilliant as the scheme appeared at first sight, and so likely to be snatched up by your speculators—men of mere desire without judgment—it did not suit the man of the Constitutions.

Nevertheless, he was grateful to his benefactress, and the small number of these would-be Jesuit-nuns induced him to take care of them.*

“Ladies, devout by profession,” says the Jesuit Bouhours, “do not always follow the advice given them, or do not yield in all things to the views of their Directors when these do not coincide with their own.”†

Ignatius had got into trouble before by devout ladies. Whilst engaged in his itinerant predication, two ladies of rank, among his followers, had set out on a penitential pilgrimage, dressed as beggars, on foot, and living by alms, to the shrine of Our Lady at Guadaloupe, in Estremadura, a journey of forty days, which they performed, and returned to exculpate the preacher and get him out of prison, into which he had been thrown to expiate their freak, which he seems not to have approved of.‡

This was sad experience to begin with, and the result was naturally unfavorable to Isabella and her companions. “He repented of his acquiescence, and once observed, that the government of three devout ladies gave him more trouble than the whole Society; for, in a word, it was an endless task with them, and it was necessary, every hour, to resolve their questions, cure their scruples, hear their complaints, and even to settle their quarrels!”§

Compelled by these strange manifestations, he explained to the pope how such a charge would injure the Society, and how important it was that his Holiness should grant his deliverance, for he saw plainly that this little community, now only consisting of three individuals, would in time become very numerous, and would multiply in other towns; but the respect he felt for the Catalonian dame, from whom he had received so many favors, and who entreated him not to desert her, induced him to treat her respectfully, and he wrote her the following letter to get rid of her politely:—

“VENERABLE DAME ISABELLA ROZELLO,

“My Mother and my Sister in Jesus Christ.

“In truth, I would wish, for the greater glory of God, to satisfy your good desires, and procure your spiritual progress, by keeping you under my obedience, as you have been for some time past; but the continual ailments to which I am subject, and all my occupations which concern the service of our Lord, or his Vicar on earth, permit me to do so no longer. Moreover, being perswaded, according to the light of my conscience, that this little Society ought not to take upon itself, in particular, the direction of any woman who may be engaged to us by vows of Obedience, as I have fully declared to our Holy Father the Pope, it has seemed to me, for the greater glory of God, that I ought no longer to look upon you ■■ my spiritual daughter, but only as my good mother,

* Bouhours, ii. 53.

† Id. i. 144.

‡ Ibid.

§ Id. i. 53.

as you have been for many years, to the greater glory of God. Consequently, for the greater service and the greater honor of the everlasting Goodness, I give you, as much as I can, into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff, in order that, taking his judgment and will as a rule, you may find rest and consolation for the greater glory of the Divine Majesty. At Rome, the first of October, 1549."*

We can fancy the chagrin of the disconsolate Isabella. But we are assured that "this letter, which is full of the Saint's spirit, and in which the words, which he had always in his mouth, are repeated so often, disposed the dame to receive with submissiveness the pope's determination."[†]

"Paul III., having well reflected that the missionaries destined for all the world, ought to have no engagement, expedited Apostolical letters, whereby he exempted the Jesuits from the government of women who might wish to live in community, or single, under the obedience of the Society."[‡]

Not content with this, Ignatius obtained in the following year, a mandate from the pope, by which the Society was, to all intents and purposes, exempted from the direction of nuns, which he prohibited to his Order, permitting the Jesuits, however, "to aid in their spiritual progress, and sometimes to hear their confessions for special reasons."[§]

Persisting in this unconquerable repugnance to the conscience of the fair sex, Ignatius refused the direction of a convent of nuns, although the request was made by Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, "the declared protector and faithful friend of the Society;"^{||} and, possessed by a similar terror, the seventh Congregation enacted that no Jesuit was to hear the confessions of women until he had two years' practice, at least, in confessing the other sex—the thing was not to be attempted before great labors had imparted maturity and fitness; and even then there was to be no superfluous conversation beyond the mere confession, even on spiritual topics, in the confessional. If special consolation or advice were required, it must be administered sitting, or standing, briefly and modestly, with downcast eyes: there should be some open and appropriate part of the church selected, whither women might go to speak with the Jesuits, and that briefly and seldom *so as to give no cause for scandal, &c.*—and that all opportunity [of sin?] may be cut off, *ut omnis occasio præcidatur*.

"If the penitents pretend scruples of conscience, the confessors are to tell them" not to relate tales and repeat trifles, and sometimes they are to silence them at once; for if they are truly disturbed by scruples of conscience, there will be no need of prolixity. If they want meditations, and spiritual exercises, give them the spiritual works of Grenada,[¶] and others: the superior must be consulted in other cases. The

* Bouhours, ii. 53, *et seq.*

[†] Id.

[§] Id. ii. 56.

[†] Id. ii. 55.

^{||} Id. ii. 57.

¶ Louis of Grenada, a Dominican, author of approved ascetic works ("Sinners' Guide," "Memorial of a Christian Life," "Treatise on Prayer," &c.) His writings are still in high repute with the contemplative: there is no reading him without swimming in a sea of world-forgetting devotion. He died in 1588.

same woman is not to be allowed to come to confession twice on the same day. *Visits* to women are severely restricted.—“1st. They must be confined to women of rank and consequence.—2d. These must have rendered important services to the Society.—3d. The visits must be agreeable to the husband and relatives, &c.;”—and the following abuses must be sedulously extirpated, namely, “to give many hours to a few women, so that others lose the opportunity of confessing—to hinder others who desire it, from confessing, lest their *own spiritual daughters*, forsooth, (as they are wont to be called,) should be compelled to wait!”*

The infringement of the rules respecting the confessing of women was to be followed by suspension from the function, and it would be a serious matter for consideration whether the delinquents were to be retained in the Society, after infringing “in a point so grave, perilous, and severely enjoined.”† A *socius*, or companion, was always to be present at every visit—and he was to report to his superior if aught happened amiss,‡ and the same spy was to denounce any infringement of the confessor’s rule, to the superior.§ The confessional were to be in exposed parts of the church, and so constructed that one confessor might be, in a manner, the *socius* of another; and the superior was to see that they were not removed from their places, and that the *grates* were *entire* and *narrow*. Neither early in the morning, nor late at night, nor in the afternoon, were the priests to go to the church, unless expressly called for. The confessors were not to contract too great a familiarity with poor women, under pretext of assistance: their alms-giving must be with the consent of the superior, and rather by the hand of others than their own. “For, although originating in charity, the thing may be, in the course of time, full of peril, or obnoxious to certain slanders.”|| A Jesuit “of advanced age and ancient probity” infringed one of these rules by hearing a woman’s confession without a visible witness; Ignatius got eight priests together and made the old Jesuit scourge himself, on his naked back, in the midst of them, until each of the priests had recited one of the penitential psalms.¶

These enactments were issued at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It is significant how the primitive objection to the guidance of women has changed its motive. It is not now the difficulty of “resolving their questions, curing their scruples, hearing their complaints, and settling their quarrels”—but the terrible peril of soul, and reputation.

And yet what precautions are taken—what insurmountable difficulties are heaped round about the licentious heart! By these severe enactments it seems that a Jesuit’s purity is the centre of a circle whose circumference is cogged and clogged with a thousand obstacles, to prevent escape.

There must be good reason for the awful warnings that ascetics have,

* “Ne filiæ propriæ spirituales (ut vocati consueverunt) expectare cogantur.”—*Inst. iii. pro Conf. 1, 3, 6, 9, 12.*

† *Inst. iii. § 7.*

‡ *Ordin. Gen. p. 37.*

§ *Instr. iii. 7; Inst. xv. 2.*

|| *Instr. xv. 4, 5, 6.*

¶ *Bouhours, ii. 186.*

in all times, fulminated against the allurements, involuntary as well as voluntary, of women, whom to flee is the greatest triumph—*quas opimus effugere est triumphus!*

“Know that a beautiful woman,” exclaims Socrates, “is a more dangerous enemy than the scorpion, because the latter cannot wound without touching us, whereas beauty strikes us at a distance: from whatsoever point we perceive it, it darts its poison upon us, and overthrows our reason.”* St. Jordan rebuked a Friar very severely, for only touching a woman’s hand. “True,” answered the Friar, “but she is a pious woman.” “No matter for that,” answered St. Jordan, “the earth is good, water is also good—but when these two elements are mixed they form nothing but mud.”†

“A woman burns the conscience of him with whom she dwells. Let women know thy name—but not thy face—nor do thou know theirs,” says St. Jerome, the mortified in the wilderness.‡

“Be it said, once for all,” cries St. Cyprian, “the conversation of women is the devil’s bird-lime, to catch and enslave men.”§

“Paul does not say, *resist*, but *fly*—because victory is better secured by flight than by resistance,” exclaims St. Austin.||

The mechanical contrivances of the Jesuits were therefore to the purpose.

But these, it seems, were not sufficient, if we may credit the ex-Jesuit Hasenmüller, who left his Order and turned Lutheran, in the sixteenth century: “I have seen some (Jesuits) who would not eat anything which they knew was dressed by a woman. I have heard others say, whenever I think of a woman, my stomach rises, and my blood is up. Another said, it grieves me, and I am ashamed that a woman brought me into the world, *dignus certè cui vacca fuisse genitrix* . . . Others again assert that there is no good at all in the whole substance of a woman; and if there be some amongst them who pretend to excel the rest in these calumnies against the fair sex, these expectorate at the bare mention of a woman, and they keep some slanderous verses, injurious to the female sex, composed by Baptista of Mantua . . . engraved on a plate, continually before their eyes, that they may thus perpetually stir up in themselves a hatred of women.”¶

That these rather severe sentiments were in repute among the Jesuits, is probable for two reasons: First, Ignatius, in the Constitutions,** positively recommends his followers “to prevent temptations, by applying their contraries.” Pride is to be overcome by lowly occupations conducive to humility—*et sic de aliis pravis animæ propensionibus*—

* Xen. Mem. Soc. lib. i.

† Quoted in *Le Miroir des Chanoines*, a collection of sentences against female company—Paris, 1630.

‡ D. Hieron. Ep. ad Nep., ibid.

§ D. Cyp. de Sing. Cler., ibid.

|| D. Aug. Ser. 250 de tem., ibid.

¶ Hasenm. Hist. Ord. Jesuit—published at Frankfort in 1593, and again in 1605, about the very time the foregoing enactments were issued by the 6th and 7th Congregations. He also says: “For their meat and drink they use herbs and drugs, by which they enervate the strength of nature, and these man-haters,” &c. &c. For some curious details on *aphrodisiacs*, and *anaphrodisiacs*, see Demangeon’s *Génération de l’Homme*, p. 148, *et seq.*—also Virey, *Nouveaux Elémens de la Science de l’Homme*.

** Part iii. c. i.

and so of the *other* depraved propensities of the soul.* Thus, the studied contempt for woman would, to a vast extent, moderate the fires of concupiscence, for disgust is the cure of desire. Besides, the slighting, if not contemptuous, expressions of the rules before quoted, seem to evince a similar spirit: Secondly, Ignatius himself, in his famous "Spiritual Exercises," records the most abominable opinion that can positively be entertained of woman, for he positively compares the *devil* to woman, saying: "Our enemy imitates the nature and manner of woman, as to her weakness and frowardness; for, as a woman, quarrelling with her husband, if she sees him with erect and firm aspect, ready to resist her, instantly loses courage, and turns on her heels: but if she perceive he is timid and inclined to slink off, her audacity knows no bounds, and she pounces upon him ferociously—thus the devil," &c.†

Such then were the Jesuit means "to prevent temptations." They were necessary in the awful circumstances. For we must consider who and what these Jesuits were, if we would form an adequate idea of their temptations. Then, by the Constitutions, as well as by history, they were vigorous, talented, handsome men. They were men of insinuating manners and honeyed speech, and they were unapproachable by profession, bachelors by necessity—two painful facts, and tending to excite the liveliest sympathies in those whom they were compelled to dragoon in the confessional, and abuse in the hours of recreation.

The vigilance of the rule on this point perpetually defended Jesuit reputation, and the comparatively very few cases of impeachment against it are such as may charitably and readily be forgotten. True it is that the power of the Society, in the days of her glory, could render impossible every criminal conviction, and could stifle fact with fact and fiction, as in the case of all its accusers, from the Roman priest who denounced Ignatius and his companions, down to De la Roche Arnaud and his "awful disclosures" of Mont Rouge.† But, by their exploits in every region of earth, the vast majority of Jesuits must have been men who could inspire love and passion, and yet stand aloof from the grovelling things of sensuality.‡ The Jesuits were too constantly engaged in bodily and mental work to be much molested by the common propensities of man, which idleness (the root of all evil) makes exuberant. Nature suggests an explanation. In the voracious animals the preponderance of the nutritious functions paralyses, as it were, the faculties of their external vitality, and thus, correspondently, in *man*,

* "Anteverttere oportet tentationes adhibitis earum contrariis," &c.

† "Nam sicut femina cum viro rixans, si hunc conspererit erecto et constante vultu sibi obsistere, &c. itidem consuevit dæmon."—*Exerc. Spir. Reg. in fine*, xii.

‡ *Mémoires d'un Jeune Jésuite où Conjuration de Mont-Rouge.*

§ Hasenmüller says that the Jesuits of his time used to tell a most curious tale to illustrate the integrity of one of their Josephs. This Jesuit seemed to consent, only asking permission to leave the room for a moment. He returned with his face most disgustingly besmeared, and the lady's "love" was changed into hatred.—Hist. chap. vi. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Hasenmüller brings the foulest charges against the Jesuits on this score; but he was a rancorous enemy, and therefore we should only believe one-half of what he says, as was Lord Chesterfield's practice, who, on some one complaining as to the charge of having had *twins*, affirmed that he never believed more than one half of reports.

the excess of labor, whether intellectual, sensitive, or muscular, enervates and debilitates the internal functions of nutrition and reproduction. All is antagonism in man—the predominance of one energy perpetually and necessarily stifles its correlative.* And good for the cause of Jesuitism was that effect. It has been observed, by Cardinal de Retz, I think, that few ever did anything among men until women were no longer an object to them:† nor can we see why the renowned of old were called *heroes*, unless the name's derivative be *impetus*, strong and elastic impulse towards the pinnacled object of ambition.‡

The consciences of nuns were a terror to Ignatius, not so the propensities of kings. Hercules d'Este was denied a Jesuit for his nuns, but was vouchsafed one for himself; “having formed the design of a Christian life, he would have a Jesuit near his person.” Lejay was pointed out, demanded, and conceded to govern the duke's conscience. His refusal of the bishopric of Trieste had made him famous,§ the counsels of his general will make him an excellent confessor. Having consulted Ignatius on the course of conduct he was to pursue, the general told him, “that being destined by the Vicar of Jesus Christ to the service of one of the most prominent benefactors of the Society, it was necessary that he should consecrate himself to him entirely, even so far as to perform, externally, no good deeds without the participation and consent of the prince, who was to be to him, in some sort, his Superior and General.”||

The duke went through the “Spiritual Exercises” as a preliminary. This “method whereby chiefly the Society was begun and increased,”¶ was now extensively applied, even amongst persons of the highest rank. But there were thoughtful and good men who deemed the “Spiritual Exercises” objectionable; among the rest, no smaller dignitary than the Archbishop of Toledo. Conforming to the times, doubtless, he taxed their *doctrine* as dangerous: this charge, in the land of the Inquisition, was most likely to set public opinion against the Jesuit method of propagation. It was of no avail. Doctors of Divinity gave them their sanction, and Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the Society's friend, obtained a Bull from the pope whereby the “Spiritual Exercises” were approved, praised, and confirmed by Apostolical authority; “having regard, as in duty bound, for the great good which Ignatius, and the Society by him founded, were incessantly doing in the church, amongst

* See this most interesting subject thoroughly investigated in Virey's admirable work, *Philosophie de l'Histoire Naturelle*, lib. ii. chap. vi. The motto of his book is, *In nova fert animus, et unquestionably there never was book so suggestive and consolatory by its interpretations of God's beautiful creation.*

† “This is the reason,” adds Bulwer, “why people seldom acquire any reputation, except for a hat or a horse, till they marry.” Heloise, in one of her letters, dwells with great eloquence on the same subject: she instances the errors of Adam, Samson, Solomon, and *Abelard* as the consequence of this perverse infatuation.

‡ Hero, from the Greek ἥρως, heros, derived by Lennep from ἄρπειν, to be forcibly and violently impelled and joined to something else, but not to woman, as it would appear.

§ The result is significantly stated by Bouhours, ii. 57. ||Id. ii. 58.

¶ “Verè dici possit, Societatem nostram hoc maximè medio et initio coaluisse, et posteà incrementum accepisse.”—*Prōœm. in Direct.* § 7.

all sorts of nations; and, moreover, considering how much the ‘Spiritual Exercises’ subserved to that purpose.”*

Ignatius was permitted to have the book printed, but an injunction was laid against the reprinting of the same without the author’s consent.†

This papal approbation, and the publication, rendered the “Spiritual Exercises” more famous than ever, and greatly increased the reputation of the Society’s founder.‡ The archbishop was silenced—the Jesuits triumphed—and we have an idea of Jesuit influence eight years after their foundation.

Glorious success, splendid events delayed not: the star of Ignatius was in the ascendant. Hitherto he had constantly resided at Rome. Thence he had directed, as we have seen, the councils of kings by his valuable advice; thence he had reconciled a pope, a king, and a bishop; it remains for him now to leave his habitation in order to arrest the bolts of war.

The inhabitants of Sant-Angelo and those of Tivoli had a difference—arms clashed—Ignatius threw himself into the skirmish at the pope’s request. He brought the belligerents to an arbitration (appointing a cardinal for the same), and the war was at an end—the citizens shook hands—*pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt*.

Ignatius was rewarded for his journey. He had lodged at the house of a rich man, the Signor Louis Mendoza by name, and this signor gave him a comfortable house, with pleasant gardens attached, and a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, near the magnificent ruins of the villa of Mecænas—a classical fact of which the Jesuit historian pleasantly reminds the student.§ *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*,—classic Tivoli beheld Ignatius the spiritual father of the Jesuit Hardouin, who would *disprove* the authenticity of almost all the classics, which the critic fathered on middle-age monks !!

City of the Augustan age, graced by the residence of Mecænas, and his Horace (one of the spurious classics), of Brutus, Sallust, Propertius,—all Rome’s genius and gentility ;¶ and now, after the lapse of wonder-working time, Father Ignatius, the general of the Jesuits, has a villa at Tibur! Imagination, lend us thy wand! Let Pope Paul III., the patron of Ignatius, be Augustus, who exclaimed on his death bed, “Have not I played my part well? Clap your hands then, the farce is over!”** And let Ignatius be the new edition of Mecænas—a man of tact, prudence, and patron of all that is clever, if he can only do with them what he likes. Let Horace cease to be a vile sycophant for the

* See the Bull *in extenso*: Bouhours, ii. 60, *et seq.*

† Ibid.

‡ Bouhours, ii. 62.

§ Ibid.

|| He will appear, this interesting Hardouin, in his niche, as we build up the temple of Jesuitism.

¶ This city was famous in the age of Augustus. Its pleasant situation induced many of the rich and voluptuous Romans to build villas at Tibur and the vicinity. Augustus himself often visited Tibur; and the poets, of course, swore by its name, thronging to the levees of their patron Mecænas, his friend.

** “So true it is,” observes the Jesuit Feller, “that the sages and heroes of the world do themselves look upon the picture of their actions as a farce that ends with them.”—*Biog. Univ.* i. 312.

nonce, and resolve to examine the matter—*lentus spectator, sedulus instet*. He prepares—*condo et compono*. And now imagine the flimsy shade of the biter paying Ignatius a visit, in one of his evening walks—*vespertinumque pererro forum*—and, after the first salutations—(*Quid tibi visa Chios*—How do you like Tivoli?)—coming nearer to the point, saying: *Assisto divinis*, I have seen your men at work. . . . Here's a trifle for you—*sic leve, sic parvum est*; and thereupon reading his eighth satire to the broken-down knight of Loyola, now General of the Jesuits, beginning:

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum—
Cum faber, incertus scannum faceretne Priapum,
Maluit esse deum . . . *

This establishment at Tivoli was followed by two more colleges erected at Messina and Palermo, under the immediate patronage of the Viceroy of Sicily, Don Juan de Vega, an intimate friend of the General.†

Ignatius selected some of his best men for this new help to development; among the rest, Peter Canisius, a German, famous for his controversies with the Protestants, termed by the Catholics, “the scourge of the Protestants,” and by the Protestants, “the dog of Austria.”‡

Before dispatching his laborers, Ignatius passed them through the ordeal. Those who were to be engaged in tuition were made to give a specimen of the method they would pursue.

They had been selected with his usual caution: he had “sounded their souls;” they were the elect of all the children of obedience. For, to test the obedience of his inferiors at Rome, he had commanded all of them to give him a written answer to the following questions: 1. Were they indifferent to going to Sicily or to remaining at Rome, and would the determination of their general, who held the place of God in their regard, be the most agreeable? 2. If sent to Sicily, would they be ready to teach and perform other functions requiring intellect and knowledge, or to be employed in domestic offices? 3. If appointed to study and tuition, would they be disposed to study whatever science that might be required, and to teach whatever class the superior might appoint? In fine, did they believe that all which obedience would prescribe to them, would be the best for them, and the most conducive to their salvation?§

All of them delivered in their answer on the appointed day; every

* I was a cut-down fig-tree, useless wood:
“For what,” exclaims the joiner, “art thou good?
For bed-steps? or ——” then with a wink and nod,
“I have it—thou shalt be a scare-crow god.”

Serm. lib. i. sat. viii. In superstitiones et veneficas.

I find that the poet Oldham applies the same Horatian verses to Ignatius. I was not aware of the fact when the application was suggested to me by the Jesuit's remark, and by *Tibur, Argeo positum colono*. The *pereant malè qui ante nos* may be here applicable, but it is certainly not expressed.

† Bouhours, *ibid* ii. p. 64.

‡ In allusion to his name, *Canis*, a dog. Feller, *Biog. Univ.* iv. 434.

§ Bouhours, ii. 65.

man of them (there were more than six-and-thirty) declared that he would go, not only to Sicily, but to the Indies; and that he would engage himself all his life to perform the meanest offices, as soon as their good father and venerable master in Jesus Christ would give them the least sign.*

Then Ignatius led the chosen ones to the pope, who received them very kindly, and dismissed them with an exhortation vigorously to oppose the new heresies.†

The general dispatched them to the work as follows :—

“Go, brothers, inflame and burn up everything with the fire that Jesus Christ has come to fetch upon earth !”‡

The reader must be told that there were *twelve* of these Sicilian apostles, and then he will comprehend the force of the obtestation, its meaning, its probable effect.

Almost at the same time Ignatius dispatched two other Jesuits to Fez and Morocco, at the request of the King of Portugal, for the redemption of slaves and their confirmation in the faith.

Charles V. dispatched an army into Africa against the famous corsair Dragut; Lainez accompanied the expedition by command of Ignatius. Four Jesuits had gone into Ethiopia, sent by John III. of Portugal; and South America received the Society with the Spanish fleet under Don Soza, penetrating Brazil. Asia had long before been occupied by the sons of Ignatius; and every kingdom in Europe beheld them at work. But for every one that went forth, tens and twenties entered the Society, as the bees on a fine summer’s day, to and from their busy hive, and many that entered were laden with wealth and honor, as the bees with honey.

All is fascination—inexplicable attraction, unless we remember how Law’s Mississippi scheme, and the South-Sea Bubble, led away captive thousands and tens of thousands; or how Mohammed walked his appointed path, gathering followers as he went, until he had more than he could satisfy without war and plunder.

The rich, the great, the learned, all knocked at the gates of the Society, humbly craving admission. “The Society of Jesus” was the ark at the last hour when men ceased to doubt; all rushed to the gates of salvation; but this ark would never be closed: its voyage was to be long and difficult: it needed all sorts of “hands;” every trade, every profession, every disposition, every talent, would there find employment.

If we look around in life and mark the beginning of every enterprise, how powerful appears the imitative propensity of man! A few great names lend the spell, rumor spreads the magic circle; those who are affected or infected become as many points of attraction, and the scheme is established. The Jesuit scheme triumphed in like manner. The Society was in fashion.

In 1552, Don Antonio de Cordova, the rector of the University of Salamanca, was about to be invested with the Roman purple, when

* Bouhours, ii. 66.

† Id. ii. 65.

‡ Id. ii. 64.

suddenly a thought of self-abnegation entered his soul. He was but three-and-twenty years of age; but his talents exalted him enough in the eyes of Rome to place him amongst the princes of the church. Young, rich, a favorite of Charles V., he turned a deaf ear to those who would speak of the honors which he had deserved; he renounced the dignity, and, on the following day, Don Antonio de Cordova, the cardinal elect, was a simple novice of the Society of Jesus.* How vast must have been the exultation at the Jesuit college in Salamanca; behold the golden fruit of the spreading tree: "the Society erected houses and gained many proselytes."[†]

A more touching illustration of that strange fascination which distinguished Jesuitism had been given in the case of an old Dutchman, Cornelius Crocus, rector of the Latin Schools at Amsterdam; he resigned his appointment, and, in his fiftieth year, journeyed to Rome on foot, begged admission to the Society, and was received by Ignatius.[‡]

And Francis Borgia, the Duke of Gandia, the great friend of the Jesuits, "the handsome, generous, wise and brave," as he was called, turned Jesuit! Grief at the loss of his wife, we are assured, was the beginning of his conversion: "in order to assuage his anguish, he rushed into religion." Other causes had conspired to prepare the way. He had formerly been sent to convey to Grenada the body of the Empress Isabella. When the coffin was opened for his attestation, the awful change which death had produced in that "prodigy of beauty" made a lasting impression on his mind; and it is said he lived as a saint in the midst of the world.[§]

Allied to the most illustrious families of Europe, (a *natural* grandson of Pope Alexander VI., and of Ferdinand V., precisely in the same way, by his mother,) Borgia sought the companionship of the voluntary beggars, whose minds were swaying the destinies of earth. We shall find him the third general of the Jesuits, and a saint.

It becomes us to penetrate into the method of this world-absorbing fascination: it is of importance to understand thoroughly the Jesuit method, if we would form right judgments on their deeds—their history. The Jesuits themselves minutely display their method of witchery: the Life of their model, Ignatius, was not written in vain. What, then, was *his* method? A few cases, given by the Jesuits, will answer to a certain extent.

One of his followers, Rodriguez, conceived the design of turning hermit. He fled from his companions, resolved to perform his resolution. A man so skilled in the "discernment of spirits" as Ignatius proves himself to be in his "Spiritual Exercises," could not fail to

* Cretineau, i. 292.

[†] "Elle formait bien des maisons, elle gagnait bien des prosélytes."—*Ibid.*

[‡] As an illustration of the times, it may be stated that Crocus undertook to banish from the schools the grammatical works composed by the Reformers. To Melancthon's Grammar, Erasmus's Adages and Colloquies, he opposed a Grammar, Adages, and Colloquies, after his own fashion. Feller, Biog. Univ. *Crocus*.

[§] See *La Vie de St. Fran. Borgia*, by the Jesuit Verjus, 2 vols. It is alleged that the example of Borgia induced Charles V. subsequently to turn monk. How did he escape the Society? Imagine Charles V. a Jesuit. But he was half a heretic.

perceive the soul-workings of this would-be hermit; but he was not to be resigned. Scarcely had Rodriguez left the city, when "a man of terrible aspect, superhuman stature, appeared before him, sword in hand. Terror seized him at first; but, regaining courage, thinking his eyes had deceived him, he continued to advance,—when the portent, transported with fury, cast terrible glances at him, threatened him with his sword, and seemed ready to pierce him. Bewildered and trembling, he turned on his heels, fled back to the city, and met Ignatius, who, with arms outstretched, and smiling sweetly, exclaimed, '*Man of little faith, why hast thou doubted?*' These words shamed Rodriguez: but they confirmed him in his vocation, and made him perceive at the same time that God had revealed all to Ignatius."*

What commentary can add to the significance of this ensample?

Ignatius once visited a doctor of divinity. He found him playing at billiards. The doctor invited Ignatius to play a game. The latter excused himself, affirming that he could not play at billiards—as if he had not learned this accomplishment among the many which graced the page at the court of Ferdinand. The doctor urged him, we are told: this was unnecessary, if the doctor really believed Ignatius.

"What shall we play for?" said Ignatius to the doctor. "A poor fellow like myself can't play for money, and yet there's no fun in playing for nothing. Here's my notion: if I lose, I will serve you a whole month, and will do exactly all that you shall command me: and if you lose, you will only do one thing that I will tell you."

The doctor, liking the fun, accepted the condition. They played: Ignatius won the game! He had never touched a cue, adds the Jesuit-biographer.

And the doctor, recognising the miracle, resolved to obey Ignatius. The Spiritual Exercises were enjoined; and the doctor "profited so well by them, that he became an '*interior man.*'" What more he became, is not stated.† This reminds us of "the devil playing a game at chess with a youth for his soul."

We have read of those who crossed the seas to gain a proselyte; Ignatius plunged into a pond for the same end. He had tried in vain to convert a libertine: he resolved upon a stratagem. Knowing the road the libertine would take in his disreputable visits, Ignatius went and waited for his approach, near a pond almost frozen over, for it was winter. He undressed. As soon as he saw his friend in the distance, he jumped in, up to the neck, and cried out, "Whither are you going, wretched man? Whither are you going? Hear you not the thunder rolling over your head? See you not the sword of divine justice ready to strike you? Ah well!" he continued, with a terrible voice, "go and glut your brutal passion. I'll suffer here for you, until the wrath of Heaven be appeased."

Terrified by these words, and ravished with Ignatius's charity, the man "opened his eyes, was ashamed of his sin, returned with the resolution of entire self-reformation,"‡ and probably became a Jesuit—a St. Augustine, from grovelling vice to soaring sanctity.

* Bouhours, i. 242.

† Id. i. 184.

‡ Id. i. 182.

We remember how he practised on Lefevre and Xavier, and with what striking results.

Enough surely has been detailed to throw some light on the influence of the Jesuits, operating with the founder's example before them, trained under his own eyes, and sent forth perfect in all arts, human and divine. Let their end be all that a Christian may desire, or the contrary: be their motives good or bad: be they hirelings of evil, or angels of good—whatever they were, to all intents and purposes the Jesuits went the “right way to work,” whatever they did.

“Permit me,” exclaims Cardinal De Retz (just after describing one of his youthful duels)—“Permit me, I beg you, to make a short reflection on the nature of the human mind. I do not believe that there was in the world a better heart than my father's, and I can say that his disposition was that of virtue. Nevertheless, these duels and these my gallantries did not hinder him from making every effort to bind to the church a soul perhaps the least ecclesiastical in the universe! ‘His preference for his eldest son, and the prospect of the Archbishopric of Paris (which was his family-right), produced that effect.’ He did not believe it, and was not himself conscious of it—I would even swear that he himself would have sworn in his inmost heart, that his object in this step was nothing but what was revealed to him by his apprehension of the perils to which the contrary profession would expose my soul. So true it is, that *there is nothing so liable to illusion as piety*. It consecrates all sorts of fancies; and *the best intention is not sufficient to enable us to avoid its abuse.*”*

It were charitable to apply this reasoning to the conduct of Ignatius, and consequently, to that of his followers.

There were men—men of standing—men of virtue (as the Jesuits are forced to admit)—churchmen, high and dignified, who thought otherwise,—who denounced the Primitive Jesuits as men exactly after De Retz's *own heart*, which he describes as follows.

“After six days' reflection,” says the Cardinal (then Archbishop of Paris), “I took the resolution to do evil on set purpose (*par dessein*) which is incomparably the most criminal before God, but which is, without doubt, the wisest before the world: both because in doing evil thus, we set before it certain acts which cover a part of it,—and because by this set purpose we avoid the most dangerous ridicule incident to our profession, which is, *to mingle preposterously sin with devotion.*”†

Melchior Cano, a Dominican monk, and Doctor of Salamanca (where the Jesuits were in full swing) denounced the Jesuits in spite of their conversions.

No heretic was Melchior—no renegade;—but a true believer.

Nor was he a man who repeated “idle tales in circulation.” He had met, and conversed with Ignatius.

“When I was at Rome,” says he, “I took it into my head to see this Ignatius. He began at once, without preliminary, to talk of his

* Mémoires, i. 3.

† Ibid. i. 41.

virtue, and the persecution which he had experienced in Spain without deserving it in the least. And a vast deal of mighty things he poured forth concerning the revelations which he had from on high, though there was no need of the disclosure. This induced me to look upon him as a vain man, and not to have the least faith in his revelations.”*

The doings of the Jesuits terrified this good Christian: he apprehended the coming of Antichrist, and believed the Jesuits to be his forerunners.†

He was alarmed at the novelty of the Institute, which was totally different to the ancient Orders: he believed that the secular dress of the Jesuits was adapted to conceal their licentiousness: that from their intercourse with people of the world, and at the courts of princes, they lived according to the world’s maxims: that those “retreats” which they caused to be made after the method and spirit of their founder, were nothing less than abominable mysteries.‡

Such was the Dominican’s opinion of the Jesuit. His reputation was great: he was a man of virtue: he seemed to speak from conviction.§ He published all he thought: his reputation gave so much credit to his words, that the people treated as impostors and rogues those who before appeared to them as men descended from Heaven.||

Ignatius thanked God for the “persecution,” and took his measures accordingly.

He ordered the Spanish Jesuits to show Cano the pope’s bull confirmatory of the Institute, and to explain to him modestly the following very conclusive facts against him: 1. The kingdom of Heaven would be divided if the Vicar of Jesus Christ approved a Society opposed to Jesus Christ: 2. That of those pretended forerunners of Antichrist, Paul III. had chosen two for his Theologians at the Council of Trent, and that his Holiness had named another for his Apostolic Legate in the Indies.

Ignatius also sent documents attesting in favor of the Society, and a papal brief constituting the Bishop of Salamanca protector of the Society’s reputation.¶

He did more: the general of the Dominicans was induced to interfere: doubtless representations were made to the general respecting his dangerous subject. The general issued a charge to all the Dominicans commanding them “to love that holy Order (of Jesus), and forbidding them to speak ill of it under any pretext whatever.”**

“We believe, it is true, that all of you,” wrote the good general, “that all of you, as friends and well-beloved of the Bridegroom, far

* “Cum aliquando Romæ essem, Innicum⁹istum videre mihi lubuit: qui in sermone, sine ullâ occasione, caput suam commemorare justitiam, et persecutionem quam passus esset in Hispaniâ nullo suo merito. Multa etiam et magna prædicabat de revelationibus quas divinitus habuisset, idque nullâ ejus rei necessitate; quæ fuit occasio cur eum pro homine vano haberem, nec de revelationibus suis quicquam ei crederem.”—*Apud Bayle*, vii. 186. He also hits the Jesuits for the aspiring title of the Company. De locis, l. iv. c. 2.

† Bouhours, iv. 71.

‡ Ibid. iv. 71.

§ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

** Ibid. iv. 72.

¶ Ibid.

from murmuring against the variety with which the Bride is adorned, will embrace her and cherish her in the charity which rejoiceth in truth.”*

A doctor of Salamanca threw in an apologetic manifesto for the Society.

Glory to the Jesuits issued from the sea of trouble. But the redoubtable Melchior still winnowed the waves. He continued his invectives in defiance of papal bulls, documents, arguments, and the bridal soft impeachment of his general.

Melchior’s “hostilities held in check the Society of Jesus at Salamanca. His success was likely to stir up new aggressors in the other Spanish universities.”†

What was to be done with this bad subject—this accuser, who was either in the right or in the wrong—who either spoke the truth or falsely? Let the result answer the question.

The Jesuits made a *bishop* of Melchior but they sent him to the *Canaries*. It was an idea worthy of Ignatius and his method with Xavier.

“If this was a revenge of the Society,” says its latest historian and admirer, “it could not be more sweet, nor, above all, more *ingenious*,” he very significantly adds.‡

Melchior accepted the honor, but he did not evince his gratitude in the manner contemplated. From afar, as when near, he attacked the Jesuits.

He probably “smelt a rat.” At the Canaries he could not grasp the foe. He resigned his See, returned to Spain, and renewed the war.

To the day of his death his conviction was unchanged. In 1560 he wrote to a monk, the confessor of Charles V., saying: “Would to God that it should not happen to me, as fable relates of Cassandra, whose predictions were not believed till after the capture and burning of Troy. If the members of the Society continue as they have begun, God grant that the time may not come when kings will wish to resist them, and will find no means of doing so.”§

The most extraordinary point in this affair is that the pope should consent to make a bishop of a man who would not be silenced by a bull; and that the Society should positively exalt disobedience! These considerations have great weight: Melchior was strong in some position, was determined in all his attitudes; and conciliation is always the method of Party till it can silence by pains and penalties.

Cano lived in honor, and died respected, in 1560, as Provincial of Castile—another fact in his favor.|| He was the first important oppo-

* Cretineau, i. 288, where the letter is given *in extenso*.

† Id. 289.

‡ “Si ce fut une vengeance de la Compagnie, elle ne pouvait être plus douce, plus ingénieuse surtout. Melchior accepta ces honneurs, mais jamais il ne s'en montra reconnaissant.”—Cretineau, i. 289.

§ Cretineau, i. 290.

|| Feller, Biog. Univ. This Jesuit says that Cano never took possession of his See; meaning, probably, that he did not *remain* in possession. He also slurs the character of Cano, but refers to a single trait, and that related by another Jesuit (Bouhours), to the effect that Cano set a priest to accuse Ignatius of heresy in the doctrines of the “Spiritual Exercises,” keeping himself, in the back ground, through fear of Rome. This is scarcely in unison with his usual boldness.

nent of the Jesuits, and the first bishop they gave to the Church: the occasion is remarkable.

Another opponent appeared in the person of the rector of the University of Alcala, where the Jesuits were progressing. A tribunal was appointed to examine the affairs of the Jesuits—they were honorably acquitted, though the tribunal was appointed by Casa, the belligerent rector, and composed of “three most determined adversaries of the Institute!” Casa rejected the decision: he even attacked the bull of Paul III., establishing the Society,—which was going to the fountain-head at once and effectually, and also into the jaws of the tiger. To the Inquisition at Rome he was cited: but Villanova, the Jesuit official at Alcala, who was in the secret, gave Casa the hint in time, and Casa “thought himself fortunate in redeeming, by holding his tongue, the pains and penalties which he had incurred.”* There was no necessity for making him a bishop.

An archbishop then took the field against the troop of Loyola. At Toledo the Jesuits availed themselves of their privileges: these were deemed encroachments on archiepiscopal authority: Don Siliceo, the archbishop, fell upon the papal squadron, mandate in hand. This manifesto set forth bitter complaints against the usurpations of the Society on episcopal jurisdiction, and forbade all his spiritual subjects to confess to the Jesuits,—empowered all curates to exclude them from the administration of the Sacraments,—and laid an injunction on the college of Alcala.†

The Jesuits bestirred themselves: their friends lent them a hand. The pope’s nuncio at Madrid interceded in vain; the Archbishop of Burgos (who was then planting the Jesuits in his city) offered himself as surety for his friends; the pope addressed a letter to the exclusive dignitary. Don Siliceo was as flint to their prayers and entreaties.

Ignatius determined to bring down the archbishop with a stone, as soft words had failed. He applied to the royal council of Spain. Bulls and privileges were produced; the archbishop was condemned, the injunction taken off, and the Jesuits pursued “the even tenor of their way” exulting.

Then Ignatius came forward with the cream of consolation in a spoon of silver: “he thanked the archbishop in the most humble terms of gratitude and submission, to such an extent, that in order to gain him over entirely, he promised him that the fathers of Alcala should not use their privileges, and would not even receive any person into their society without his grace’s consent.”‡

Thus did this admirable diplomatist fulfil his own prophecy; for, at the first intelligence of the affair, he observed to Ribadeneyra: “This new tempest is of good omen; and it is, if I am not mistaken, an evident sign that God wishes to make use of us in Toledo. For, after all, experience teaches us that contradictions prepare the way in every direction for the Society, and that the more she is thwarted in a place,

* Cretineau, i. 291.

† Id. i. 292.

‡ Cretineau, i. 292; Bouhours, p. 115.

the more fruit she there produces.”* Thus Ignatius cheered his followers.

In my youth I heard of a house-breaker who, upon effecting an entrance, would place a small pebble under the door, saying to his men : “ ‘Tis charmed, and as long as that is there, the folks will sleep—but set to work softly and quietly.” He too was a Spaniard.

Meanwhile the Duke of Gandia (his probation ended, his training complete) is become Father Francis, Jesuit. A contemplative life was his choice ; but action, agitation, was the “order of holy obedience.” Ignatius sent him forth ; Spain should behold the duke Jesuit.

“Father Francis sets out, visits the great, all the branches of his family ; he teaches the people ; he stops at the court of Charles V., converts sinners, edifies the faithful, lays in every town the foundations of a college or a house of the Society.”† His success induced Ignatius to appoint him the head of all the missions and houses in Spain and Portugal.

Already was Spain divided into three provinces,—Arragon, Castile, and Andalusia.

In the space of two years Father Francis gave to these provinces such expansion, that the houses and colleges seemed to rise as by miracle, in every city. At Grenada, at Valladolid, Medina, San-Lucar, Burgos, Valencia, everywhere—cardinals, bishops, magistrates, and the most distinguished of the Dominicans, united to second the efforts of the Society.‡

“Father Francis has but to desire, and his wish is accomplished even before it is made known. He stamps on the Spanish ground, and houses rise up for the Society. His voice calls workmen to the vineyard of the Lord, and workmen run from all sides.”§

From east to west, from south to north of the Peninsula, the Jesuits roughed and smoothed their way to the fruitful plains of Saragossa. To these “plains of Moab” they come rejoicing, as if it had been said unto them : “And ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land and dwell therein : for I have given you the land to possess it.”

“Privilege,” old, prescriptive, exclusive, bigoted rights of privilege, met them at the gates of Saragossa—they must not enter.

Bishops and monks were always their Sihon of Heshbon and their Og of Bashan ; but these “remnants of giants,” with their nine-cubit-bedsteads-of-iron-privileges were as “untempered mortar” to the Jesuits ; “a stormy wind shall rend it,” or “the foxes in the deserts.”

A difficulty arose ; the Jesuits could not find a house. Some explanation is here necessary. According to the customs of the old church there was a law which prohibited the construction of a chapel or a convent too near parishes and convents—a charitable law for the satisfaction of the jade “Privilege,” who ought to have no “meddling neighbors.”

Now Strada, the Jesuit leader, was a man of whelming eloquence, which “opened to the Jesuits a great many habitations,” says the his-

* Bouhours, p. 114.

† Cretineau, i. 302.

‡ Id. i. 303.

§ Ibid.

torian: * but the number of convents and churches was so great at Saragossa, that all these habitations were obnoxious to the aforesaid law; and the monks and clergy of the town stuck to their privileges.

At last, in 1555, the Jesuits managed to pounce on a spot, just without the limits prescribed by privilege. At once they began to "do the rest," as the good Father Boulanger expressed the method.

It was Easter Monday—a grand holiday in the good old time—the day before the inauguration of the Jesuit chapel—the day appointed by Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Arragon, himself: all the grand and imposing ceremonies were arranged; the "effect" was a certainty, the "cause" would be triumphant. Strada was ready with his sermon; and so was Lopez Marcos, the Vicar-general of Saragossa, with his detestable *injunction!*

This man of privilege positively commanded Father Brama, the appointed superior of the House, to put off the ceremony. The Augustinian monks would not have the Jesuits near them. Their convent was in the vicinity, and they pretended that the chapel was built on land debateable.

Father Brama begged to be excused. He could not comply with an injunction so frivolous. But Brama was wise: he consulted the lawyers—the canonists (the scribes of the new law), and they said, "It is *corban:*" the Jesuits were "free:" they might push forward: † and they determined to proceed.

The superior of the Franciscans threatened them with excommunication. Brama waved his hand, appealed to the pope, and began the ceremony.

Lopez, at the mass, published a decree, forbidding the faithful, under penalty of excommunication, to frequent the Jesuit chapel. Anathema and malediction were hurled against the Fathers.

Then was the jade Privilege in her glory. The clergy and the Augustinians paraded the town, chaunting the hundred and ninth psalm, the mob repeating the verses of reprobation,—they roared forth:—

"As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him: as he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from him.

"As he clothed himself with cursing like as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oil into his bones.

"Let it be unto him as the garment which covereth him, and for a girdle wherewith he is girded continually."

Privilege was not satisfied: she is insatiate.

The whole population had been attracted to witness the inauguration: the vicar-general pronounced the whole town profaned and infected with heresy by the mere presence of the Jesuits within its walls. In other words, Saragossa was excommunicated—an awful matter in those times—and in priest-ridden, monk-ridden Spain.

The Augustinians sent round the streets horrid pictures, in which the Jesuits were represented as being pushed into hell by legions of devils, varied in hideousness, up to the climax of horror.

* Cretineau, i. 304.

† "Ils déclarent que l'on peut passer outre."

At the thought of the excommunication, rage took possession of every soul. Of course the Jesuits were the cause—so said Privilege. The mob rushed to their House, smashed the windows with stones: then went forth a funeral procession, with songs of death, and a crucifix muffled in a black veil, round and round the proscribed habitation, for the space of three days—“Mercy! Mercy!” resounding from time to time, as if to do violence to heaven, shut up by Privilege-Lopez!

A regular siege ensued: a blockade of fifteen days—during which the monks exhausted their stage tricks and clap-traps of horror.

Brama was a Jesuit. If he cannot rule the storm, he can pipe all hands to quarters, 'bout ship, and put back into port—some harbor of refuge. He retired with his crew under the lee of his patrons, the Archbishop of Arragon, the pope's nuncio, and the Queen Jane, the mother of Charles V. Terrible names these for Privilege! Her quarrel was examined: she was condemned: censurers, interdict, excommunication, all went as chaff before the wind, and the philosophical mob gracefully changed sides, believed the Jesuits no longer devils, but saints; recalled them; and the Jesuits re-entered Saragossa triumphant. Magistrates, clergy, nobility, Privilege-Lopez himself, ran to meet and escort them to their House. There they found the viceroy in attendance. The viceroy presented them the keys; and from that day forward the Jesuits applied to their “Spiritual Exercises,” and other works appointed, unstayed, unmolested by Privilege, which will never cope with the Jesuits.

It is evident that Borgia's influence was powerful enough to effectuate this splendid reaction at Saragossa. In effect, we are assured that the opposition to the Society in Spain was stifled by the great name of the Duke in the person of Father Francis.* Two essential conditions have always been the necessary props of the Jesuit-lever—a great patron and an impressionable people. They enjoyed both of these in Spain, and broke down all opposition.

The case was different in France. Opposed from the first, the Society was never secure in France—if the multitudinous operations of the Society were calculated to ensure her security anywhere. Privilege again was the mainspring of the opposition: the monopoly of public instruction was the cause: ostensible motives were soon alleged: events superadded a *veil*, at least, of justice to the determined proscription of the Jesuits by the French University, and, afterwards, by the French Parliament.

Some success had, however, attended the first colony of the Jesuits in France. The Bishop of Clermont continued his patronage; and, from the establishment which he founded, Ignatius was able to draft the materials of a new college in Sicily, as early as 1549.

There even seemed to be encouragement in other quarters: the University gave a Jesuit an appointment in the College of the Lombards; the nomination was confirmed at Court.†

Most men, if really desirous of doing good for its own sake (as far

* Cretineau, i. 306.

† Ibid. i. 307.

as human nature is capable of this purity of intention) would have hailed this favor, this honor, as a boon of the present, and a promise of future utility in a noble cause. It seems that Ignatius was too cunning to give others the credit of pure intentions. He forbade the appointment, commanded Viole to throw up the engagement, and ordered his scholars at the University to resign all the pensions they enjoyed. The thing was done. And now for his motive. He was convinced that the object of the University was "the hope of enticing to herself the Brothers of the Society, and thus render impossible its establishment in the capital!"*

Without appealing to the prominent feature ascribed to Charity by the apostle, we may remark that the men least given to suspect others, the most confiding men are, doubtless, those who cultivate their intellect: so true it is that moral strength is in proportion to the greatest development of the intellectual faculties. The insane are suspicious, mistrustful; the like may be said of savages in general.†

The one idea of Ignatius, hedged in by an unexpanded intellect, was incapable of self-abstraction: it was a magnet without variation.—Cromwell and Napoleon were men of the same stamp: the perpetual terrors of Cromwell, the restless, suspicious temper of Napoleon (witness his uniform conduct to the admirable Berthier), point to the identical cause—and in the three, conscience was not, doubtless, cradled on a halcyon wave.

This contemptuous rejection of a friendly hand could only madden that hostility which seemed willing to slumber. But Ignatius had his idea; it promised independence, perhaps superiority; he might, therefore, safely reject co-partnership.

Previously to this event, Charles de Guise, the celebrated Cardinal de Lorraine,‡ was at Rome. Ignatius obtained an interview, explained to the cardinal (minister of Francis II., of *Charles IX.*, and one of the prime movers of the religious wars in France), the object of his Institute, to which the University so much objected. The cardinal engaged to protect the Jesuits in his country.§

The same cardinal subsequently proposed to establish the Inquisition in France, alleging that it had constantly preserved Portugal, Spain, and Italy from civil wars into which heresy had plunged the rest of Europe. Implacable war with "the revolted fanatics" was his motto: he believed that all peace, every truce with them were useless and dangerous; he was the terrible exponent of religious unity—its determined champion.|| To say the least, Ignatius, in his intercourse with the cardinal, could not have weakened his predilections.

* Cretineau, i. 307.

† The remark is Esquirol's. "Des Maladies Mentales," t. i. p. 15. Every psychologist should study this admirable book of facts.

‡ Talk of pluralities! This worthy was archbishop of Rheims, of Narbonne; bishop of Metz, of Toul, of Verdun, of Térouane, Lucon, and Valence; abbot of St. Denis, of Fecamp, of Cluny, of Marmoutier, &c.!! for thus stops short Feller.—*Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247.

|| See Feller, *Biog. Univ.* tom. v. p. 247, *et seq.* Chénier, in his tragedy "*Charles IX.*," supposes the cardinal to have participated in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's

§ Cretineau, i. 308.

With such a friend, and such a mind in his cause, Ignatius had certainly good reason for rejecting a pull at the oar when he might probably sit at the helm.

Henry II. was then on the throne of France. The cardinal faithfully kept his promise to Ignatius. Immediately on his return, he enumerated to the king all the advantages which the new Order promised to Religion and the State. Henry II. was anxious to find a remedy against the troubles which Protestantism was "sowing in the kingdom," as it is expressed. The king was aware of the successful opposition of the Jesuits (as it seemed) to the Reformation in Germany. "The princes, his rivals and his neighbors, laid hold of the Jesuits, either as a buckler against the innovators, or as a lever for the education of youth: he did not consent to remain in the rear of the movement which he saw advancing."* Such are the motives advanced in all simplicity. It is astonishing how the Jesuits themselves unwarily admit the real motives that everywhere planted them in power. Reasoning mortals that we are, can they complain if we seek in *history* and not in the *Gospel* for the secret of their wonderful success—so sudden—and—so fleeting?

In the month of January, 1550, Henry II. expedited letters patent, whereby "accepting and approving the Bulls obtained by the Society of Jesus, he permitted the said Brothers to construct, raise, and cause to build, out of goods which should be given them, a House and a College in the city of Paris only, and not in the other towns, for to live therein according to their rules and statutes; and commanded his Courts of Parliament to verify the said letters, and permit the said Brothers to enjoy their said privileges."†

The power of the French Parliament at that period was somewhat similar to the British. The royal will was a suggestion, not an imperative mandate. Louis XIV. had yet to reign.

The Parliament objected to the registration of the "said letters patent." The alleged motive was, "that the new Institute was prejudicial to the monarchy, the state, and the order of the Hierarchy,"‡ an opinion decidedly suggested by the Constitutions of the Society, if judged without remembering the fact that the Jesuits invariably supported their supporters, that is, whilst they deemed them such.

A contest ensued, of course. The Jesuits had friends at court; the Parliament was backed by the clergy, with some exceptions, but, as may be expected, by the University *en masse*, every man of the learned walls.

The Cardinal de Lorraine, William Du Prat, and many of the bishops sided with the Jesuits.

day. This is denied by Feller, alleging the cardinal's absence from France, being then at Rome. This is certainly no proof in his favor, for his concurrence would be enough to justify the poet's impersonation. The same Jesuit flings in an approval of the cardinal's principles, thus: "His maxim was that of Plato, and the most famous philosophers, ancient and modern, that there should be in a state but one religion, and that this religion should be *true*," &c. There's the rub, unfortunately, which neither Plato nor the philosophers, ancient and modern, can level—nor the *Inquisition* either, God be blessed!

* Cretineau, quoting the document, i. 315.

† Ibid.

The king ordered his privy council to examine the Bulls and Constitutions. The council declared that in all the documents submitted to them, nothing was contrary to the maintenance of order, ecclesiastical and civil; which was, again, an opinion that might be drawn from the Constitutions.

The king being, from the first, a party in favor of the Jesuits, naturally could count on this declaration; and, on receiving it, proceeded accordingly. He commanded the Parliament to register the letters patent.

Sixteen days afterwards, Seguier, the President of the Parliament (a man of uncommon intelligence, as a Jesuit* admits), gave in a declaration in which "he persists, according to his aforesaid conclusions, that remonstrances be made to the king."†

Two years of indecision elapsed. The Bulls and Constitutions could not decide the contest. Intrigue on both sides was set in agitation. The Jesuits met their opponents with their own weapons, which was a pity, considering their motto: "For the greater glory of God."‡

The Jesuits agitated and excited their partisans to agitate in their behalf.

This admitted fact must have injured their cause in the minds of the dispassionate.

The Parliament appealed to the Archbishop of Paris. Eustache du Bellay§ pronounced against the Jesuits. His dissentient declaration, under eleven heads, thus curiously concludes:—

"Finally, the court will consider that all novelties are dangerous, and that therefrom ensue many inconveniences unforeseen and unpremeditated.

"And because the fact which is pretended of the establishment of the said Order and Society (that they shall go and preach to the Turks and Infidels and bring them to the knowledge of God), would require (under favor) the establishment of the said Houses and Societies in the places near the said Infidels, as in times of old has been done by the Knights of Rhodes who were placed on the frontiers of Christendom, not in the midst thereof; moreover, there would be much time lost and consumed in going from Paris as far as Constantinople, and other parts of Turkey."||

* Feller, Biog. Univ. t. xviii. p. 310.

+ Cretineau, i. 315.

† "On mettait en jeu la ruse; ils firent jouer les mêmes ressorts. On agissait contre eux par tous les moyens; ils agirent, ils exciterent à agir en leur faveur."—Cretineau, i. 316.

§ Cretineau debits the usual Jesuit disparagement of their opponents on the character of Du Bellay. His relative, Cardinal Du Bellay, had been persecuted by the *Guises* (now the friends of the Jesuits); consequently it is pretended that Eustache "inherited resentment with his mitre," making the Jesuits the *scape-goat*; and moreover, that the bishop "was fond of a row"—*aimait la lutte!* It is little to the purpose: all the heroes of this conflict may be much on a par: the sad moral is, nevertheless, strikingly evolved.

|| "Pour la fin pesera la Cour que toutes nouveautés sont dangereuses et que d'icelles proviennent plusieurs inconveniens non prévus ne préméditez."

"Et parce que le fait que l'on prétend de l'érection dudit Ordre et Compagnie, et qu'ils iront prêcher les Turcs et Infidèles, et les amener à la connaissance de Dieu, faudroit, sous correction, établir lesdites Maisons et Societez ès lieux prochains des-

The Faculty of Theology in the University crowned the archbishop's "eleven heads" with a wreath of scorpions. On the first of December, 1554, they drew up a famous "Conclusion," which they respectfully presented to his Holiness.

This document is highly interesting for many reasons. It is the opinion of Orthodox Catholics—Doctors of Divinity. It was submitted to the pope himself. Lastly, it dwells heavily upon charges brought against the Jesuits only fourteen short years after their foundation. Here it is:—

"As all the Faithful, and principally the Theologians, ought to be ready to render an account to those who demand the same, respecting matters of faith, morals, and the edification of the Church, the Faculty has thought that it ought to satisfy the desire, the demand, and the intention of the Court.

"Wherefore, having perused, and many times re-perused, and well comprehended all the articles of the two Bulls, and after having discussed and gone to the depths* of them during several months, at different times and hours, according to custom, due regard being had to the subject, THE FACULTY has, with unanimous consent, given this judgment, which it has submitted with all manner of respect to that of the Holy See.

"This new Society, which arrogates to itself in particular the unusual title of the name of Jesus,—which receives with so much freedom, and without any choice, all sorts of persons, however criminal, lawless, and infamous they may be; which differs in no wise from the Secular Priests in outward dress, in the tonsure,† in the manner of saying the Canonical Hours in private, or in chaunting them in public, in the engagement to remain in the cloister and observe silence, in the choice of food and days, in fastings, and the variety of the rules, laws and ceremonies, which serve to distinguish the different Institutes of Monks; this Society, to which have been granted and given so many privileges and licenses, chiefly in what concerns the administration of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, and this without any regard or distinction being had of places or persons: as also in the function of preaching, reading, and teaching, to the prejudice of the Ordinaries and the Hierarchical Order, as well as of the other religious Orders, and even to the prejudice of princes and lords temporal, against the privileges of the universities,—in fine, to the great cost of the people: this Society seems to blemish the honor of the monastic state; it weakens entirely the painful, pious, and very necessary exercise of the vir-

dits Infidèles,—ainsi qu'anciennement a été fait des Chevaliers de Rhodes, qui ont été mis sur les frontières de la Chrétienté, non au milieu d'icelle: aussi y auroit-il beaucoup de tems perdu et consommé d'aller de Paris jusqu'à Constantinople, et autres lieux de Turquie."—*Cret.* i. 318. *Coud.* i. 40.

* Cretineau, in his translation, uses that bottomless French word, "*approfondis*," which I have taken the liberty to paraphrase as above.

† The "tonsure" is a circular shaving of the crown of the head, usual with priests and monks on the Continent: the "Canonical Hours" have been already explained; its representative in the Church of England is the daily service in use. The Common Prayer-book is made up of the *Roman Breviary and Missal or Mass-book*.

tues, of abstinences, ceremonies, and austerity. It even gives occasion very freely to desert the Religious Orders : it withdraws from the obedience and submission due to the Ordinaries. It unjustly deprives lords, both temporal and ecclesiastical, of their rights, carries trouble into the government of both, causes many subjects of complaint amongst the people, many law-suits, stripes, contentions, jealousies, and divers schisms or divisions.

" Wherefore, after having examined all these matters, and several others, with much attention and care, this Society appears dangerous as to matters of Faith, capable of disturbing the peace of the Church, overturning the Monastic Order, and more adapted to break down than to build up."*

In addition to this withering censure, Eustace Du Bellay, the Archbishop of Paris came down upon the Jesuits with an interdict prohibiting them from the exercise of the sacred functions.

The high respectability of the accusers—a Catholic Faculty of Theology—a Catholic Archbishop—seems to give irresistible weight to the charges—all pointing to facts then before the world—open to investigation, confutation, or justification. Had this respectable Faculty and this respectable Archbishop, instead of a condemnation, issued a manifesto of approval and laudation to the Society, the Jesuits themselves would not fail to remind us of that respectability of their approvers. The *laudari à laudato*, praise from the praiseworthy, would have clanged in our ears trumpet-tongued, down to the most distant posterity, and reaching the uttermost limits of earth—*indomitā cervice feri, ubicunque locorum!*

They cannot therefore think it unreasonable if dispassionate men should lay some considerable stress on this theological and archiepiscopal condemnation, and that Protestants should point to it as a " column of infamy" commemorating their unworthiness, their dangerous and destructive character.

On the other hand, dispassionate men will at once perceive the fangs of inexorable Privilege at her remorseless meal—Monopoly, with her thousand arms, all-grasping

—————"extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round."

Facts suggest this painful proof of that selfishness which renders the preaching of the Truth a mere scattering of Dead Sea apples, which cannot satisfy the poor soul's hunger. The Faculty had pronounced ; the Archbishop had interdicted : *there*, and there only, duty ended. Then jealous Privilege, clutching Monopoly, took up the cudgels and dealt away roundly at the Jesuits. A right glorious theological tempest shot lightnings of Orthodoxy from the four corners of heaven together.

" Down with the Jesuit Institute!" was the gospel preached in the pulpits. The Clergy attacked the Jesuits in their sermons; the Professors of the University held up the monsters to their clapping scholars. Placards and libels were hung up in the cross-ways of the Sor-

* Cretineau, i. 320 ; Coudrette, i. 42.

bonne, hawked about in the churches, flung under the doors of houses, scattered in the streets.*

That was the method of Privilege and Monopoly,—and their method is everlasting.

The resident Bishops of Paris followed with interdictions: the Jesuits, however, would not admit themselves vanquished. They crossed the river and begged hospitality from the Prior of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The abbey was out of episcopal jurisdiction: the Jesuits were sheltered, and permitted to work on the left bank of the Seine.†

In this affair the conduct of Ignatius was remarkable. The reader remembers how he managed the Archbishop Silicio, how the monks of Saragossa were silenced. This method would have been abortive in France, where the Parliament (the enemy of the Institute) was omnipotent: Ignatius checked every movement of retaliation—silenced his men who deemed it necessary to notice the books written against them, and the Archbishop's decree. The Inquisition and Bishops of Spain had done enough for the present: they had condemned all the decrees as “false, scandalous, and injurious to the Holy See.”

In the following year his friend, Cardinal de Lorraine, went to Rome, bringing four doctors of the Faculty of Paris in his suite; Ignatius appointed a conference, the cardinal presiding. Four Jesuits, Lainez, Olave, Polancus, and Frusis, defended the Institute—the doctors gave in on being “pressed by the cardinal,” and “declared that the decree had been published without a knowledge of the cause.”‡

In the present circumstances this was enough (admitting the fact on Jesuit authority)—the time was not come for Jesuit rule in France. That fulfilment was one of the very few denied Ignatius on earth: but if he did not live to see it, he left the spirit which effected it—destined, however, like the fondest desires of the heart gratified, to involve at length the ruin of the Society.

A laborious life is drawing to a close; its last years are as remarkable as any in the life of a man whose destiny it was to achieve wonders, and to transmit his wonder-working mantle to his followers in life, and his worshippers after death. The domestic concerns and commotions of the Society arrest attention during the period immediately preceding the demise of Ignatius.

To create, and to hold what he made, have ever been the characteristic praise of the hero,—and that praise is due to Ignatius of Loyola.

He was not always one of those heartless, rigid zealots who turn all they touch into ice or tears.§ It was by the feelings, by the sentiments, by the heart, that he penetrated to the soul. The man who possesses the power to excite, has the resistless magic of influence—and

* Cretineau, i. 321.

† Ibid.

‡ Cretineau, quoting Orlandinus; but the fact is rather doubtful, unless the “recantation” was a mere compliment to the Cardinal. There it is; the reader must judge for himself.

§ “O der herzlosen, steifen Eiserer! was sie berühren, wird Eis oder Thräne.”—Spindler, *Der Jesuit*. In one of the ephemeral pamphlets against the Jesuits, this work is denounced as *favorable* to the Jesuits. The writer could never have read Spindler's book.

its results are submission, willing, eager compliance in the human heart.

It mattered not how his end was accomplished,—if it seemed good to Ignatius, it *must* be accomplished ; and it was rarely unaccomplished. With individuals, as with parties, his method was the same ; he tried every means, and submitted not to defeat unless compelled by necessity.

On one occasion a Jesuit was resolved to return to the world. His motive is not stated ; probably it is omitted because he did *not* return to the world ; in that case it would have been, necessarily, bad. Ignatius “went to him during the night, and using supplications and threats, all together, he made such an impression on his heart, that the father threw himself at the general’s feet, and offered to undergo the penalty that might be imposed. “One part of your penance,” exclaimed Ignatius, embracing him, “will be never again to repent of having served God : as for the other part, I take it on myself—I will perform it myself.”*

With the young, as may be expected, still greater was his influence. Ribadeneyra was young, and not very prudent : his extravagance went so far as to shake off the yoke of obedience, and to feel so strong a repugnance to Ignatius, that he could not bear the sight of the holy father ! Ignatius sent for him one day, and only said *three words to him*. In the instant Ribadeneyra threw himself at his feet, and bursting into tears, exclaimed—“I will do, Father, I will do whatever you like!”†

Whence was that influence, that power over the human heart ? Let those answer the question who have come in contact with a man of strong feelings and mental vigor—a man of passion and yet a man of reason—combining all that is so seductive in the flesh with what is most thrilling in the spirit. Calm reason traces the result to a great endowment: fanaticism ascribes it to supernatural agency—to a super-human spirit—the *daimon* of Socrates, believed in and venerated by his followers. “Lainez, one day, asked Ignatius in confidence, if it was true, according to report, that he had an *archangel* for his angel guardian ? The saint (Ignatius) made no answer, but he flushed, and, to use the words of Lainez, he was disconcerted, somewhat as a modest girl would be, who, being alone in her chamber, were surprised by a strange man at an improper hour.”‡

His followers believed him to be a “great saint.” He was told so, on one occasion, and he enhanced their admiration by reprimanding the party, saying: “that to see sanctity in so great a sinner as himself, was to debase and dishonor it”—superadding that “such words were true blasphemy.”§

And yet, all the wonderful things—the private wonderful things—

* Bouhours, ii. 28.

† Id. ii. 282. The “Spiritual Exercises” were in question, and the youth was reluctant to the operation.

‡ I translate literally, and therefore clumsily—“*Une honnête fille, qui, etant seule dans sa chambre, serait surprise par un inconnu à une heure indue.*”—Bouhours, ii. 272, *et seq.* In the “Life of Ignatius,” published in Dublin, 1841, the fact of the blushing is retained, but the startling comparison is omitted. P. 85.

§ Ibid.

which we have recorded of Ignatius, were divulged by *himself*: his visions and his dreams are recorded from his own lips—unless his followers have invented the curious and edifying facts.

Notwithstanding all they have recorded—as necessarily from the lips of the saint—the Jesuits still boast his virgin modesty, and even render his charity doubtful in a fact whereby they would prove his bashfulness. One of his seven confessors (too many could not be witnesses of his supernaturality) “could not so well contain himself, but that some words slipped from him, imparting something which he durst not speak out,” and he desired to outlive Ignatius, “at least some few hours, that he might without scruple reveal what he knew; and he said he had things to tell which could not be heard without astonishment.” A brother, complying with the Jesuit rule, reported these words to the general. The father-confessor “died some days before Father Ignatius,” and “it was the opinion of the fathers, then alive, that the saint had begged God that Eguia’s (the confessor’s) wish might not be accomplished.”*

The reader may imagine that these are the most wonderful things told of the first Jesuit; but let him peruse the “Life of Ignatius,” by any of his biographers—even the cheap Dublin publication—and he will see how every page iterates the sublimely-ridiculous, the ridiculously-sublime.

The bare-faced effrontery with which the Jesuits relate the impossible miracles of Ignatius and Xavier, has rendered extremely doubtful the narrative of their wonderful missions in all parts of the world.

But, in that age of superstition and fanaticism, it was difficult to stretch human credulity beyond its given elasticity. Besides, the high renown of the founder and his associates claimed somewhat of the wonderful. It is therefore not surprising that heaven should be made to exalt him whom earth beheld with a well-fostered admiration—since men have only to feel convinced that a thing is good, and they will find a place for it in heaven.

On the pinnacle of this adoration, Ignatius astounded his followers by *abdicating the Generalate*. “Having considered the matter maturely, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I renounce simply and absolutely, the Generalate.” Such were the clenching words of the letter which he wrote to the assembly of the fathers, imparting the abdication.

Praises of his humility, astonishment and tender emotions are described as attending that announcement. All but one member opposed the offer. Oviedo, with characteristic *naïveté*, gave his opinion, that Father Ignatius should be allowed to have his own way. “And why?” was the general question. “Because,” said Oviedo, “he who is a saint, has lights which we have not.”

It appears that he spoke these words with his eyes closed, for we are told that, “opening his eyes forthwith, and recognising that the saints are sometimes unjust towards themselves, he condemned his first

* Bouhours, ii. 273.

thought, and gave into the common opinion." This opinion was made known to the general: he remonstrated: they would not listen to him: he was forced to submit.

His agitation was so great, that he had a fit of illness: but he recovered, to rule with more vigor than ever.

A heretic was detected amongst the Roman novices, actually sent by "Philip Melancthon, and another heresiarch, with orders to counterfeit the Catholic."^{*}

The man of divine lights was unable to detect the trick: this Protestant emissary actually deceived Ignatius, and began to propagandise amongst the novices. He was of course reported, carried before the Inquisition, and condemned to the galleys. This Jesuit fact speaks for itself, and needs no commentary, even for the sake of the virtuous Melancthon. And it is significant. Ignatius connived at the scandalous conduct of the young German in the novitiate, in order to gain him over, but sent this heretic at once to the galleys. It shows how *faith* will cover as many sins as charity. In aftertimes the Jesuit-casuists and confessors were as indulgent to vice, and, of course, as severe to heresy.

If heresy was foiled in the attempt to corrupt the novitiate, glory was thwarted in endeavoring to weaken the Society. Charles V. would invest Borgia with the Roman purple! The pope eagerly consented. The whole Sacred College unanimously approved the nomination. Ignatius opposed it with all his might. "If all the world fell at my feet, begging me not to oppose the investment, I would not yield!" Such was his exclamation, after three days' reflection in solitude. Pope, emperor, cardinals, strove in vain: the Spaniard was inflexible. The utility of the Society and Borgia's reputation were more important than the glory of Sacred College. At length he suggested a subterfuge. The dignity was to be offered to Borgia, and, if he refused it, his Holiness would not enforce the acceptance. The result need scarcely be stated: Borgia remained a Jesuit.

It was not to the honor that Ignatius objected, but the certain loss that the Society would sustain. Honor, combined with the Society's advancement, always found him open-hearted. The King of Portugal, John III., pitched his eyes on the Jesuit Miron for a confessor. Miron declined the honor, conscientiously, it would appear, and certainly agreeably to the letter of the Constitutions. His answer was sent to the general. Ignatius "condemned it absolutely," and gave the most satisfactory reasons to the Jesuit's conscience for stifling its scruples.[†]

Inflexible in his resolutions, he could wreath the rod of iron with roses until it became invisible. He appointed Lainez to be Provincial of Italy at Padua. Lainez refused the dignity, alleging, "that he did not as yet know enough how to obey in order well to command." In truth, an active life suited best that energetic spirit. But Ignatius told him "it was the will of God, and he was forced to yield."[‡]

Lainez became provincial. Matters did not please him. Ignatius

* Bouhours, ii. 111.

† Ibid., ii. 130.

* Ibid., ii. 132.

drew all his best workmen to Rome. He complained, as well he might, since he had a right to some share in "the greater glory of God;" it was but natural that he should wish to fire the guns which he loaded.

Ignatius replied that Rome was the focus of the Order; that there it should shine in all its splendor, since it was from the Pontifical City that the greater number of the fathers went forth.*

Lainez proved that he was not a perfect adept in obedience: he ventured to reply. It was a hard matter. Then came the talisman: Ignatius wrote back as follows:

"I am annoyed by your continuing to write to me on the same subject, after my answer that the common good is to be preferred to the particular, and a greater interest to a less. Reflect on your conduct; then let me know if you acknowledge your fault,—and, in case you find yourself guilty, let me know what penalty you are ready to undergo for your fault."

Lainez saw at once what was impending. Never did Spartan convey more meaning in a laconic than the redoubtable general in that brief epistle. Here is the effect:

"My Father, when your Reverence's letter was delivered to me, I began to pray to God; and having made my prayer with many tears (which happens to me rarely), here is the resolution I have taken, and take again to-day, with tears in my eyes. I desire that your Reverence, into whose hands I place and abandon myself entirely,—I desire, I say, and I beg by the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in order to punish my sins, and to tame my disordered passions, which are their source, your Reverence would withdraw me from the government, and from study, even so far as to leave me no other book than my Breviary; compel me to go to Rome begging my way, and that there I may be occupied till death, in the lowest offices of the House; or, if I be not suited thereto, that your Reverence should command me to pass the rest of my days in teaching the first elements of grammar, having no regard of me, and never looking upon me but as the scum of the world. This is what I chose for my penance in the first place."

Then he offered to submit to these penalties only for a term—two or three years, according to the general's wish. Thirdly, he proposed several scourgings, a fast of four weeks; and that every time he wrote to the general, he would first pray, and would consider well his letter; and, having written it, he would read it over with attention, taking care not to say anything which might cause the least annoyance to his good Father, and even striving to use only such expressions as were calculated to give him joy.

"This single example," observes Bouhours, "shows the authority that Father Ignatius had in his Order, and how he wished that the superiors should be submissive to the general." He also adds another remark. "Hence we may also judge how great was the humility of a man who had been admired at the Council of Trent, and how docile

* Cretineau, i. 334.

great minds are when they have truly the spirit of God." The reader will decide for himself on the relative value of both explanations; certainly the general's authority is clearly established.

Ignatius, of course, did not ratify the penance; but he gave him one, however, which was, to compose a *theological work*, "to serve as an antidote to the books of the heretical divines;" as if he clearly guessed the source of all the provincial's discontent, his probable displeasure at being withdrawn from the stirring battle of controversy.*

A more important domestic difficulty filled the mind of Ignatius with anxiety, and gave the Company a significant warning. Occurring even in the twelfth year of her existence, it demands notice and remembrance. Amongst the first establishments of the Society was that in Portugal. Under the tropic sun of royal favor it had grown rapidly and rank, and now, under its own weight, was sinking to decay. Poverty, persecution, or resistance, all manner of difficulties had, in other places, given strength and elastic energy to Jesuit establishments; but, in Portugal, royal patronage and the nation's benevolence produced results quite contrary. The prospect of extending the Society over the wide possessions of Portugal in the East, blandly tempted the Portuguese Jesuits to multiply their operations; the king stimulated them with his lavish bounties and flattering exhortations. These prospects, and this glorious prosperity, or the example of the first fathers, if we agree with the Jesuit historian, enticed numbers to the Society, and very many were received. In 1551 there were no less than one hundred and fifty Jesuit-alumni in the college of Coimbra.†

Most of these were youths of rank, and glowing passions. Rodriguez was their superior, but they were become the masters. Discipline was almost at an end: the regulations of the establishment were exceedingly few, or a dead letter. Obedience was obsolete, poverty took flight, it is not stated what became of chastity. Dress they attended to assiduously; the study of spirituals languished; worldly notions prevailed. They indulged in jokes and wrote sarcastic verses. In short, the life they led was luxurious and expensive; they enjoyed the blessings of Mammon whilst they laid claim to the merits of religious poverty.‡ Rodriguez, the superior, was blamed for these disasters; he did not copy the severe example of the founder, in ruling the Society.

* See Bouhours., ii. 132, *et seq.* Cretineau, i. 334, *et seq.*

† "In Lusitano regno Societas, non iisdem quibus in aliis fermè terris orta et adulta principiis, molâ jam suâ (ut præfestinata assolent) laborabat. Quippe cùm firma alibi fundamenta fere in rerum penurîa, insectationibus, et omnibus ærumnarum generibus jaeta essent, in Lusitaniâ pro benignitate Regis ac gentis humanitate evenerant plane contraria: cumque messis amplitudo totum late per Orientem blande se offerens, ad multiplicandas operas invitaret, Rexque sive subsidiis affatim conferendis, sive benignis verborum hortatibus incitaret: ac primorum exempla Patrum ad Dei famulatum allicerent plurimos, recepti sunt sane permulti."—Orland. xii. 54.

‡ "Tyrocinii disciplina penè nulla dum erat constituta: leges vero domesticae omnino perpaucæ . . . solvi paulatim obedientia, curari studiosius corpora: frigere studia divinæ sapientiæ; contraque sic terrenæ vigere, ut nec deesset, qui scommata jacere, et mordaciore condere versus auderet. Manabat latè malum . . . in victu, cultuque subrepere supervacaneas commoditates, et alicubi sumptus fieri religiosæ paupertati minimè consentaneos."—Id. xii. 55.

His mild government was stated to be the cause of the misfortune. A man of miracles, he had cured a leper by making him lie in the same bed with him, and other foul patients by embracing them: but he could not, it seems, dispel the foul diseases of the soul from the embryo-Jesuits of Coimbra. He permitted them to live according to their inclinations; or if he sometimes reprimanded them, he did it so gently that he only strengthened them in their bad habits. Ignatius took the thing in hand vigorously. He sent the Jesuit Miron to displace Rodriguez, giving the disgraced provincial the option of an *Apostolate* in Brazil or the administration of another province. This was, we are assured, "to save his reputation." Having no longer *Portuguese* to govern, his conduct would not be so mild and relaxed; and as the general knew that the Spanish fathers felt but little sympathy for the Portuguese fathers, by the natural antipathy between the two nations; and as he desired nothing more than to unite them "in Jesus Christ," he destined Rodriguez for the province of Arragon, and Miron for that of Portugal.* At the first intimation of the event the whole court of Portugal was in excitement. They could not do without the gentle father. The mild Rodriguez was the balm of their wounded conscience. Still greater was the stir among the interesting young Jesuits,—the hope of the Eastern missions, the apostles of the West,—the future restorers of ancient Religion, and the Ages of Faith. These noble striplings of obedience positively declared that they could not obey any one but good Father Rodriguez, and actually talked of "leaving all," not for the sake of gaining Christ, but in case they lost Rodriguez.†

Ignatius held the reins of the restive steeds. He wrote letters all round, dealing argument, expostulation, and admonition. He carried the point; Miron was installed, and he set to the work of reformation in right good earnest. He was as severe and rigid as his predecessor was mild and relaxed. The children of obedience loudly complained as the rod fell heavily on their pampered backs. So great was the commotion that Ignatius was on the point of proceeding in person to Portugal to quell the rebels. He contented himself to try first what a substitute might do, and dispatched Torrez as a visitor to the field of battle. His first order was to send Rodriguez out of Spain, where he remained as Provincial of Arragon, and this eye-sore being at a distance, the youths of rank and obedience grew calmer; but all was finally adjusted by Miron's change of conduct, according to Ignatius's commands.‡ Thus Ignatius yielded to the weakness of noble students, as to that of the young German; but brought down the pride of Lainez by stern opposition, and sent a heretic to the galleys. Already, too, we see in the whole proceeding the immense difference between the letter of the Constitutions and the local spirit of Jesuit-practice. In truth, we shall not fail to find almost every promulgation of the Institute belied in practice or dispensed with, on emergencies. Wrench up old nature

* Bouhours, ii. 140, *et seq.* "Comme le General savait bien que les Pères Espagnols n'avaient pas trop d'inclination pour les Pères Portugais, par l'antipathie naturelle que est entre ces deux nations," &c. p. 142.

† Id. ii. 143.

‡ Id. ii. 147.

by the roots, still you will find her offsets sprouting up again. The Jesuits made too much use of *nature* not to find her their mistress at last—yielding for a time, but in the moment of conscious power, rushing upon them with teeth and nails triumphant.

The new provincial yielded to the storm, as directed by Ignatius, who traced him the line of conduct he was to pursue with the young rebels of Coimbra. Success crowned his efforts, even beyond his expectations and desire. A strange revolution ensued. Many had seceded, and rumor made the most, or rather the worst, of the transaction. It was a desperate hour for Jesuit-ascendancy in Coimbra—in Portugal. Something must be done to retrieve all-powerful influence. A glorious self-devotion was required, some striking example to agitate the minds and hearts of humanity. Godinius, the rector of the college, resolved to play the scape-goat or the *hazazel*, and take upon his bare shoulders the burthen of iniquity. On the octave of All Saints, he summoned his fellow-Jesuits to the chapel, and conjured them to put up prayers to God fervently for a certain man—meaning himself—much in need thereof, and for the sins of the whole Society, particularly the province of Portugal, and also for the sins of the seceders. He enjoined them not to stir from the chapel until dismissed. Thereupon he bared his shoulders, seized a scourge, and rushed into the street. Through the whole city he ran lashing himself without mercy, and at twelve of the most frequented resorts, falling upon his knees, with a loud voice, with tears and sobs he exclaimed : “Ye nobles and people of Coimbra, pardon me for the sake of the scourging of Christ the Redeemer; pardon me whatever offence the College of Jesus has given you. Behold, I am the man whose sin is the offence, whatever is the offence. This wrath of God has been deserved by my transgressions.” Having thus scoured the whole city, he enters the chapel suddenly once more, with the reverberating crash of the strokes as he laid them on his shoulders, *cum magno verberum fragore repentinus ingreditur*. The Jesuits at prayer were confounded at the sight and the sound. He told them what he had done, and why, and all with copious tears. Example is catching, and they caught it with a vengeance. Instantly the same fury seized the rest of the Jesuits—’twas such a capital idea. One of them, Quadrius by name, who had shared the administration of the guilty college, protested that he shared the fault—*si qua esset*—if there was any, for the Jesuits cling to innocence to the very brink of the precipice, and beyond, for aught we know to the contrary. All took fire—all cried for an expiation—*ut concedatur piaculum*. Godinius reflected for an instant, and resolved to second their heated minds,—*calentibus animis ratus obsecundandum*; he ordered them once more into the chapel. “Here,” he cried, “together assembled, in order that your service may be acceptable to the most divine Trinity, unite it to the sufferings most acceptable of Christ the Saviour, who offered himself for us to God and the Father in the odor of sweetness. Then, set before your eyes that sight in which, all over blood, with the bristling crown of thorns, he was led forth in mock purple to the people: and listen to the President exclaiming, Behold the man. Let us spend an hour in the

contemplation of this spectacle, and then, with the aid of divine grace, we will march forth into the streets with our cross." Scarcely had the hour elapsed, when all inflamed and angry with themselves,—*accensi omnes iratique sibi*, and breathing a certain divine ardor, and being admonished not to be so much intent on lacerating their bodies, as on following, in thought, the Lord burthened with his cross, as though they went to aid Him, they sallied forth, more than sixty in number, lashing themselves to desperation,—*valide sese cedentes*. There was borne before them a mighty banner, representing Christ hanging on the Cross; and two of the younger Jesuits went before, singing the Litanies, to which the rest of the troop, chiming in between the crash of whips, in mournful mutterings responded. An immense mob of Coimbra gathered at the sight and followed in admiration.

They reached the House of Mercy. The rector prayed awhile on the steps, and then turned to the surrounding multitude, with his fellow-Jesuits gathered around him, ascribed it to his own sins, if any offence had been given, begged pardon as a suppliant, and moreover conjured them to join their prayers to his in order to propitiate the Almighty. He spoke so sorrowfully, and so tearfully, that the people too began to cry. They crowded to the altar: the rector recited some prayers, and then all with one accord, shouting and weeping, cried "Mercy for the fathers"—*omnes cum clamore, et lacrymis, misericordiam comprehencantur*. Nothing remains to be translated but the remarks of the Jesuit-historian on this astonishing Epiphany. "Some there were who thought these holy things absurd. Certainly such an example was not necessary: but it was nevertheless wonderful how it embalmed the minds of the citizens, ulcerated by the calumnies of the seceders from the Society; and renewed the hearts of the brethren, filled by a certain horror as it were, and deeply agitated, to receive once more the seeds of divine wisdom."* The wayward student of Coimbra rushed to the opposite extreme. Fervor became in fashion. Every man chose his own method with regard to his spiritual edification. Some consumed their bodies with austerities—lacerating their persons and scourging themselves to death: others, charmed by the sweets of contemplation, passed days and nights in spiritual communion with God, without scarcely thinking of study.†

It was on this occasion that Ignatius wrote his famous epistle on the Virtue of Obedience.

He begins with stating that obedience is the only virtue which produces and cherishes the other virtues; that, properly speaking, it is *the* virtue of the Society, and the character which distinguishes its

* Orland. xii, 62, 65. This is one of the awful facts omitted by Bouhours and Cretteau-Joly. The reason is obvious. It is, however, absolutely necessary to account for the mighty change which *all* the modern historians fail not to put forth. If I stopped to notice the tricks of the Jesuits, and of their foes, in the manner and matter of their facts, each volume would be swelled to two or more. I have been utterly disgusted with the experience. Probably there was some *other* cause for this disgrace in Portugal, but where are we to find it recorded? In the archives of the Jesuits. They alone can write a perfect history of the Order in its worst light.

† Bouhours, ii. 149.

children: that, thus, other religious Orders might surpass them in fastings, in watchings, and in many other austere practices which each of them observes piously, according to the spirit of their vocation; but as to what concerns obedience, they ought not to yield the palm to them; and that their vocation obliges them to render themselves perfect in that virtue.

He then establishes, on reasons deduced from the Scriptures and the Fathers, three degrees of obedience. The first and lowest consists in doing what is commanded: the second is, not only to execute the orders of the superior, but *to conform our will to his*. The third is, to consider what is commanded as the most reasonable and the best, for this only reason—that *the superior considers it as such*. In order to attain this degree so elevated, which is called “the obedience of the understanding,” he says that we ought not to care whether he who commands is wise or imprudent, holy or imperfect; but consider in him only the person of Jesus Christ, who has placed His authority into his hands, in order to guide us,—and who, being wisdom itself, will not permit His minister to be mistaken.*

This letter was despatched to every province of the Society, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America: it was the new gospel of the Jesuits.

Meanwhile the unfortunate Rodriguez was somewhat persecuted and annoyed by being reproached with the disorders of Coimbra. This pious man “felt a little resentment at not being sent back into Portugal.”† He had reasons for complaint, as he thought, and “his annoyance induced him to demand justice from the general.”

Ignatius complied, appointed a tribunal of the Professed to investigate the charges. Rodriguez was condemned on two heads: 1. For having cared little to establish in Portugal the manner of life prescribed by the common father, Ignatius, for the whole Society. 2. For having shown too much mildness and indulgence in his government. Rodriguez submitted “with profound humility,” and asked a penance. He was only forbidden to return into Portugal, lest his presence might again stir up the ardent nobles of the Jesuit-college; “and he was permitted,” in other words, ordered to go to Palestine, where Ignatius thought of founding a college of the Society. Rodriguez departed, but fell ill at Venice, whence he was sent to Spain, and had the pleasure of subsequently dying in his dear Portugal, at Lisbon, in 1579, at a very advanced age, and was called “the most sweet and amiable.”‡ Miron, his successor in the province, was charged by Ignatius, never more to conceal any divisions among the brotherhood, nor the men who said “I am for Paul,” “I am for Cephas.” Unless they humbly submitted their necks to “the yoke of Christ,” he must expel them from the Society; or if there was hope of amendment, he must send them to Rome, where the father himself, although otherwise much engaged, would endeavor to make them fructify. In consequence of this charge, it appears that the brother of the Duke of Braganza was sent to Rome.

* Bouhours, ii. 151.

† Id. ii. 183.

‡ Bouhours, ii. 183, *et seq.*; Feller, Biog. Univ.; Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 118.

His royal blood produced such spirits in this Jesuit, that, unless they were moderated, they might prove no small detriment to the Society.* Gonzalvez Camera was chosen by the king as his confessor in the place of Rodriguez. This Jesuit declined the honor. Ignatius ordered him to yield to the king's desire, and not to leave the court: if he had done so already, to return forthwith.† The Jesuits invent reasons for this determination of their astute law-giver: the best, however, is the most obvious: he wanted a handle at court. His Society would have many such hereafter—and certainly not to their best interest. Royal favor in its brightest day would herald the downfall of the Company.

These internal commotions were followed by troubles more threatening to the Society. An edict was issued by Charles V., compelling the residence of ecclesiastical incumbents. The Jesuits had, or were accused of having, a share, in the edict: complaints were made to the pope, who was induced to object to the measure. The Jesuits were banished from the Apostolical palace. The storm lowered—men began to predict a downfall. Father Ignatius was ill—the danger increased; but, as soon as he could move, he went to the Vatican, without an introduction, and managed to pacify the pope, who dismissed him with assurances of perfect good will and protection.‡

This fortunate turn of affairs saved the credit of the Society on a remarkable occasion which followed. A young Neapolitan had been received into the Society, and was called to Rome by the general. His father, a man of standing, came to Rome and demanded back his son, alleging that he had been taken from him unwillingly. He appealed to the pope, and the Archbishop of Naples, one of his friends, and opposed to the Jesuits. The pope referred the matter to the Cardinal Caraffa, a sort of rival of Ignatius, being the founder of the Theatines.

The boy's mother came express from Naples to join in the solicitation. It does appear that there was some trick or concealment on the part of the Jesuits; as if they had removed the youth from place to place, until discovered at Rome in the bosom of Father Ignatius. It was painful to behold the mother's grief at her bereavement. She ran about the city distracted, in tears, imploring God's justice, and that of men, against the ravishers of her son.

Caraffa took the mother's part, and passed sentence, commanding Ignatius to give up the youth, threatening him with the Church-censures if he disobeyed.

Ignatius appealed to the pope, and gained him over: the sentence was annulled, and the Jesuits retained the youth.

The cold-blooded Jesuit did more; he induced the pope to establish a Congregation of Cardinals, to take cognizance of such matters for the future—"because the same case might revert more than once, in order to confirm the vocation of the young Jesuits against flesh and blood which might attack it."§

Caraffa subsequently became pope. He was thought to be opposed

* Francus, Syn. Annal. S. J. 35.

† Bouhours, ii. 191.

‡ Ibid. p. 34.

§ Ibid. ii. 193, *et seq.*

to the Jesuits, because his judgment in the late affair was annulled by Julius III. Ignatius, too, had formerly refused to unite the Society with the Theatines founded by Caraffa. All the fathers were alarmed at his election. Indeed, at the successive accession of every pope, the Jesuits seem to have trembled as men engaged in a cause itself not its own defence, as men who placed no more than human confidence in their extraordinarily divine announcements and pretensions. On the present occasion Ignatius put himself in prayer, and “knew clearly that Paul IV. (Caraffa) would be but too favorable to the Society”—in other words, prophesied the result by inspiration. Caraffa was certainly kind to the Jesuits. He even proposed to invest Lainez with the purple; but, of course, the proposal was rejected. He then gave him an appointment in the Vatican; but the restless Jesuit only held it one day, when he ran off, and took refuge with Father Ignatius once more: * it was impossible to separate a Jesuit from his cause—union of body and soul was ever the characteristic of the Jesuits.

In the events which signalised the life of Ignatius, the whole history of the Jesuits has its representative. It would seem that he designed a model for every possible contingent; or that his followers have built their system round about his name as the canonised guarantee of its efficacy and success. One peculiar feature of the scheme remains to be sanctioned by the holy founder—academical display to captivate the minds of men.

His Roman college was designed as a model to all others. He spared no pains to render it flourishing. Besides Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, it taught all the sciences, and was provided with good professors. At every hour, he would make inquiries respecting the studies; and to animate the scholars and masters he would often appoint intellectual contests in the classes, at which he assisted, bringing with him cardinals and other men of rank. On one occasion these disputations lasted eight days; and he got the theses printed and circulated in all directions.

“In order to give still more reputation to the College, he ordered the professors to begin the terms with public harangues; and at the end of the academical year, the scholars performed theatrical pieces, to attract men of talent by the beauty of the composition, and the people by the splendor of the performance.”†

He obtained permission from the pope that the scholars of the Roman College should pass Masters of Arts and Doctors, after due examination:—thus nothing more was wanted to give perfection to the scheme.

He insisted upon the cultivation of the vernacular language, and gave the example, by requiring Ribadeneira to correct his own grammatical errors in speaking Italian, to which he had applied on becoming general; he ever insisted upon having his “bad words and bad phrases” written down, with the view to their correction—“so fully was he convinced that the Jesuits who, by their Institute, have to do with the world, ought to possess a perfect knowledge of the country’s language.” The Constitutions require this accomplishment.‡ “Hence,” observes

* Bouhours, ii. 197, *et seq.*

† Ibid. ii. 213.

‡ Part IV. c. 8, § 3.

Bouhours, "it follows, that a Jesuit who neglects to speak correctly, keeps his rule badly; and those who pretend that a Jesuit deviates from the character of his profession in studying to acquire purity in his mother-tongue, know not what they say. These people ought to remember that the heretics, having from all times professed polish in their language, to gain over the people, and to instil their venom, the Society of Jesus, which is destined to give them battle, ought to employ all sorts of arms, even the study of the living languages; and should, if possible, know them perfectly, were it only to make a diversion and deprive the enemies of the Church of the advantage which they arrogate to themselves sometimes, of speaking and writing more elegantly than others."*

The twelfth year of the Society, whose remarkable events we have just contemplated, was made memorable by the death of Francis Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," "the Alexander of the Missions." The most astounding events of his "mission," were the inventions or concoctions of a later epoch in the annals of Jesuitism; as such they seem misplaced at the beginning of this history: but, as the Jesuitico-Indian mission was begun by this ardent, indefatigable, but very erratic preacher, his career demands notice amongst the beginnings of the Jesuits. A few words of introduction, and we will proceed with the history of Xavier, the Alexander of the missions.

In a sermon on the Last Judgment, a preacher of Navarre, speaking of the trumpets which will awake the dead, at the end of the world, exclaimed: "Yes, sinners! you will hear them when you will be least thinking of them—perhaps to-morrow—what do I say? To-morrow? Perhaps at this very instant!" And sure enough, at that instant the vaults of the church resounded with the pealing blast of a dozen trumpeters whom he had concealed in the nave. All fled away trembling. But from that hour the preacher was accounted a saint among the good people of Navarre.† Now, the "*foreign missions*" are the *trumpeters* of the Jesuits. But only to those who are not in the secret of "the nave." The foreign missions give to their Society apostolic glory—in the estimation of the Catholic; excite some wonder, if not admiration, in the breast of the Protestant; and—supply a few interesting facts to the Science of Mind.

The history of the Society has been said to be "as entertaining as

* Bouhours, ii. p. 214.

† Philom. [Peignot] Predicat. p. 249. Such tricks as these are by no means uncommon. I myself had a share in one of them (*par magna fui*) when a boy, and much given to the service of the altar. It was in the island of St. Bartholomew. I was the priest's acolythe, or attendant, in the ceremonies, and had always to stand beside him whilst he preached. The day was Good Friday. Monsieur l'abbé was resolved to make a sensation. In the sacristy, or vestry, he gave me a crucifix to conceal under my surplice, until we were in the pulpit. We mounted. I stood beside him, anxiously waiting for the dread sentence, holding the crucifix out of sight. The moment came at last. "Behold your God!" he cried, snatching the crucifix—but sad perversity of fate—it broke by his violence, and the image swung round by the feet, with the head downwards,—everybody gazing, and some bitterly smiling, whilst the disconcerted preacher perspired from the face profusely. He had the conscience to blame *me* for the misfortune.

the Arabian Nights."* That was an apt comparison. Women, and children, and the like, can tell the reason why: but no portion of that history, as narrated by the Jesuits themselves, exceeds in entertainment the veritable Arabian Night of their Foreign Missions. Viewed, however, psychologically, the history of the Jesuits and their "missions," becomes interesting to men, as well as to women, children, and the like. Being profusely the unhesitating, unscrupulous historians of their own exploits, the Jesuits plentifully fed the *dura ilia*, the coarse stomachs of wonder-craving devotees, apparently conscious that when completely gorged, with maw distent, these boa constrictors of the temple would prove an easy prey in their torpidity.

Very early they formed the design; followed out the scheme with great perseverance; and, in process of time, a wonderful "development" was given to their missionary lore in their famous "Edifying and Curious Letters, concerning Asia, Africa, and America."† From first to last, it is an Arabian Night's Entertainment—the story of Noureddin Ali and Bedreddin Hassan for ever.

Acosta began the scheme by virtue of Holy Obedience, as early as "the year of the Virgin Godbearer 1571."‡ Startling as this mode of dating may be to the reader, he may be informed that it frequently occurs in Acosta's book; and certainly the wonderful interpositions of the Virgin Mary in aid of the missionaries were quite sufficient to make them forget Him whom they proposed to preach, and date the year of Grace from the Mother rather than the Son.§

The achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East and West have not been permitted to lie in the coffin of oblivion,—*carent quia vate sacro*—for want of an inventive genius. Missionary lore forms and fills a large mansion in the kingdom of Jesuitism. It is constructed with Doric simplicity without; but within, no eastern nor modern bazaar for trade, or charitable purposes, displays more curiosities to tempt the fancy, or to open the Christian's heart. *Curious* it is, for it treats of men and manners, arts, sciences, countries and their productions, vegetable, animal, and mineral. And *edifying* it is, for it tells of millions

* Oxford and Cambridge Review, for Sept. 1845. The article was written by a pupil of the Jesuits, greatly in their favor and bitterly against Eugene Sue. Appearing in a professed Protestant periodical, it naturally made a great stir, like the animal braying in the church porch during the sermon. The editor publicly stated that he had been deceived in the matter; but its author was far more deceived than himself, both in its composition and the interpretation of the consequences. The whole, with which I am thoroughly acquainted, makes a very curious anecdote of modern vagaries, another Arabian Night's Entertainment.

† Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, &c., fourteen vols. 8vo., or eight in 12mo., or four in large 8vo., and every possible *mo.*—for the work is a staple commodity with the printers and sellers of "edifying" books for Catholics.

‡ Rerum à Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum ad Annum usque MDLXVIII., Comment. Emm. Acostæ, Lusit. &c., Dilingœ, 1571. It is dedicated by Maffei to Cardinal Truchses, who gave the Jesuits the University of Dillingen only a few years before that book was there printed. Hence he states, as one of his motives in the dedication, that the Society acknowledges a great debt to the cardinal—*plurimum tibi debere se profitetur*.

§ Another formula is "Post Virginis partum,"—after the delivery of the Virgin.—Epist. Jap. lib. i. ep. i.

heaped into the fold of the Church, transformed by miracle, "happy" in the change, and yet, most important fact, rushing back headlong into barbarism and paganism in the hour of temptation, or as soon as the *Jesuit-method* ceased to hold together the "untempered mortar" of Jesuit-masonry.

This fact has been always overlooked, though glaring on the page of history, as we shall read in the sequel. The partisans of Rome grasped at the "annual letters" of the Jesuits, and, whether they believed them or not, it was still incumbent on the orthodox to laud the Apostolate of Rome; it was consistent in the courtier to honor those whom the king honored; it was policy to give compliments for the good-will of those who were dreaded in the hour of their omnipotence. Their Curious and Edifying Letters became new "Acts of the Apostles." Preachers complimented the Jesuits from the pulpit, devotees crowded to their churches to hear the *éloges*, the laudations of their chief Apostle, and lent their applause to the "great Order"—the "celebrated Society." Fenelon* knitted them a purse of praise, and Bossuet flung them a dash of admiration—one was the kiss of a French gentleman—the other was the grudged penny of the miser; both were to be tested for their truth by the accounts given by the *Jesuits themselves*. Berault-Bercastel, the church historian, apostrophised the Jesuits as "a *Society of Apostles*;"† and, finally, Dr. Wiseman, the London lecturer on controversy, has latterly softened down the burning mass of adulation into merely "a degree of fervor, and purest zeal for the conversion of the heathens, which no other body has ever shown," after having edged in a salvo to the effect that "there may have been among them defects, and members unworthy of their character"—ascribing the same to the fact of the Order being "a *human institution*," for which assertion the Jesuits were not obliged to his lordship of the central district and Melipotamus.‡ Being neither partisans of Rome, nor friends of the Jesuits, nor haters of them, be it our part to examine this interesting page of Jesuit history, rejoicing where we find that the Jesuits have done good to humanity, softened the chain of slavery for the savage, ameliorated the condition of the semi-barbarous—at least for a time—admiring their adventurous spirit, their determined self-sacrifice in pursuit of their object—wishing it had had better results than we find on inquiry—but always turning a very suspicious ear to the "trumpeters in the nave," however "curious" and "edifying."

Let us, then, contemplate the rise and progress of the Jesuit missions *in partibus infidelium*, among the anthropophagi.

* Œuvres de Fenelon, t. vii. p. 144, in a Sermon preached in the Church of Foreign Missions, at Paris, in 1685.

† Œuvres de Bossuet, t. iv. p. 459, 3d Sermon on The Circumcision. In the manuscript, says his editor, Bossuet had written "*holy Society*"—then he corrected it into "*learned Society*"—but a third correction left "*celebrated Society*," as above.

‡ Hist. de l'Eglise, t. xii. p. 257.

§ Lectures on the Principal Doctrines, &c., of the Catholic Church, vol. i. p. 218. Dr. Wiseman was so successful with his lectures that his bust was taken, for insulting dead Luther and Calvin so scurrilously—*Dum Priami Paridisque busto—insultet armentum.*

The passion for conquest which possessed the Spaniards and Portuguese in the sixteenth century was gratified to the fullest extent. The universe conceded to them by a Papal Bull was secured by unscrupulous, unrelenting warfare. Spain ravished the Americas; Portugal overran Southern Africa, and the continent of India. The glory of their arms, flag, and name, may have been the first impulse; it was sufficient, and will always be sufficient in a false conscience, to justify the invasion of the savage in the peaceful shade of his palm-tree, under his golden roof of Peru, beneath his wigwam in the western wilds. The insatiable lust of gold soon followed, with its attendant furies, and the war of aggression necessarily changed into a struggle to defend what was gained, but disputed, when the wretched natives awoke from their dream, to the hideous realities of their doom. The scheme of Christianising them was then conceived, or at least made necessary, in order to ensure their subjection. It is a pitiful thing to see the ministers of religion aiding in dispossessing God's creature of his rights; but perhaps we must make allowance for the age, although, in this matter, we cannot allow much, seeing that "do unto others as thou wouldest be done by" was a maxim then not unknown, even to pagans.

The Portuguese who were led by Albuquerque to India had seemed more than men to the natives: another race soon disabused them—tore the deceitful lens from their simple eyes; and the horde of greedy, lustful adventurers stood forth in their repulsive nakedness as common-place robbers, libertines, extortioners, oppressors.

But it was too late: the conviction only enhanced their misfortune. The invaders pursued their schemes with determination and success. Priests were sent out to advance the cause of oppression, under the name of religion. Their conduct is described by a Catholic—Sepulveda, historiographer to Charles V., and canon of Salamanca. He says: "In pleasures of all kinds—in lusts of every description—they tried to legalise the crimes whose shameful enjoyments and brutal satisfactions they *shared*. These priests maintained that it was permitted to despoil the Indians of their fortunes, and subject them to the severest treatment, in order that, thus despoiled and deprived of everything, they might be more easily persuaded to receive the faith—*ut sic spoliati et subjecti, facilius per predicatores suadeatur iis fides.*"*

With such examples in the sanctuary, we are not startled to hear that "the Portuguese themselves lived more like idolators than Christians." The general object of all these adventurers was to get rich as fast as they could, and thus to return and spend their wealth in the mother country, to the impoverishment and injury of the colony—a practice which has been as universal as it has proved disastrous, in all colonial dependencies—disastrous in its results both to the mother country and the colony, but more so to the latter—for it is precisely like a "run" upon a bank of deposit, whose duration, under such circumstances, is dialled by its assets, hourly diminished.† The Portuguese

* Sepulv. De justis Belli Causis—apud Cretineau.

† Expand this short-sighted policy of our colonies in all its bearings on the subject of colonial organisation—trace its effects on the method, the social habits prevalent in

adventurers, in their lust for gold, oppressed, ground down the natives. It was not commerce, but plunder. The natives hated them, and, in them, their religion. The warm delights of that sun-favored clime melted what virtue they brought, and evaporated whatever principles they possessed. According to a report sent from India to John III., King of Portugal, by a man of authority and worthy of belief, every man had a harem as extensive as he liked or could maintain. Women were bought or stolen for the vilest purposes of use or profit. Their masters taxed these female slaves at a certain sum per day, and if not paid, they inflicted upon them excessive punishment:—so that these poor wretches, unable sometimes to work hard enough, and dreading to be maltreated, thought themselves compelled to resort to the most disgraceful of avocations, and earned by infamy the sum required. Justice was sold in the tribunals: the sentences were a traffic: the most enormous crimes remained unpunished when the criminals had whereabouts to corrupt, or rather, to fee their judges. All means, however iniquitous, were allowed, for the purpose of hoarding up money. Usury was publicly practised. Assassination was a trifle; or they boasted of it as an honorable deed. In a word, lust, avarice, revenge, envy, cruelty, and rapine, were the distinguishing characteristics of these “Christian” colonists.*

In that state of matters, civil and religious, with such “Christian” examples before them, Xavier went to preach Christianity to the Pagans of India. Ignatius despatched the ardent enthusiast, the destined “Light of the East,” as a Jesuit calls him,† after having set him on a blaze by a speech adapted to the man and the case—*Id, y encendedlo todo, y abrasadlo en fuego divino*—go, set all on fire and make all burn with love divine! Here at last was Xavier’s ambition, so vividly described by the biographers, dashed into a field equal to the most desirable for errant-knight or benedict Crusader. Utterly ignorant of the manners and customs of the people to whom he was rushing; utterly ignorant of their language, professedly a *bad linguist*, for “in truth he spoke very badly, and his language was but a confused jargon of Italian, French, and Spanish,”‡ yet was he deemed the fittest subject for

colonies—discuss the legislative enactments framed selfishly to suit that abuse, rather than to promote justice, or to aid in inducing man to “choose the better part” (his best interest in his best moral condition)—apply your conclusions to every colony in existence, and you will find the cause of that ruin which all believe impending, tracing it to an effect of that abuse, namely, the want of “labor,” and the withdrawal of “protection.” Whilst Europe has advanced, her colonies have remained stationary. And why? Because they have been mere mines for general excavation,—a country, a *patria* to no man. Let that name be once recognised, and *acted upon*, and then a thousand great and noble motives will administer to progress. There is no other hope of redeemed prosperity for England’s colonies in the West; those in the East are not yet on the brink of ruin. But how to permit, and ensure their independence? There is the question; but it can be soon effectually answered, sooner than the colonies will begin once more “to pay” or “answer.”

* Bouhours, Vie de S. F. Xavier, i. 52; Bartoli, Dell’ Asia, p. 30.

† Trigautius, De Christ. apud Jap. Triumphis. “S. Franciscus Xaverius lumen illud Orientis,” lib. i. c. 2.

‡ “A la vérité il parlait très mal, et son langage n’était qu’un jargon mêlé d’Italien, de Français, et d’Espagnol.”—Bouhours, i. 17.

an apostle; just as one totally ignorant of fencing stands the best chance with an adept antagonist, simply because he will drive home the rapier, reckless of rules and regulations—to kill, to kill quickly, being the object.* Miracles and portents would dispense with the knowledge of ethnography, and the Holy Ghost would give him the gift of tongues, for “it is probable at least, that whilst in India, as soon as he studied a language, the Holy Ghost seconded his application, and became in some sort his teacher.”† Xavier had to become an apostle, had to “renew, in the latter age, what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church;” but let me not mince the Jesuit’s glorification of his apostle. He begins the hero’s life mounted on fifty-league boots bombastical: “I undertake to write the Life of a Saint who hath renewed in the last century what was most wonderfully done at the birth of the Church, and who was himself a living proof of the truth of Christianity. We shall behold in the deeds of a single man the New World converted by the virtue of preaching and by that of miracles: idolatrous kings of the Orient subjected, with their kingdoms, under the obedience of the Gospel; the faith flourishing in the midst of barbarism, and the authority of the Roman Church recognised by nations the most distant, which scarcely knew what *ancient Rome* was. The Apostolic man I am speaking of is Francis Xavier, a member of the Society of Jesus, and one of the first disciples of Saint Ignatius of Loyola.”‡ The author of this flourish is Father Bouhours. He wrote a work for the formation of intellectual taste;§ he might have quoted the foregoing as a sample of arrant fustian; or he should have flung it amongst his “Ingenious Thoughts of the Ancients and Moderns,” as something that occurred to him when the moon was full. Bouhours is surpassed by a more ingenious modern Jesuit, Francis Xavier de Feller, the saint’s namesake, you perceive, and determined to prove that he thoroughly felt the glory of the mighty baptismal imposition. “What an enterprise, great God!” this Feller exclaims in the middle of a *sermon*, “what an enterprise to form, so to speak, new characters; command the temperaments; stop, all of a sudden, passions the most violent, the most inveterate, the most extolled; to displace criminal licentiousness by purity without spot; to replace bloody anger by the pardon of enemies—cruel avarice by beneficent charity; to give holy laws to men nourished in superstition and independence; to form upright morals in souls befouled by the strangest abominations; to arrest by the hope of invisible goods, hearts which have never loved aught but the goods of earth! What an enterprise! Can a mortal man hope for any success therein? Xavier undertakes to oppose all these enemies, and he triumphs over them: *Constituit prælia multa*, he waged many bat-

* See Marryat’s “Peter Simple” for an example—O’Brien with the French officer in the prison.

† “Il est probable, du moins, qu’étant aux Indes, dès qu’il étudiait une langue, le Saint-Esprit secondait son application et se faisait en quelque sorte son maître.”—*Bouhours*, i. 63.

‡ *Vie de S. Francois Xavier*, p. 1.

§ *Manière de bien penser sur les Ouvrages d’Esprit*.—Also, *Pensées Ingénieuses des Anciens et des Modernes*.

tles.—He plants, he uproots; he builds, he breaks down, like the prophet; he becomes, like the prophet, a wall of brass, a column of fire. A new Ishmael, he attacks, single-handed, all the adversaries of his designs, and, single-handed, he repels all their efforts, all their furies together—*Manus ejus contra omnes, et manus omnium contra eum*—his hand was against all, and the hands of all were against him. Gen. xvi. A new Joshua, he purges the kingdoms of the Orient, gets rid of an infidel and wicked people. More fortunate than Joshua, he does not destroy that people to substitute another, but changes and substitutes them, so to speak, with themselves. A new Elias, he consumes, with the fire of his zeal, all the enemies of his God. A new Judas Maccabæus, he destroys the profane temples, despoils the idols of the honors usurped from the divinity, establishes everywhere the eternal sacrifice. . . . What shall I tell you of the incredible number of infidels whom Xavier snatched from error,—sinners he detached from crime? Would you like to have an idea of it, and conceive how this generous champion of Jesus Christ can boast with reason of having won victories and spoils without number—*Spolia multitudinis gentium*—the spoils of a multitude of nations? Ah! Do not judge, my brethren, by what you see. By the small number of conversions operated by *my* voice and that of the other preachers in the midst of Christianity, don't judge of the success of Xavier's preaching in the midst of infidelity. Whether that the hearts of our hearers have not the same docility, or that our words are not animated by the same zeal, or that Thou, O my God! for reasons hidden in the breast of thy impenetrable wisdom, dost not accord them the same efficacious grace. What a contrast between Xavier's sermons and ours! Xavier alone, in a hundred different places, does more than a hundred preachers in the same city. Xavier, by a single sermon, used to convert a thousand sinners: *we don't convert a single sinner by a thousand sermons.* Nothing resisted his voice. The little and the great, the rich and the poor, the ignorant and the learned, the Christian buried in crime and the pagan blinded by superstition, all listen to him as their father; his instructions persuade—his advice is law. He arrives at Socotora, and, in a few days, the whole island is changed. He appears at Cape Comorin, and twenty thousand idolators come to acknowledge him the ambassador of the true God. The islanders of Manaar hear him; become, all of them, Christians, and die, all of them, for the faith. In the bosom of infidelity and barbarism, Xavier's preaching raises every day new churches. And what churches! Let us proclaim it, my dear hearers, for the glory of the Gospel, for the confusion of the Reformers and some bad critics, who always talk of the primitive Church in order to disparage the Church of later times; churches whose aspect alone became an evident and invincible proof of the worship which Xavier taught; churches wherein were seen revived all the purity of morals, all the holiness of life, all the splendor of the virtues which adorned the first ages of Christianity; churches which comprised as many *saints as there were neophytes*—as many spoils snatched forever from hell as there were barbarians once subjected to Christianity—*spolia multitudinis gentium!*

In ten years, all the regions from Goa to the extremity of Asia are overrun, instructed, converted: *pertransivit usque ad fines terræ*—he went through unto the ends of the earth. I carry my eyes towards the West, and I carry my eyes towards the East: I turn to the North and the South—everywhere I see the adorable cross of the Saviour of Men planted by Xavier. I see nations separated by vast solitudes, by seas immense, by a group of isles and kingdoms:—and everywhere I see Xavier, and almost *at once and the same time*.^{*}

These extracts are from no Middle-Age sermon; but composed towards the end of the last century. It is a specimen of Jesuit-lore in the eighteenth century!

Now, what are the *facts* of this astounding Apostolate? The Jesuits themselves shall be appealed to, and they will “let out” correctives to these indigestible crudities of the fancy. During the last years of Ignatius, Xavier gave him a flourishing account of the Indian missions: but, at the same time, “he learnt by other letters that the baptism of the pagans was rather too precipitate, and it often happened that the new Christians returned to paganism, or did not live in a very Christian manner, for want of sufficient instructions.”[†] In the face of this we are told that “the churches comprised as many saints as there were neophytes!”

The Abbé Dubois, Catholic missionary in Mysore, will give the next elucidation.

“One of the first missionaries,” says Dubois, “was the famous St. Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit of the greatest merit, and animated with a truly Apostolical zeal, and still known under the appellation of the Apostle of India. He traversed several provinces of India, and is said to have made many thousand converts, at a period when the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion were far from reaching the height they have since attained. The caste of fishermen at Cape Comorin, who are all Christians, still pride themselves in being the offspring of the first proselytes made by that Apostle.

“Xavier soon discovered in the manners and prejudices of the natives an insurmountable bar to the progress of Christianity among them, as appears from the printed letters still extant, which he wrote to St. Ignatius de Loyola, his superior, and the founder of the Order of the Jesuits.

“At last, Francis Xavier, entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he everywhere met in his Apostolic career, and by the apparent impossibility of making real converts, left the country in disgust, after a stay in it of only two or three years; and he embarked for Japan.”[‡]

It may be alleged that this very striking qualification of Xavier's In-

* Elogie de S. Franc. Xavier, par F. X. de Feller, annexed to his edition of Bouhours' Life of Xavier, published about 1788; consequently, it is one of the latest of the “trumpeters in the nave.” In the same edition, is given the “Office St. F. Xavier,” by the Jesuit Oudin, equally extravagant and *Bombastes Furioso*.

[†] Bouhours, Vie de St. Ignace, i. 106. Ignatius ordered “houses for the Catechumens,” to be established, so that the Pagans might be effectually prepared for baptism. Ibid.

[‡] Letters on the State of Christianity in India, p. 3. The Italics are mine.

dian Apostolate, is from the pen of one who boldly asserts the impossibility of Christianising the Indians. Then take the oozing out opinions of the Jesuits themselves. These opinions are not meant to disparage Xavier's labors : but to prove the necessity of *Jesuit-Brahminism* for the work of conversion. It is not killing two birds at one shot—but it is effectually winging one in his lordly flight. Xavier is the winged bird, as appears from the following : it is an extract from a letter of Father Martin, Jesuit, in 1700.

“ Of all the Apostolic men whom God has raised up in these latter times for the conversion of the Indians, we may affirm that Saint Francis Xavier has been the most powerful in works and words. He preached in the great peninsula of India *at a time when the Portuguese were in their highest reputation, and when the success of their arms gave great weight to the preaching of the gospel.* He performed nowhere else more brilliant miracles—and yet, he there converted no considerable caste. He himself complains in his letters of the *indocility and blindness of these people*, and points to the fact that the fathers whom he employed in their instruction found it difficult to bear among them the disgust caused by the little fruit they made there. Those who know the character and manners of these people are not surprised at this obstinacy apparently so little grounded. It is not enough for them to find religion true in itself: they look upon the channel whereby it comes to them, and cannot induce themselves to receive anything from the Europeans, whom they consider the most infamous and most abominable people on the face of the earth.

“ Thus we have seen hitherto, that there are among the Indians only three sorts of persons who have embraced the Christian religion, when it was preached to them by the missionaries from Europe, recognised as Europeans. The first are those who placed themselves under the protection of the Portuguese, to avoid the tyrannical domination of the Mahometans ; such were the Paravas, or the inhabitants of the Fishing Coast [Dubois's Fishermen], who, for that object, even before St. Francis Xavier came into India, called themselves Christians, though they were only so in name; it was to instruct them in the religion which they had embraced almost without knowing it, that this great apostle overran that southern part of India with incredible labors. Secondly. Those whom the Portuguese had subjugated on the coast by the force of arms, professed at first externally the religion of the conquerors: these were the inhabitants of Salsette and the vicinity of Goa, and other places which Portugal conquered on the western coast of the great peninsula of India ; they were forced to renounce their castes and assume the European customs, which irritated and drove them to despair. In fine, the last sort of Indians who made themselves Christians in those early times, were either persons of the very dregs of the race, or slaves whom the Portuguese bought on the lands, or persons who had lost their caste by their licentiousness or bad conduct.”* It is to be hoped that the extravagance of Bouhours and Fel-

* Lettres Edif. et Cur. ii. 265 (Panth. Litt.).

ler has not utterly disgusted the reader with Francis Xavier; for, in that case, I shall be blamed for awarding to the man all the praise he merited by intrepidity, and an earnest, though often misguided and uttrelly erroneous zeal (if the Jesuits do not belie him), in the conduct of his mission. To a very great extent Xavier is innocent of the disgraceful impostures which the Jesuits have palmed on their "religious" world, under the sanction of his name. Respecting the very possibility of converting the heathen without the terror of swords and bullets, his opinion was flatly negative—an opinion which was notoriously entertained by other Jesuits who had experienced the missions.* But let us hear *Xavier himself* just before "giving up" the Indians in disgust, and departing for Japan, in 1549, after *eight years' toil and trouble*. Writing to Ignatius, he says, announcing his intended departure:—

"My Father, dearly beloved in the bowels of Christ, accept these few words respecting the affairs of India. In all the parts of India where there are Christians, some of our Society remain; namely, in Malucco, Malacca, Caulan, at Cape Comorin, Bassain, and Socotora; in which places I seem to be of little or no aid, both because there are fathers there, and because the Indians are very thick-headed in those places, and are infected with enormous vices, whence it happens that they have almost no inclination whatever to receive our faith, yea, they even detest it, and listen to us with difficulty when we talk of their receiving baptism."[†] This is conclusive enough, certainly; but it is not all. Ignatius himself was far from being satisfied with "the affairs of India." There was no tinsel about this tough Spaniard. He did nothing by halves. His one idea must be thoroughly and perfectly complied with; there was no compromise in the man, unless it keenly struck him that compromise would lead to entire possession. Xavier's affectionate epistles on "the affairs of India" did not satisfy the iron-hearted Ignatius. In the very year of Xavier's death, after all the wonderful and infinite conversions, miracles, and prodigies related by the biographers, at the very time when he is represented as gloriously successful in Japan, Ignatius wrote commanding him to send back one of his companions to Rome—his usual method of getting at the truth of matters—and, above all, "he commanded Xavier immediately to return to Europe, commanded him to return by virtue of holy obedience

* Navarette. "Dezia el Santo que mientras no estuvieran debaxo del mosquete, no avia de aver Christiano de provecho;" "the Saint used to say, that whilst they were not under the musket, there was no possibility of having a profitable Christian." Trat. vi. p. 436, col. 6, et apud La Croze. At page 440, note 26, of the same work, Navarette (an orthodox Catholic) refutes the Jesuit Colin, who insisted on the necessity of arms for planting the faith. "Va probando con varios exemplares y successos la necessidad que ay de armas en las conversiones."

+ "Mi Pater, in visceribus Christi unicè dilecte, pauca hæc de rebus Indicis accipe. In omnibus Indiæ partibus ubi Christiani sunt, aliqui ex nostrâ Societate morantur, in Malucco, Malaccâ, Caulano, Comorino promontorio, Basaino, Socotorâ. Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumentum afferre, tum quid ibi Patres degant, tum quid magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis, et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus, quibus fit, ut penè nullam ad fidem nostram suspiciendam propensionem habeant, imò oderint, ac grave sit de baptimate suscipiendo quicquam nobis audire."—*Epist. Japon.*, ep. i., edit. 1569.

—not because he doubted his obedience, but in order to show how earnestly he wished him to return—in like manner as the Apostle Paul also (I am only translating, attentive reader)—in like manner as the Apostle Paul, when he exhorts Timotheus, his most beloved and holy, to hold fast by pure and wholesome doctrine which was nearest his heart, does not hesitate to interpose the name of God, who shall judge the quick and the dead—a mode of urgency which is not usually adopted except towards hard-hearted men.”* Orlandinus endeavors to account for his strong obtestation by alleging the desire of the King of Portugal in the matter, and in order that Xavier might inflame the king to the Jesuit-expedition into Ethiopia, to Congo, and the conversion of Brazil, and also to give advice touching the men best adapted for India; but what have these matters to do with the obtestation so strikingly brought forward, and urged to the missionary’s heart with the ominous words, “pure and wholesome doctrine?” And bringing to his mind that most vigorous and heartfelt chapter of the heartfullest of the Apostles, did Ignatius not allude to a former reprimand, which we remember he inflicted on Xavier for his too great precipitancy in administering the rite of baptism? And did he not allude to the sequence of that obtestation to Timothy, mentally saying:—“Preach the word: be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine; but after their own lusts shall they reap to themselves teachers, having itching ears. And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. But watch thou in all things, endure affliction, do the work of an evangelist, *make full proof of thy ministry.*” 2 Tim. iv. If he did not mean this conclusion, the allusion to Paul and his obtestation to Timothy are utterly without meaning, totally out of place, and, as such, contrary to the standing practice of Ignatius, who, be it ever understood, did nothing without a purpose, or in vain. And certainly Xavier’s motives for leaving India, *as given in his letter*, did not “make full proof of his ministry.”

What remains but briefly to lay before you the state of India, her men; their religion, morals, and customs; in order that you may see how truly Xavier said that he was “of little or no assistance.”

Extending in length one thousand eight hundred miles from the Himalaya range and the mountain chains which separate the table-land of central Asia, Hindostan or India, tapering from its greatest breadth of fifteen hundred miles, penetrates the Southern Ocean like a wedge against its encroachments. Innumerable and mighty rivers give fertility to the country, and purify the natives from their sins; for, to the Hindoos, their streams are so many sacraments of grace, sanctifying and efficient. Every climate that man, the cosmopolite, can relish or

* Iisdemque Xaverio literis imperabat, interposito obedientiae nutu atque virtute, ut oculis ipse in Europam remigret, non quod ejus obtemperacioni diffideret; sed ut ostenderet, quam sibi cordi esset ejus ex Indiâ reversio; quemadmodum et Apostolus Paulus, cùm ad retinendam puram, sanamque doctrinam, quæ ei maximè cordi erat, Timotheum carissimum, eundemque sanctissimum adhortatur, interposito Dei nomine, qui iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos, obtestari non dubitat, id quod nisi duros apud homines fieri plerumque non solet.”—Orland. xiii. 83.

endure; every necessary of life that he needs: every luxury and superfluity that he craves; in a word, all nature's most bountiful gifts on the face of the land—fruits, grain, woods, spices, and flowers; in the bowels of the earth—gold, diamonds, and every precious gem; in the depths of the ocean—beautiful pearls, to which the kingdom of heaven hath been likened—all hath God given to this favored region, in his adorable bounty and wisdom. They became the source of endless unrest, bitter misery, and hideous injustice to the favored children of nature. How many pray for such blessings! "They know not what they ask." Contentment in our lot constitutes the true blessing to man. From the earliest times a prey for every invader—its dynasties rising, and superseded by successful violence, religious craft and cruelty—India was reached by the adventurous Portuguese in 1498. Vasquez de Gama landed at Calicut, on the Malabar, with three ships, and "took possession" of the country in the name of the king of Portugal. Rapidly his subjects spread conquest and blood in every direction; and twenty-four years after the first arrival, the Portuguese commanded the trade of the Indian Archipelago. They had numerous settlements along the Malabar, especially at Goa and Diu, and monopolised the commerce with Europe. The Mahometan hordes were their chief opponents in the conquest; for the sons of the Prophet had mastered the children of Bramah, whom they treated with the wanton cruelty of eastern despots, and the unscrupulous extortion of fanatics. The Portuguese viceroys and governors took advantage of these "divisions" in the land, and with the most frivolous pretences, waged desperately the war of plunder, and winnowed the islands and broad stripes of the continent into the pale of Portugal. This was the result about the time when Xavier landed in India. The arms of Portugal were terrible, if not completely triumphant. The war was destined to be prolonged; for the Mahometans craved assistance from Constantinople; and Venice, the Christian republic, jealous of Portugal's increasing commerce, seconded the appeal of the Turks—so unconscionable is the lust of gold—and induced Solyman, the Grand Turk, to equip and dispatch a powerful armament to the Indian Ocean.*

We must permit a Jesuit to describe the men of India, as Xavier found them, and converted them by millions. According to this account, and most others, the people were little better than brute beasts—given to all manner of enormities. The least guilty of them seemed to be those who had no religion at all—no God—*che non havevano nè religione, nè Dio.* Most of them worshipped the devil under an indecent form, and with ceremonies the most indescribable and disgusting. Some changed their gods every day: whatever they first met in the morning, a dog, a pig, or a serpent, continued their divinity for the day. Very little encumbered by dress, in that burning clime, their licentiousness was extreme. In many places, not only polygamy was prevalent, but women were held in common, or many men had but one

* See Dunham, iii. 298, *et seq.*; Hist. of Spain and Port. (Lib. of Ent. Knowl.), p. 106; Maffeus, Hist. Indicæ, f. 310; Pereira, Polit. Indiana, lib. i.

wife among them. Their priests were more exclusive in the matter, but equally depraved, enjoying a privilege, or feudal service, granted to the nobles of France in the days of orthodox legitimacy.* I cannot proceed with Bartoli's minute and revolting descriptions; those who are curious in the matter must refer to the Jesuit's history.† The peculiar customs, civil and religious, of the Hindoos demand attention. *They prevail to the present day.*

Some were so superstitious that they believed themselves defiled if any one touched them, except in battle; and to purify themselves from such defilements, they abstained from food until they had thrice plunged in a river. Others would eat only what they cooked themselves, or was prepared by the Brahmins, their priests, who, like all other priests, knew how to make themselves necessary to their dupes. The cow was the object of their peculiar veneration. Those who maintained the transmigration of souls believed that only souls of the rarest probity enjoyed, after death, the privilege of passing into the body of a cow. Women threw themselves on the burning piles of their deceased husbands, according to the rules laid down by their priests and rulers, who had an "interest" in the thing. This was a hard lot for vidual devotedness: but the women of India brought it on themselves. As elsewhere, there had been a practice in vogue for women to poison their husbands, in order to marry again: so a certain king made the aforesaid law to stay the enormity, which it did, and might do anywhere else, in the absence of better regulations. The custom began as a check to crime: it became, in time, a point of honor and religion,—like many other things which we venerate, despite their bad beginnings. Famines occur amongst civilised nations, with their endless resources; and they occurred in half-savage or semi-barbarous India. On those occasions, reduced to despair by ravening hunger, men sold themselves for a morsel of bread, mothers bartered their children for a bag of rice, and some desperate father would sell wife and children for fifty rupees. As in civilised countries, the belief in ghosts and hobgoblins was general in India. Against the visitations of these the poor heathens had amulets and talismans, just as we have holy-water and horse-shoes:—on this propensity, at least, a Jesuit apostle might build extensively.

But the most important peculiarities of the Hindoos must now be considered. Amongst the very feelings of men, amongst their inclinations and mental faculties, there is a difference of rank established and acknowledged—from the lowest to the highest—a distinct gradation, of which each individual, who reflects, is conscious. This is in accordance with prevalent opinions, or the peculiar intellectual, social, and moral economy in which we are placed: but that resultant is certainly the source whence men have established, or permitted, the different ranks of society. From the very nature of man, as above suggested, any and every society of men collected together, will soon divide itself into ranks, low, high, higher, and highest, according to ■ set of ideas

* See Young's Travels in France, i. 206, or Alison, Hist. of Europe, i. 172, the *note*, and the fourth "feudal service" enumerated.

† Dell' Asia, f. 31.

adapted to the circumstances of the same society: but the ranks of India are the most extraordinary divisions of human nature that can possibly be conceived. These divisions are known by a barbarous corruption of the Portuguese word for race or rank—*casta*, dwindled into *caste*. The Hindoos are divided into various castes, such as the Brahmins, the Rajpoots, the Benjans, the Yogees, the Soudras, Verteas, Ketris, and Faquires. The *Brahmins* are exclusively the servants of the gods: temples and idols are their patrimony. They hold that there is one supreme God, creator of the universe, and that he engendered three sons, who form but one divinity. To express this number and the unity of nature, they wear a scarf divided into three cords or pendants. His name is *Parabrahma*, with four other names added to it, expressive of almighty, infinite, eternal, incomprehensible, and self-existing Being. The three Gods resulted through the instrumentality of *Aadicumari*, or the first Maid or Virgin; and their names are Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The first creates, the second preserves, and the third destroys;—and they are the symbols of the earth, water, and fire. Innumerable other symbols or gods there are, or genii—in the skies, in the air, in rain, in fire: the god of pleasure, blinding reason; the genius of the sea, ponds, lakes, and rivers; the divinity who presides over buried treasures, pits, and caves, where riches are concealed; a god-inspector of the arts mechanical and manual labor; god-musicians in the heavens; malignant sprites delighting in mischief, and detested by the other gods—whose name, *Rakshasa*, the Brahmins gave to the Europeans; a god of the dead, or the angel of death—in fine, there are spectres, and wicked demons, and nymphs without number, good, bad, and indifferent, ever on the wing, inflicting evil or doing good; and therefore often propitiated by an invitation to eat in their houses. In vast repute were the promulgators of India's religion, the Brahmins. Divine by their descent, they were holy by profession, and omnipotent by prescription:—almost, if not completely, worshipped by the people, whose opinions and customs they defended and encouraged for the continuance of their own prosperity. The *Rajpoots* were the race of cavalry soldiers; the *Ketris* were the merchants; the *Benjans* were bankers, and have been compared to the Jews in pecuniary skill and dexterity. These Benjans expiate their sins twice a day by bathing. The *Yogees* are pilgrims or religious vagabonds, wandering from place to place, from kingdom to kingdom, great lovers of solitude and unfrequented places, and are always in the odor of sanctity on account of the great austerities they practise, passing several days without food or drink;—but pronounced to be great impostors by those who were acquainted with many a monkish sajnt who did likewise. The *Soudras* are infantry soldiers. The *Verteas* are the religious men, the monks of Hindooism. They live in community, and are such observers of poverty that they eat only the remnants from the tables of the charitable; they have so great a horror of eating anything which has had life, that they drink water hot, or when it has boiled, supposing water to have a soul, and believing that they would swallow that soul if not forced away by the fire. In the same intention, they carry always ■

small broom, with which they brush their path, lest they should trample on a worm. They vow chastity. The *Faquires* are another order of Hindoo monks, who, during the whole course of their lives, subject themselves to the severest privations or “mortifications.” They seldom, if ever, sleep on the ground, or at full length; but mostly on a thick cord suspended in the air and passed betwixt the legs. Some keep their arms always elevated above the head: others pass nine or ten days every month without eating.

The most striking fact yet to be recorded is, that, “extravagant as many of these modes and customs are, they never draw down from castes of the most opposite habits and fashions, the least appearance of contempt and ridicule. Upon this point there is, throughout the whole of India, the most perfect *toleration*, as long as the general and universally respected laws of good behavior are not infringed.” “With this exception every tribe,” says the Abbé Dubois, a missionary,—“with this exception every tribe may freely and without molestation follow its own domestic course, and practice all its peculiar rites.” And yet, seeing how evidently all their passions, all their feelings, are invested in their particular systems, is it not wonderful that “persecution” is wanting to give them completeness?

The castes of India do not intermarry. A wall of separation is between each. Misconduct is visited with expulsion, and then the culprit becomes a Pariah. Exempt from all the restrictions of honor and shame which so strongly influence the other castes, the Pariahs can freely and without reserve abandon themselves to their natural propensities. They are the most numerous “caste” in India—the professional bad-livers of Hindooism, accursed of Gods and men. “It follows, therefore, that this division of castes acts as a check on human depravity.” “I am no less convinced,” adds Dubois, “that the Hindus, if they were not restrained within the bounds of decorum and subordination by means of the castes, which assign to every man his employment, by regulations of police suited to each individual,—but were left without any curb to check them, or any motive for applying one, would soon become what the Pariahs are, or worse; and the whole nation, sinking of course into the most fearful anarchy, India, from the most *polished of all countries*,” says the missionary, “would become the most barbarous of any upon earth.”* We have now to see how Francis Xavier undertook to break down the religion of India and its systems, and to build up the religion of Rome on the ruins. It is pretended that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Gospel in India; and Maffeus, the Jesuit, tells us that he built a church at Meliapoora, raised a dead boy to life, preached to the Chinese, performed many miracles, built a cross of stone, and prophesied that white men would come one day from the remotest regions, to restore the same faith which he was then introducing.† The monks had failed

* See Description, &c., of India; Moreri, Dict. t. vi.; and all the works on India quoted in a former section of the present work, p. 128, *et seq.*; also, Bartolomeo’s *Voyage* and *Systema Brahminicum*. Dubois’ chapter on the advantages of the castes is well worth reading.

† Ibidemque defixa lapideâ cruce, vaticinatus est, cum ad eum lapidem usque per-

in their mission: the prophecy was intended for the Jesuits: Xavier had the honor of taking the lead. Draw the curtain—*et ecce Crispinus*—the “Apostle of the Indies” appears.

Instantly, on the very outset of his mission, Xavier imitates Father Ignatius in his questionable method of doing “good.” The missionary, wisely enough, considered it proper to begin with reforming the Christians of Portugal in India, before meddling with the children of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Xavier visited the Portuguese—stood in the midst of their harems—caressed their children—asked to see their mother—and had her pointed out to his critical eyes. When she happened to be whitish and well made, he would praise her, and tell her she seemed to be a Portuguese; then, privately, he would say to her master: “You have here a fine slave, and one who deserves to be your wife.” But if she happened to be a black and ugly Indian—for colonial tastes are notoriously indifferent—he would say, “Good God! what a monster you have in your house! And how can you bear the sight of her?” These words, uttered seemingly without design, generally took effect: the master married the woman whom the servant of God had praised—and drove out the others.* A very curious mode of arriving at the result, if in no respect objectionable: but we may be permitted to believe that if Xavier applied no stronger measures of reform, the harems of the colonies were not depopulated by the discriminating *taste* of “the servant of God.”

He set forth with *interpreters* to preach Christ to the worshippers of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. It was amongst the *Fishermen* at Cape Comorin. They turned a bewildered ear to his incomprehensible interpretations: he treated them to a miracle. He found out a woman in labor; read a portion of the Gospel over her head, baptised her, she was delivered, perfectly cured.† Thenceforward he became the physician of the Pagans. As soon as any one fell ill, Father Xavier was called in, baptised, and cured them: but as he could not satisfy all demands in person, he delegated his miraculous powers to a troop of children: they did as well as the apostle: “they touched the patient with their beads or the father’s crucifix, and immediately he was cured.”‡ We are not told the exact number of his converts for the first year; but we are assured that they were “almost infinite.”§

The missioner’s method was very simple, when there was no necessity for a miracle. It must be borne in mind that he went first among the musket-Christians of the Portuguese converts. “When I first came to this coast,” says Xavier himself, “my first care was to ask them if they had any knowledge of Christ our Lord? Then, if they knew the articles of faith? Thirdly, What they believed? or what more

tingeret pelagus: tum Divino jussu, è remotissimis terris candidos homines ad eadem quæ ipse intulisset, sacra instauranda venturos.—*Hist. Indic.*, f. 37. In the Jesuit Kircher’s *Chine Illustrée*, there is a picture of this cross. Maffeus also tells us that St. Thomas’s remains were found by the Portuguese at Meliapoor, and sent to Goa.—*Ibid.*, f. 158. All this is, of course, treated as a fable by the Catholic Moreri, Dict. vi. 323, a.

* Bouhours, Xavier, i. p. 56.

† Id. ib. 64.

‡ Id. ib. 59.

§ “Presque à l’infini.”—*Id. ib.* 75.

they had, after being initiated in our faith, than before, when they were gentiles? All their answer was that they were Christians; but that, not understanding our language, they were ignorant of our law, and what was to be believed." Hence it is evident, that these poor wretches had been baptised, or announced themselves Christians, as the Jesuit Martin admitted, without even understanding the language of their "converters!" The dread of the musket was their missionary. Xavier proceeds: "Wherefore, as we did not understand each other sufficiently, since they spoke the Malabar lingo, and I the Celtiberic or Vazi-quenza [the Spanish of Biscay], I collected together the cleverest of them, whom I knew to understand both languages. After spending many days together, at last, with great labor, they transfused into the language of the people certain pious prayers—the sign of the cross, the declaration of the Trinity, the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Angelical Salutation, the Salve Regina, and the Confiteor."* Xavier actually employed these pagans to translate these prayers and formulas out of bad Spanish into a language wherein the most skilful minds would find it difficult to escape nonsense and avoid absurdity, in expressing things and ideas totally without representatives in that vernacular. Meanwhile, in the face of Xavier's own admissions, Bouhours boldly says that *Xavier* translated the prayers, &c., into the language of the Paravas!† "These things being thus given in their language," continues Xavier, "and having well committed them to memory—*altius meā in memorā fixis*—I went about the whole city, and collected, with the sound of a bell, all the boys and men I could, promiscuously. I gave them four hours a day, two in the morning, two in the evening; and so, in one month, they learned the prayers, which I taught them on this condition, that the boys should teach their parents, and all of them their domestics, what they learned from me."‡ Xavier repeated his lesson, and the pupils did the same after him. "After which, I repeated the Creed, and separating each article from the rest, giving proper time for explanation [by an *interpreter*, it is to be presumed], I admonished them that to be a Christian was nothing but to believe the twelve articles with a firm and immovable faith. When, therefore, they professed themselves Christians, I asked them if they clung with unshaken faith to the twelve articles of belief? All of them, men, women, old men and boys, striking their breasts, or making the sign of the cross, answered with a loud voice, 'We believe.'" He then enjoined them to repeat the Creed to themselves oftener than the prayers. Then he proceeded to the Commandments. He states that both the Christians and the pagans were in great admiration when they beheld the consummate equity of the divine law, and its concordance with natural reason—*cum ratione*

* "Tandem magno labore in linguam gentis illius nonnullas easque pias transfruerunt orationes."—*Epist. Ind. p. 2, et seq.* Ed. Louan, 1566.

† "Il les consulta," says the Jesuit, "plusieurs jours de suite, les uns et les autres; et, à force de travail, il traduisit en langue des Paravas," &c., p. 60; but, in the very next paragraph, he says that Xavier "got by heart what he could," "apprit par cœur ce qu'il put!"

‡ *Epist. Ind. 3 and 4.*

naturali parem symphoniam. The Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary ensued. The Creed was repeated twelve times, and ten times the Ten Commandments. "First, I declare the article of faith; then they, in their own language, say with me: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, give us grace to believe the first article of faith, sincerely and without doubt. We beseech thee to give us that faith by the Lord's Prayer.' Then we all say together: 'Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, obtain for us from thy Son the grace to believe this article sincerely and without doubt.' Thereupon we repeat the Hail Mary. This is the method with the remaining eleven articles." A similar process is applied to the Ten Commandments, with the addition of the Lord's Prayer, and another supplication to the Virgin adapted to the different object in view, concluding with the Hail Mary. "These are the things which they are taught to ask of God; and I tell them that should He accord these to their prayers, He will give more than they can hope for or desire. I make them all repeat the Confiteor, particularly those who wish to be baptised. These last, after they have repeated the Creed, and affirm that they believe each article, and have repeated the Commandments, promising to obey them with God's assistance, I baptise, as sufficiently tried—*tanquam satis exploratos baptizo.*"* A very expeditious mode of making a Christian out of a son of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and the ten thousand other gods, with all their social habits inextricably woven into that endless system of gods and genii, devils and sprites, nymphs and hobgoblins. And still more precipitate was the rite if the missioner had to do with Pariahs, who sin by profession. Evidently the same idea occurred to the Jesuit Bouhours; for he takes very significant liberties with Xavier's text, as above, which he thus interpolates:—"I make them say the Confiteor, and principally those who are to receive baptism, who, at my bidding, repeat the Creed. At each article I ask them if they believe without doubting at all; and when they assure me of the fact, I generally make them an exhortation, which I have composed in their language: it is an abridgment of the doctrines of Christianity, and of the duties of a Christian necessary to salvation: at length I baptise them."[†] Xavier wrote nothing of the sort, did nothing of the sort, or Ignatius would not have urged upon him, as we have read, the necessity for more circumspection in admitting

* "Quos postquam symbolum pronunciârunt, et unumquemque se credere affirmant, legis etiam mandata memorârunt; eaque se servatores Deo juvante, receperunt; tanquam satis exploratos, baptizo."—*Episi. Ind.* p. 7.

† "A chaque article je les interroge s'ils croient sans doubter aucunement; et quand ils m'en assurent, je leur fais, d'ordinaire, une exhortation que j'ai composée en leur langue; c'est un abrégé des dogmes du Christianisme et des devoirs du Chrétien nécessaires au salut; enfin je les baptise," p. 62. Bartoli gave Bouhours the hint; but the former has thrown the letter in the form of a narrative, and so avoids the dishonesty of putting words which he never thought of into the missioner's mouth.—See *Dell' Asia*, f. 37. To the above passage this Bouhours adds as follows: "It is evident, from what we first said touching the instruction of the Paravas, that Xavier had not the gift of tongues when he began to instruct them; but it appears also, that after he had made that translation, which cost him so much, he understood and spoke the Malabar language—whether he acquired the knowledge by his labor, or that God gave him the knowledge of it in a supernatural manner!" p. 62. Is this not *too* much? Even for a Jesuit?

ting the pagans to baptism. Let the above Jesuit-dexterity be a sample of what an extensive reader of their books and histories finds to make him rather more than skeptical as to Jesuit-veracity and honesty.

It was the young that Xavier seems to have chiefly enlisted into his service,—which aggravates the questionable method of “conversion.” He says that they were very eager for the faith, and fails not to state that these young converts frequently broke out into the most atrocious abuse against the heathens—*sæpe verbis adversus ethnicos atrocissimis digladiantur*. “What,” says the missioner, “is my hope and confidence, of the mercy of God I doubt not but that these youths will become better than their parents. For if they see their parents taking any steps to return to the ancient worship of the idols, they not only sharply rebuke them, but even bring them to me, for the love of their salvation. In fact, matters have taken such a turn, that, through fear of the boys, none of the citizens can dare to sacrifice to the idols in the city. For without the city should any one secretly follow the worship of the idols, they search all the hiding-place suspected by the diligence of the Christians, and whoever is caught they bring to me. For this evil, my remedy is no other than the following:—I collect a great number of boys, and send them at the thing in hand, *in rem præsentem mittam*, where idolatry seems to be renewed. These boys, in the singular and pious zeal which they exhibit towards the faith, heap more abuse upon the devil than their parents had lavished veneration upon him. They pull down the idols and throw them over a precipice, or into the fire. And they play other pranks, which, although it be not proper to relate, still are an honor to the boys, namely, so to play the fool with the god which impelled their parents to such a pitch of madness, as to have and to venerate for God, stones and rocks.”* There is much in this to disgust us with Xavier’s method. It would have been much more to the purpose to prevent the relapse into idolatry by more instruction: at all events, the present method only gave “the boys” an opportunity for “playing other pranks,” without being better Christians for their pains: they demolished idols without abolishing idolatry: they dishonored their parents without honoring God.

In the very same letter, Xavier lays claim to miraculous powers, stating how crowds thronged around and oppressed him with invitations to their houses, to cure the sick by the imposition of hands. It was then that finding himself, as he states, unequal to the numerous labors so delightfully vouchsafed to him, he instituted the troop of boy miracle-workers before mentioned.† It was then that he thought of the academies of Europe and their numerous inmates, pale with the avarice of science—*avaritiâ scientiarum duntaxat pallentes*, as he forcibly expresses it, wishing that they would come to the vineyard of India. Why do they not exclaim, Lord, here am I, what wouldest thou have

* “Aliaque designant, quæ quanquam non sit honestum recensere, pueris tamen est honori, ita illudere ei,” &c.—*Epist. Ind.* p. 6.

† *Ibid.* But Bouhours and the rest have added the “beads” and “crucifix” by way of a more efficient instrument. Xavier only says *per fidem*, or that they *did* cure diseases of body and mind.

me do? Send me whithersoever thou wishest, even to the barbarous Indian nation separated from all the world.

“ But I fear,” says he, sarcastically, “ I fear that many who apply to their studies in the academies, count on the dignities and episcopal revenues that may result from them, rather than have the intention of doing what dignitaries and bishops ought to do. Everybody says: I wish to apply to study, that I may become a priest, or attain some church dignity. When this is attained, I’ll live for God afterwards—*quā partā, posteā Deo vivam.* Brute-men—*homines animales* (!) who blindly follow their appetites—on this account more stupid than blackamoer: because, neither attending to their own or others’ affairs, they forget the will of God If the first-rate theologians in the Academies of Europe only knew the incredible richness of the harvest here, and the deplorable lack of laborers, I doubt not to affirm that they would either send hither those who are not needed at home, or would seek out with all care and solicitude men of tried probity and learning, for this enterprise. In truth, the Christian faith would be embraced by the innumerable souls of myriads who must now perish eternally through our slothfulness and their own sin of infidelity. So great is the multitude of those who here embrace the faith, that often, whilst baptising, my arms, as it were enervated by labor, are fatigued, and I almost lose my voice by hoarseness whilst I rehearse the Articles of Faith, the Ten Commandments, and other prayers, translated into their language, whilst I explain to them the meaning of the word *Christian*, whilst I speak of paradise, of hell—the condition of those who go to the latter place, and the happy lot of those who depart to the former. I am frequently engaged in inculcating the Creed, and the Commandments of God. It sometimes happens that on the same day I baptize a whole city, *éadēm die civitatem integrām baptizem.* Much of this success is to be attributed to the Viceroy of India, both because he is a particular friend and patron of our Society, and spares no expense, or rather takes upon himself, as far as he can, all the labors for the propagation of the faith. By his endeavors, we have now thirty cities of Christians on this coast. So keenly does that hero hunger and thirst for the conversion of all the infidel nations, that he has lately given four thousand pieces of gold to those who with all diligence profess the truth in the cities of the Christians.”* If the reader has attentively read the preceding pages, touching the method adopted by the viceroys to ensure the possession of India, this passage, otherwise so striking, will suggest the whole gist of the argument, as it bears against the “apostolate” of the Jesuit. One more extract is necessary to give an idea of the man—the finishing touch to his portrait, drawn by himself. He says: “ I will add one word more, namely, that the comforts and joys of those who evangelise these nations are so great, that words cannot easily express them. There is even one amongst us [meaning himself] who is not unfrequently filled by God with such delights that he often bursts forth into these exclamations: ‘ O Lord, do not give me

* Epist. Ind. 11—13.

so many comforts in this life ; or if, through thy inexhaustible bounty and mercy, thou wilt give them, take me hence to thy glory. For it is too irksome to live afar from thy presence when thou pourest thyself so benignly into creatures.' " * . . . And finally, praying that all the brethren of the Society so dispersed all over the world, might be hereafter united in glory above, he thus concludes his letter. " That I may obtain this wish, I call to my aid all the holy souls of this country, which being baptised by me, in their innocence have flown from this valley of miseries to heavenly glory, in number more than one thousand. I pray to all these holy souls that they may obtain us the grace whereby, during the whole time of this exile, we may know the most holy will of God, and being known fulfil it with all our might.† I rather leave it to the reader to form his opinion on this last feature in Xavier's character. It is certainly only fair that he should have his claim allowed on the saints he dispatched to glory, as he says ; but he *should* have waited until they were canonised at Rome, with miracles attested. Xavier's letters invariably portray an ardent, enthusiastic man, devoted to his calling, and pursuing it with inextinguishable ardor, or blind determination—eager to make " holy souls" by the thousand—never so delighted as when his arm sank enervated by baptising his myriads and whole cities in one day—and falling or rising into one of these raptures which we have just read, and which must be familiar to all who have sunk below, or soared above, the beaten track of common Christians.‡ But, although constantly disposed to form the best opinion of the *man*, we are perpetually disgusted with the *saint*, as the magicians of Jesuitism conjure up portents and prodigies in his career, to manufacture an apostle. Let us join them for a while, and unterrified by blue lights and red eyes, rush, with *this* spirit of a saint, through his brilliant scenes of a magic-lantern, even to the end of the Jesuit's performance.

From Cape Comorin the saint advanced to Travancor, giving expanse to his splendid enterprise. In a very short time, forty-five churches were built, and the whole coast became Christian—having baptised, as he writes himself, ten thousand idolaters in one month—about four hundred a-day.

In the midst of this splendid success, it was, that his tongue was untied : he received the " gift of tongues"—spoke the language of the barbarians without having learnt it, and used it as a thunderbolt to

* " Versatur etiam inter nos quidam, qui haud infreque[n]ter à Deo e[st] perfunditur voluptate, ut in has s[ecundu]m prorumpat voces : O Domine, ne tot mihi in h[ac] vitâ largiaris solatia ; aut si per tuam inexhaustam bonitatem et misericordiam ea dare vis, tolle me hinc ad tuam gloriam. Nam nimia est anxietas, ubi tam benignè creaturis te infuderis, tam procul à tuo prospectu vivere."—*Epist. Ind. 23.*

† " Quod ut obtineam, in auxilium voco animas omnes sanctas hujus regionis, quæ per me baptizatæ in suâ innocentia ex h[ac] miseriarum valle ad gloriam evolârunt cælestem, numero plures quam 1000. Has omnes sanctas animas oro, ut nobis gratiam concilient, per quam toto hujus exilii tempore Die sanctissimam voluntatem intelligamus, intellectamque totis viribus impleamus. Ex Cochim 15 Januarii, Anno 1544, Vester in Christo charissimus Frater, Franciscus Xavier."—*Id. 26.*

‡ See Bishop Lavington's " Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared," sec. xxi., p. 33, for numerous instances of the thing above alluded to. Or, if I be allowed to appeal to my own experience, see " The Novitiate," pp. 136, *et seq.* and 224, 2d Edit.

strike down the enemy of his people. The bandits of Bisnagor poured down upon the plains of Travancor. The king of the country went forth with an armed band to meet them:—it was unnecessary. Xavier fell upon his knees,—and then he rose, and advanced, crucifix in hand, upon the coming foe. “In the name of the living God,” he cried, with a voice of thunder, “I forbid you to advance—I command you to return!” Terror-stricken, back rolled the barbaric host—rank upon rank scattering dismay—for behold! there stood before them the semblance of a man unknown—in black habiliments—of gigantic, supernatural stature—frightful aspect, whose eyes shot lightnings. All fled in disorder.*

Being thus embarked in the career of miracles, Xavier did not grudge his powers: he cured all sorts of diseases and raised four dead bodies to life again—two men and two women. “An infinity of Christians” entered the fold of baptism in the face of these portents: but the king of Travancor seems to have had his doubts about the matter—he held out for Brahma, though he was wise enough to let his people do as they liked with their conscience,—perhaps he thought that Xavier’s black art might serve him in another turn with the bandits.

Xavier went on preaching—but the waters of baptism remained stagnant: his eloquence was in vain: he resolved another miracle.

Turning to his audience with the air of inspiration, he exclaimed: “Well! since you do not believe me on my word, come and see what can make me credible. What testimony would you have of the truths I proclaim to you?” He remembers that they had buried a man the day before: then, resuming his address in the same tone, he said, “Open the grave which you closed yesterday, and take out the body: but see that he who was buried yesterday, is really dead.” His command was obeyed: the fact was certain,—the corpse was decaying. They place it at his feet: the barbarians fix wondering eyes on the thaumaturg. He kneels—prays but an instant—then speaks the word: “I command thee by the name of the living God, arise in proof of the religion I preach.” At the words, the putrefying dead man rose, not only full of life, but healthy and vigorous. All cried, “a miracle!” and were baptised on the spot.†

“Have confidence in Mary,” said he once to a merchant going on a voyage, “and these beads will not be useless to you:” Xavier gave the man his chaplet. In the gulf between Meliapora and Malacca, a furious tempest suddenly raged: sails and masts were shivered by the wind—the ship dashed on the rocks and foundered. The survivors made a raft: threw themselves upon it—their only hope. Scarcely did the merchant (with Xavier’s chaplet) touch the raft when he was rapt in ecstasy, “feeling as though he were with Father Francis at Meliapora.” When he came to himself he was on an unknown coast, safe and sound; but his companions, where were they? Perhaps in the sharks’ belly sighing for Xavier’s chaplet. The Saint’s protégé did not know what became of his companions!‡

* Cretineau, i. 211.

† Bouhours, i. 86.

‡ Id. ib. 126—132.

And a man of *death* was Xavier as well as of life. He wanted some wine for a sick man. He sent to a Portuguese for some. The man gave it reluctantly, for he said he needed it for himself, and hoped the saint would not trouble him again. Any man might say so—you, gentle reader—for beggars are sometimes importunate—but Heaven grant that you fall not into the hands of a Xavier! Inflamed with a holy indignation, he cried out: “What! does Araus think of keeping the wine for himself, and refusing it to the members of Jesus Christ? The end of his life is at hand—and after his death all his goods shall be distributed to the poor.” He went and announced death to the man—and the man died—but not immediately. He sickened when Xavier left the place; and one day, in the midst of the Mass, Xavier turned to the pious ones kneeling, and he said: “Pray for Araus—he has just died at Amboyna,” which was a great way off. Ten days after the fact was verified; and all came to pass as the saint predicted.* How terrible in his anger is a saint enraged! Beware how you refuse anything to a Jesuit-father—your customer may be a Father Francis. That’s the Jesuit-moral of the tale.

And a man of *war* was Francis Xavier. With astonishing energy and perseverance he organised a fleet to give battle to the barbarians: miraculous predictions and interpositions attended. The Portuguese boarded the barbaric fleet, gained the victory, slaughtered the crews, six men excepted, who were put to the torture. Two died in the torments; two were thrown alive into the sea; and two turned “king’s evidence,” and gave the requisite information as to their countrymen’s positions, deeds, and designs. A dreadful battle ensued: the Mahometans fought with their usual desperation: but of what avail in the unequal fight? They were routed and massacred: five hundred of Islam nobility—the Orobolons, or chosen band of Achen—were slaughtered or drowned in the river, with all the Janissaries. A glorious victory for the man of God, who had promised the “Christians” victory, enjoining them “*to behold Jesus Christ crucified before their eyes, during the battle!*”† Such was the wrath of Xavier the Jesuit, in the matter of Alaradin, the king of Achen.

The saint was at Malacca, far away from the field of battle: and he happened to be in the midst of his sermon to a multitudinous congregation. In spirit suddenly wrapt, he beheld the map of battle, blood-traced, before him: his head drooped awhile: then he rose exulting, as he cried, “Jesus Christ has conquered for us—the enemy is routed—with very great slaughter—you shall hear the news next Friday—our fleet will soon return.”‡ It is useless to state that it came to pass as he predicted. Apollonius of Tyana! venerable shade! art thou not indignant,—or, rather, feelest thou not ashamed that a Christian should imitate thy craft or magic art?§

* “When Calanus, the Indian philosopher, mounted the pile, he said to Alexander, ‘I shall meet you again in a very short time.’ Alexander died three months after.”—*Lempriere*.

† Bouhours, i. 155—170.

‡ Id. i. 170, *et seq.*
§ “Being one day haranguing the populace at Ephesus, Apollonius, the famous ma-

And ye, dread witches and wizards of old, if your haggard souls still linger on the earth ye have cursed and besouled with incantations hideous as the king ye served—revengeful, spiteful gorgons!—arise, and be justified—a saint owns you for his model. For we read that “a man impelled by rage or animated by the Bonzas, denounced the saint with fierce maledictions; the saint bore all patiently, as usual, and only said, with an air somewhat sad, to the man who abused him: ‘May God preserve your mouth!’ Instantly the wretched man felt his tongue eaten up by a cancer, and there streamed from his mouth matter and worms with a horrible stench.”*

If he thus effectually stopped the tongues of others, he gave to his own the speech of ten: for “he could by a single expression, answer ten different questions, put by as many inquirers—and this not on one occasion, but very frequently.”† Chinese he spoke without having learnt it, and he twanged Japanese as glibly as a native.

He turned salt water into fresh—and gave it miraculous power to cure, “for it was only necessary to put two or three drops of it into any drink, in order to recover one’s health.” It was during a voyage: but a more wonderful thing than that was to come to pass. A child of five years fell into the sea, and we may add (though not so stated) that he was drowned. The father of the child grieved bitterly then; and, as the miracle of the water had not converted the Mahometan, Xavier asked him if he would promise to believe, should his son be restored? The infidel promised. Three days after the child was seen on the deck. Six days had he tarried in the deep rolling wave, ’mid insatiate sharks of that tropical sea—yet he waited unharmed in the crystal caverns thereof, for the saint’s command,—and when he appeared he knew not whence he came, nor how he came,‡ like Berthalda in De la Motte’s most beautiful “Undine,” the fisherman’s child, by the malignant Kühleborn snatched or enticed from a fond mother’s arm.§

And gigantic seemed Xavier, like Kühleborn, when he baptised the harvest of this thrilling portent—for “though he touched the deck with his feet, yet did he overtop, by the head entire, the tallest in the ship, as he poured the sacred waters on their brows.”|| Thus he answered the Divine question—and did “add one cubit unto his stature!” Matt. vi. 27.

All nature was subject unto him; but the arms of the devils were permitted to cripple him: “One night, as the saint was praying before the image of the Virgin, the devils attacked him in crowds, and belabored him so roughly, that he remained half dead with the blows, and was forced to keep to his bed for some days after.” There can be no doubt about this, for a young Malabarese, who slept near the church, was roused by the noise, and distinctly heard the blows, whilst Xavier

gician of old, suddenly exclaimed: ‘Strike the tyrant, strike him! The blow is given; he is wounded and fallen!’ At that very instant the Emperor Domitian had been stabbed at Rome.”—*Lemprière*. It might easily be shown that all Jesuit-fictions of miracles and piety are founded on classic facts and legends of hagiology. The Jesuits were resolved to make up for time.

* Bouhours, tom. ii. 13.

† Id. ii. 32.

‡ Id. ii. 128.

§ See “Undine,” by De la Motte Fouqué.

|| Bouhours, ii. 129.

cried for succor to the Virgin: nay, more, the young convert sometimes would quiz the saint on the subject!*

And thou, universal demon, limping on three legs, impure Asmodeus!† What hadst thou in Father Francis? "One night, Simon Rodriguez awoke, and saw Xavier, who was sleeping at the foot of his bed, fling out his arms in a dream, like a man who violently repels some one importunately advancing; he even saw blood gushing abundantly from Xavier's mouth and nose." Reader, canst thou opine the cause, physiological, moral, or metaphysical? If thou canst not guess, Xavier will tell thee: "Know, then, Brother Simon, that God, by a wonderful mercy, hath, till now, done me the grace of preserving me in perfect purity, and that, on the night in question, I dreamt that, being in a-tavern, an immodest girl approached me. That motion of my arms was to repel and get rid of her, and the blood I threw up was caused by the effort I made."‡

I believe St. Chrysostom describes a virgin as "breathing fire,"—and there is or was a notion that a lion would never mangle a virgin: but even fierce *tigers* slunk off at the sight of Xavier. St. Patrick, with his toads and serpents must now "pale his ineffectual fires."—The island of Sancian was infested with tigers. "One night the servant of God went forth to meet them, and espying them near, he threw holy water upon them, and ordered them to go away, and never to appear again. The whole troop took to flight, and since then tigers have not been seen in the island."§ Catholics may be found who believe this, just as there are Hindoos who ascribe a similar virtue to *their* religious men. The Hindoos affirm that even the wild beasts of the forest respect them; and when the force of their holiness is transcendental, the wild beasts come voluntarily to their hermitage, lick their hands, fondle and lie by them for hours!! Finally, there was in the castle of Xavier, in Navarre, an old crucifix of clay; and during the last year of the saint's life, this crucifix sweated blood abundantly every Friday: but ceased to sweat at his death. In fact, it had been remarked that when Xavier worked extraordinarily hard, or was in great danger, this crucifix distilled blood on all sides—"as if when the apostle was suffering for the love of Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ had suffered for him in his turn—all impassible as He is!"¶ The mind of blasphemy can no farther go—in the estimation of the Protestant: but no blasphemy was intended by the inventor of this explanation. It is ever the practice of devoteeism to extol its idols even to the throne of the Eternal. Possessed with the idea whose "end" seems so good and holy, the devotee shrinks not even from lowering the Divinity to the level of his conven-

* "Les redisait quelquefois à Xavier, par une espèce de moquerie innocente."—*Id. i. 108.*

† Le Sage's "Diable Boiteux," with two natural legs, and one of wood. The conceit is full of meaning.

‡ Bouhours, ii. 202, *et seq.* Plutarch somewhere says that the proof of virtue is when we resist temptation in a dream.

§ Bouhours, ii. 134.

|| See "The Hindoos," p. 66; Heber, Narrative, ii. 265, *et seq.*; Ward, iii. 342.

¶ "Comme si, lorsque l'apôtre souffrait pour l'amour de Jesus Christ, Jesus Christ eût souffert pour lui à son tour, tout impassible qu'il est."—Bouhours, ii. 146, *et seq.*

tional notions to honor his hero, whom he believes supremely honored by the king of Heaven. The Jesuits thought it necessary, or at least, very expedient, to have in their Society the greatest apostle that ever existed, or could possibly exist—and decidedly they have produced one—on paper at least. Meanwhile, in the present stupendous prodigy before us, they evince their *classic* associations, which, as I have before remarked, have always administered to their pious inventions. One of their numberless writers on numberless subjects, Father Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, of the Company of Jesus, wrote a very curious little work, entitled “Curious Philosophy and Treasury of Wonders,”* of which, more hereafter: but in chapter the fifty-seventh you will find a discussion whose title is, “Whether it is natural for statues to distil blood, to sweat, and groan;” and he gives, from the ancients, very many instances of such facts in general, and of one in particular, when, before the battle of Actium, the statue of Marc Antony sweat blood, *vertio sangre una estatua de Marco Antonio*. He draws a distinction between natural and miraculous or superstitious sweat, and, without assigning any proof whatever, he places in the miraculous, the sweat of the Xavier-crucifix, whilst he flings amongst the superstitious all the similar sweatings recorded by Livy, Plutarch, Cicero, Ammianus, Suetonius, Dion, Valerius Maximus, as being doubtful—*son duosos*. You perceive he does not deny them utterly: the reason is, because his object in all his Wonders of Nature is to show the reasonableness of the mysteries beyond man’s comprehension; and if, among the many of his Church, he edges in the Xavier-crucifix, we must, perhaps, excuse the devotee in the dexterous Jesuit.

After all that you have just read in this stupendous career of the sainted apostle, you will scarcely bear to be reminded that Xavier left the scene of his miraculous labors, his sainted souls by the thousand, his saints in all his converts, his entrancing raptures—left all, in utter disgust with “the thick-headedness of the Indians and their propensity to enormous vices,” and with the conviction, expressed in as many words, that he was of little or no use to the mission!† And so he did. He left them, to pay an apostolic visit to the Japanese. His reasons, besides the aforesaid disgust, are so ingenuously expressed, that I am sure you will read them with comfort. “I have been informed by many,” says he, “of an island, Japan, situated near China, inhabited by heathens alone, not by Mahometans, nor by Jews; and that it contains men endowed with good morals, most inquisitive men, intelligent, eager for novelties respecting God, both natural and divine novelties concerning God. I have resolved, not without great pleasure of mind, to see that island also; because I am of opinion, that, in this place, the fruit and edifice of the faith (the foundation being once laid) will last for many myriads of years.”‡ In this last opinion Xavier was, as we

* “Curiosa Filosofia,” p. 56. This is indeed as curious a book as was ever written—a most entertaining medley of everything possible or contingent.

† “Quibus in locis parum videor posse adjumenti afferre . . . quod magna sit Indorum hebetudo in his locis et immanibus infecti sint sceleribus . . .” &c.—*Epist. Jap. 1.*

‡ *Epist. Jap. i.*

shall see, most miserably too sanguine; but, as to the character of the people, he had not been incorrectly informed. In Japan, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic race of humanity consoled him for his disappointments in India. If any characteristic besides these mentioned by Xavier was most honorable to the Japanese, it was their universal spirit of inquiry. They were ready to listen to all who had anything to say on the matter of religion, and the most extensive toleration permitted every man to choose what religion he pleased. In such a state of public and governmental opinion, is it not surprising to read that there were only twelve different sects in Japan, amongst a population of about nine-and-twenty millions, without a *Bossuet* to note and celebrate contemptuously their glorious *Variations*—their respectable prerogative of being *wrong*, if they pleased, rather than *right*, to please their neighbors.

There is no doubt that the Portuguese had an eye, a longing, a watery eye on Japan. As Xavier remarked, there were no *Mahometans* there to interfere with their conquests, without the chance of converting them into "Christian" subjects of Portugal and slaves of her adventurers. Conquest would be less than easy, if the people could be first induced to adopt the religion of the wholesale plunderers of nations. The plan, if not concocted by the Viceroy of India, was, we may be sure, gladly countenanced by the representative of Portugal's zealous rapacity. From Alfonso de Sousa, the Viceroy whom Xavier praises so highly, to the one he left in India, there had been always the best understanding, the heartiest concurrence, between "the man of God" and the servant of the king. One of them, Dom Joao de Castro, died in the arms of the missioner.*

I. Japan is a cluster of Islands, left by the ocean opposite the coast of China. The cluster, taken together, look like beavers basking on the waters: the people were and are as industrious as those clever builders. Their country leaves them nothing to desire, in necessaries, comforts, and luxuries; and their industry makes the most of the gifts of nature. Abject indigence is unknown: beggars are scarcely, if ever, seen: they have no human caravans, menageries, or unions. The testimony of all who have frequented these islands attests their happy lot, from the earliest times of European visitation: all agree that there are few nations who can more easily do without others than the people of Japan; and, what is better still, they know the value of this independence. It is a mountainous country, rocky, rough, and barren by nature: but the industry, the indefatigable labors of the people, have laughed at their difficulties, and fertilised their very rocks themselves, scarcely covered with a sprinkling of earth. Admirably watering the country by rivers, lakes, and fountains, nature assists, expands, and fructifies their labors: they have in abundance fruits of all sorts, grain, roots and legumes. Earthquakes shake them anon: volcanoes blaze overhead: but the people have got used to them; and when this is the case, in all things, the circumstance becomes a natural condition, in which we swim

* Andrada, *Vida de Joao de Castro*, p. 450.

or fly as the contented birds and fishes of all-wise, all-good Providence. Gold, silver, copper, tin, iron, precious stones, pearls, and coal, the great civiliser, are the abundant products of Japan. The people excel in all manner of handiwork: their name is given to the finest varnish. Beautiful and spacious roads, vast numbers of hostleries for the way-faring traveller, a teeming population* in prosperity were the first pleasant things remarked by the stranger, and then he discovered that in no country in the world was a people better disciplined, more willing to work, more accustomed to labor, more inured to subordination, than the people of Japan.† But they were vile pagans, idolaters, deists, theists, everything and anything, as they pleased, as you will presently perceive, and had to go through the ordeal of the Jesuits to be converted into saints, and then to be slaughtered in millions, by way of thinning the population; for such a motive is quite as probable to account for the Japan "persecution" of the Christian converts as the one invented by the Jesuits, namely, *sheer hatred to Christianity*. Whithersoever the Jesuits ever went, slaughter invariably followed. It was necessary that "the men of God" should go to heaven to find a cause for the misfortune. Much-abused Providence came in for the blame, and a bountiful good God was represented as delighting in the blood, the horrible dread ghastly tortures of his creatures, fooled and made wretched by the infatuation or criminal perversity of their teachers.

II. Xavier himself gives us the highest character of the people. "As far as my own experience has hitherto extended," he writes to the Brethren, "the pagan people of Japan excel all other nations lately discovered in virtue and probity. They are exceedingly tractable, and very much averse to trickery." He attests their high estimation of dignity, their philosophical contentment with a little, their habitual politeness to each other, their readiness to assert the point of honor or to redress an injury. Temperate in eating, if they indulge more freely in drink; they vigorously avoid all gambling—"being persuaded that nothing is more unbecoming a man than a pursuit which renders the mind covetous and rapacious. If ever they swear, which is very seldom, they swear by the sun. Many of them can write, whereby they are more easily imbued in the rites of Christianity," adds the conclusive apostle. "Each man is content with one wife. They are naturally extremely inclined to all probity and friendliness; and being very desirous of learning, they most willingly listen to discourses concerning God, particularly when they understand what is said. I have never seen any people, either among barbarians or *Christians*," says Xavier, "so averse to thieving. Most of them follow the opinions of certain ancient philosophers of theirs: some adore the sun, others the moon. Their conscience is regulated by the dictates of right nature and the probabilities of reason.‡ I find the common people much less impure, and much

* "Keempfer says that he visited a village whose entire population consisted of sons, grandsons, and great-grand children, all from *one man*, who was still living: he adds that they were all good-looking, well made, polished, civil, and having courtly manners."—*Charlevoix, Hist. du Jap.* i. 17.

† *Id. i.*

‡ At least such is my interpretation of Xavier's crabbed expression: "Ut quidque

more obedient to right reason, than their priests, who are called Bonzas." Then follows a list of the infamous practices to which these priests were addicted: it is totally unfit for translating, or even publication in the original.* Thus we find that the natural disposition of the people was anything but anti-Christian. A Jesuit has not been as illiberal towards them as the Society's latest historian, Cretineau-Joly, who says that "charity was a virtue unknown amongst these people."† By a curious coincidence, the very last word before this sentence in the page, is the name of the Jesuit *Almeida*, who tells the contrary in a pleasant and edifying adventure. "I shall add but one remark," writes Almeida, "whence you may easily judge how great is the inclination of the Japanese to humanity and religion. When fatigued by my journey, almost overcome by disease, I tarried in a certain city of the barbarians. I felt no desire for food; still, lest I should entirely succumb,—loathing their rice and putrid fish, (for such is the food of the natives), I sent some one to buy eggs. He brought me the eggs and the money also. When I asked why the money was returned, he said that the barbarians would not sell the eggs on that day because it was their sabbath (*dies festus*)—but that as they were wanted for a sick man, they made me a present of them."‡

How many examples of the kind would be found in a Christian city of modern civilisation? And may we not see in this trait that religion is something implanted—spontaneous—evoked—promoted by the Creator; that charity disdains not the pagan heart: that unsophisticated man *will* find his brother, and bless him too: in fine, that God has nowhere left his creature a prey to unmitigated selfishness—absorbing egotism—unbridled passions. In the wilds of the savage, as in the gorgeous cities of Christendom, with all their crimes, vices, and desires, still, in all times, there have always been found "ten just men,"—except in the four doomed cities of old; and then so horrible was the fact, so contrary to nature, and nature's God, that those cities were utterly blotted out from the map of humanity—sunk into depths unknown, over which the Dead Sea rolls, and will roll forever.

III. Besides the sun and moon, various animals were worshipped in Japan. All men who had contributed to people and civilise the country became objects of veneration after death. All who had made good laws, introduced some art or science, or a new religion, had temples and wor-

naturæ maximè consentaneum est, ita facillime assentiuntur, et acquiescent, si peccati cuiuspiam, ratione probabili convincuntur."*

* Epist. Jap. l. i. p. 66. Strange! that in all countries, in all times, from the beginning, the motto has been constantly, "Do as I say, and not as I do," as interpreted by the deeds of the priesthood pampered in luxury, canonically independent, and prescriptively reverend to their dupes. The description of the Bonzas, those monks of Japan, as Xavier suggests, applies equally to the monks of Christendom in the days of their glory. (See Mosheim, Ecc. Hist. ii. 8; and D'Aubig. Reform. i. c. 3.) Since then "virtue" has been at a premium, by the force of circumstances; and we hear somewhat better things of the "holy fathers."

Monkish corruptions are the grand stand of anti-Catholic writers; but they are here alluded to in no party spirit whatever. The meaning of the text is universal; a cowl is not essential to the monstery here in view.

† "La charité était une vertu inconnue dans ces contrées."—Cretineau-Joly, i. 479.

‡ Epist. Jap. lib. iii. Alois. Almeida, 1561.

shippers in Japan. The greater part of the aristocracy were considered atheists and materialists: but, whatever their belief, all openly made profession of some sect or other, and failed not to comply with any of the practices it prescribed. Even the devils had their worshippers in Japan: but then, they paid their respects to them in order to appease them, and to deprecate injury, not to deserve a blessing. "What is astonishing," says the Jesuit Charlevoix, "is that, in the midst of this shapeless chaos of religion, traces of Christianity were perceptible. We have scarcely a mystery, not a dogma, not even a pious practice, with which the Japanese did not seem to be acquainted."* In Charlevoix's extensive history of Japan you will find his assertion proved, and accounted for, with a theory based on the imitative propensities of the Japanese, together with their "love of novelties concerning God, both divine and natural"—on which Xavier built great hopes of success. He was not disappointed.

By the introduction of a convert, the apostle was most kindly received, as he states, by the magistrates of the country and all the people.

Xavier found this convert of immense use, for he became the very pattern of zeal, and made the most orthodox application of the standing method. He visited a certain native chieftain, and "took with him," says Xavier, "a painting of Christ the Lord, and the most Holy Virgin Mother. The king was greatly pleased with the visit and falling on his knees he adored the image with supplication, and commanded all present to do the same."†

Indeed this convert, Paul by name, seems to have done all the work at first—he was the beginner, in fact, of Xavier's Japanese Apostolate; for the apostle did not enjoy the gift of the Japanese tongue by inspiration; nor did he ever pretend to anything of the sort: he was always attended by a convert native or an interpreter, until he thought himself competent in the language he had to speak. On the present occasion he distinctly acknowledges that he was *dumb—nos videlicet obmutescimus*—and was compelled to become a child again, to learn the

* Hist. du Japon. i. 163.

† Epist. Jap. As an instance of Jesuit trickery, take the following. Xavier simply says in this letter: "The chieftain's mother having seen the painting, admired, and was greatly pleased with it: so, a few days after Paul returned to Cangoxima, the woman sent some one to have a copy taken of it, in some manner: but there was no artist." Bouhours thus expands the passage: "He (the chieftain) had the picture taken to the queen, his mother. She was charmed with it, and prostrated herself by the same instinct, with all the ladies of her suite, to salute the Mother and the Son: but, as the Japanese women are still more curious than the men of Japan, she put a thousand questions about the Virgin and Jesus Christ. This gave Paul an opportunity of relating all the life of our Lord; and this recital pleased the queen so much, that a few days after, when he returned to Cangoxima, she sent him one of her officers to have a copy of the picture she had seen. But there was no painter to do what the princess required. She asked that they would, at least, write her an abridgment of the principal points of the Christian religion, and Paul contented her therein."—ii. p. 5. Something like the last sentence is all that is to be found of this Jesuitism in Xavier's letter: "She even asked us to write out the heads of the Christian faith. Paul applied to the task some days, and wrote much in the Japanese language." Not one word of the flourish is to be found in the letter! And so it is in all Jesuitism unto the sickening of the heart. The additions made to the interview with the chieftain (regulus) are still more Jesuitical and full of fiction.

elements of the language—*dumque hujus linguae elementa percipimus, cogemur quasi repuerascere.**

Nor was this the only human and sensible method to which Xavier had recourse in his apostolate. When he went to the king at Aman-guchi, he put on a new and elegant dress, and took expensive and curious presents,—“a clock that struck the hours, a very harmonious musical instrument, and other works of art, whose value consisted entirely in their rarity;” and with vast pomp and circumstance he presented letters from the governor and bishop of the Indies to the king, “in which the Christian faith was much praised;” protesting that his only motive was to preach the faith. The king liberally granted permission, by a public edict; and even gave Xavier and his companions an old uninhabited monastery of the Bonzas.† It may readily be conceived that such patronage was of immense importance to the mission, and that Xavier made the most of the opportunity.

Vast was the concourse to hear the new teachers. “All proposed their doubts and disputed the points with such vehemence, that most of them were out of breath.”‡

Amongst such a nation Xavier could scarcely fail to be successful according to his fashion; and in Japan he left the best monument of his fame—to endure until the imprudence or culpable conduct of his followers, united to the probable jealousy of some avaricious Dutchmen, involved the total ruin of Christianity in Japan.

Miracles, of course, he performed; received the gift of tongues, raised a dead girl to life, and achieved other prodigies, all so similar to what we have read, that we may conclude his apostolate with the following sum total, according to the computation of the Jesuit Francis Xavier de Feller.

“What is the life of Xavier,” says his namesake Feller, “but a chain, a continual succession of prodigies? It would be the recital of his whole life to relate his miracles. Sometimes he suddenly cures diseases, and then he raises the dead to life. Sometimes he stills the tempest by touching the sea with his crucifix, and then he saves the vessel from imminent wreck, by invoking the name of God. He sees things far away,—he predicts the future, he reads the secrets of hearts. His face is radiant with glory, his body is raised above the ground,—he is, at the same moment, in two countries far distant from each other. By a single answer he silences the most numerous and most dissimilar objections, his language becomes different in the ears of each hearer, his dialect is made that of all nations, and the dialects of all nations are his. Here he stops a pestilence; there he overturns hostile armies, or stops them at once by presenting them the image of the Cross. And all this is so frequent, so common, that people are almost no longer

* Epist. Jap. The Jesuits here put in a qualification, determined to make Xavier consistent with their fictions. “The Holy Ghost assisted him in an extraordinary manner on these occasions . . . and we may say that the facility with which he learnt so many languages of the barbarians, was almost equal to a permanent gift of tongues.”—*Bouhours*, ii. 6.

† *Bouhours*, ii. 28.

‡ *Id.* ii. 29.

astonished thereat, and it is a sort of prodigy when he no longer performs one. Xavier entirely abandoned himself to God, and it seems that God abandoned his power to Xavier. All the elements heard his voice, executed his commands, took the movement, took the disposition he pleased, as if he were their master, and as if God had established him the absolute arbiter of the world.”*

Every sentence of the foregoing flourish has its facts or fact in the saint’s biography. Very few of them are given in Acosta’s book, published about twenty years after his death; the miraculous mass descended at the apostle’s canonisation, in 1622, by Gregory XV., when the Jesuits were rising to the pinnacle of their influence over kings, popes, and nations.

Judging from the rapidity of his locomotion, it seems to have been Xavier’s object rather to sow or scatter the faith, leaving to his successors the task of watering, trimming, and nourishing unto fruit. How far this result followed will appear in the sequel.

Xavier sped from country to country, impelled by his natural ardor and his soul’s ambition. Restless, tormented by the passion of soul-conquest, his excitement in the desire to reach China, his ceaseless longing, seems to have brought on a fever—he died disappointed—the fate of all ambition. On a desert mountain in the island of Sancian, opposite the coast of Quangtong, about three years after visiting Japan, Xavier ended the dream of his restless life. He died in sight of another kingdom which he had long promised to his spiritual ambition: the conversion of *China* was the last desire of his soul. He was spared the disappointment, for he was totally unfitted for an undertaking whose endless difficulties became evident when the Jesuits subsequently made the attempt. His age was forty-six. He stood “a little above the middle height,”† his constitution robust, his countenance agreeable and majestic. He had a fine complexion, broad forehead, a well-proportioned nose, blue eyes, but brilliant and piercing; his hair and beard were dark chesnut; he was grey in the last year of his life.‡

Appropriately is he styled “the Alexander of the Missions:” the hero of Macedon was his prototype in rapidity and instability of conquest; and, like Alexander, he bequeathed his nominal conquests to his followers, who would battle for the spoil, and strive, with equal determination, but more questionable means, to ratify their claims.

Generously trampling on the disgust produced by his unscrupulous biographers, let us do honor to the *man*, though we despise the *saint*. His journeys alone, like those of the benevolent Howard, set the imputation of questionable motives at defiance; all that he did he did heartily, and, unfortunately, but too consistently with the blighting superstitions of the age, its most defective Christianity.

The heart and energy of Xavier needed neither Jesuit-miracles nor

* Feller, Eloge de St. F. Xavier—a tissue of extravagance and raving absurdity.

† This is contradicted by another Jesuit, evidencing the saint’s mummy, still preserved at Goa: some say he was tall; others, of the middle height: but no biographer says he was diminutive. The reader will see the importance of this fact in the sequel.

‡ Bouhours, ii. 145.

exaggeration to ensure this praise of posterity. A blessing, therefore, on his name, as one of the civilisers of mankind, if we may doubt some of the facts detailed in his biographies, seeming to fix on Xavier the charge of fierce blood-thirstiness, injustice, severity unchristian, in his famed apostolate. The facts are before the reader.

Setting aside the bladder-puffed exaggerations with which his life and adventures have been filled—leaving them to the romantic credulity of those whose faith is not in their own keeping—eschewing those oratorical displays, or despicable equivocations, I admire the wonderful energy of the man who braved every peril, surmounted every obstacle, endured every privation, in doing what he deemed his work, by God appointed. God alone can estimate those motives, whose roots are in Heaven—whose branches overhang all humanity—whose fruits yield us life here and hereafter.

As an “apostle,” his conquests were too rapid. What he is said to have done in ten years, has not been effected even in the three hundred years elapsed since his death, when he left the work to be recommenced. But, alas! how many seem still to believe that the mere rite of baptism administered to the heathen, converts him into a Christian!—and a heathen too of *India*, whose mythology is inextricably interwoven with all his social habits, pains and pleasures, life and death. Of the hundred and forty millions of India’s population, there are but twelve millions of Christians; ten millions Protestant, and two millions Catholic,* whereof the large majority is European.

Very shortly after the death of Xavier, the instability of his Indian Apostolate was made evident. Among his first wholesale conversions was that of the islanders of More, one of the Moluccas, or rather the chief of a cluster of islands more to the eastward. Many of the inhabitants had been previously baptised; but, at the time of his visit, Xavier found them as fierce and savage as ever. He gathered them together, sang to them the Christian doctrine in verse, and so successfully explained it to them, that “they conceived the whole perfectly.” “He visited every town and hamlet; there was not one where the *infidels*,” says Bouhours, “did not plant crosses and build churches.” In one town alone he converted 25,000 souls, and called the place “The Island of Divine Hope.” To strengthen this divine hope of his, he would lead his disciples to the brink of the volcanoes in the island, and give them an idea of hell by a practical lecture, with the masses of burning rock shot from the crater, the flames and pitchy smoke blackening the face of day, as the striking symbols of the fact. “He told the trembling neophytes that the craters of these volcanoes were the ventilators of hell;” and, in a letter to his Roman brethren, he wrote as follows: “It seems that God himself has wished, in some sort, to discover the place of the damned to a people who had no other knowledge of it.” How his Roman brethren must have smiled at the idea, with Vesuvius and Ætna so near, foaming and blazing over the Sybarites of Christendom, actually yielding them brimstone, so useful to strike a light in the “darksome places” of secret crime and profligacy.

* Lettres Edif. et Curieuses. Obsrv. Gener. t. ii. p. 792. b. Panth. Litt.

The barbarians fancied that their earthquakes were caused by the souls of the dead underground; Xavier denied this, and told them the real cause—namely, “the devils eager to destroy them.” He remained three years among the islanders of More.* Well, three years afterwards these islanders renounced the faith, profaned the churches, knocked down the crosses, and submitted to the King of Gilolo, a neighboring island.

The arms of Portugal then took up the battle of the cross. Famine, pestilence, the volcanoes, conspired to make the conquest easy; the Jesuit Beyra was in the expedition of the Portuguese; he offered reconciliation to the apostates, who begged pardon with the hope of mercy, and “embraced, in their turn, the Catholic religion.”† This took place in 1555, three years after the death of Xavier. In the very year of his death, and on the coast of the *Fishermen* (where Xavier is said to have been so universally successful), two Jesuits were killed by the barbarians.‡

Had Xavier been less anxious to gain than to ground his converts, the result might have been somewhat different; he had a virgin-soil to cultivate, and, perhaps, with his fortunate concomitants, he ought to have done more than the Jesuits themselves have affirmed—more than clamorous facts attest.

From India, where, by the testimony of the Jesuits (as we have seen), he effected little, Xavier rushed to Japan. There, a more intellectual, a more enthusiastic race consoled him for his disappointments in India by a liberal reception and acquiescence in the doctrines he preached, probably on account of the great similarity in many points which existed between the formalities of the Roman religion and that of Japan.§

Xavier died in 1552. He was entombed at Goa, but his remains were removed in the year 1782. Great pomp attended the ceremonial. “The body was found entire,” says a Jesuit, “the feet and legs in good condition, and may be touched (*palpables*); the head is covered with its skin, but dry, and in some places the skull is visible. Still, the physiognomy is not entirely effaced; and, if desired, a portrait might still be drawn from it; the arm and left hand are in tolerable condition, and placed on the breast. He is dressed in priestly robes, which still seem new, although the chasuble|| was a present of the Queen of Portugal, wife of Peter II.¶ It may be observed, that the

* Bouhours, i. 140—144.

+ Cretineau, i. 475.

† Ibid.

§ Xavier, in 1549, wrote as follows: “The people of Japan are much given to superstitions: and a great part of them live in monasteries (in *cœnobiis*) almost after the manner of monks. Those, for the sake of religion, are said not to taste either flesh-meat or fish: wherefore we, by the advice of our companions, lest the barbarians should be scandalised in us, bethink ourselves of a severe diet there should circumstances require it.”—*Epist. Japon.* lib. i. They had a sort of hierarchy too, not unlike that of Rome.—Ibid. lib. iii. *Cosm. Turren.* 1561. There were nuns as well as monks, similarly clad to those of Europe.

|| Priest’s outer-garment.

¶ Perrin says that it is the custom for the Queens of Portugal to embroider with their own hands this priestly garment for the mummy. It is renewed every twenty years: the old one thus made miraculous, of course, is sent to the court to be “divided” ■■■ may be thought proper.

saint was of *very diminutive stature*; his feet have remained rather black, perhaps because he used to make all his journeys with naked feet. The right foot wants two toes, which have been stolen by a pious thief; it is known that the right arm is at Rome.

“When the body was thus exposed, the assistants kissed it, one after another, with veneration, and without confusion; they also touched it respectfully with handkerchiefs, chaplets, and crosses. After which the coffin was closed, and it was placed in a crystal urn destined to receive it. Then the *Te Deum* was sung, and the body remained exposed to public veneration on the alcove placed in the middle of the church.” . . . As the body dried and seemed to suffer from the air, light, and heat occasioned by the crowd which so pious a ceremony attracted, the Jesuit thinks that the exhibition of the remains would not be often repeated. The above is an extract from the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, Missions de l'Inde*. The preservation of the saint's body is attributed to his “chastity and virginity”—“*non leni argumento indicat castimoniam viri, ac virginitatem*,” says Acosta.* But when the ruffians of the French Revolution broke open the tombs of royalty at St. Denis, the embalmed body of Henry IV. was so entire, that it was instantly recognised, from the prints, by the spectators; and the two deep gashes made by the dagger of Ravillac still yawned almost as clean as when the regicide's blade sought the soul of the “good Henri.”† His preservation, however, cannot exactly be attributed to chastity and virginity, as Father Cotton could too well testify, and all the world knows. Light, air, and heat are the great analysers of nature; their experiments are always going on, and with certain results. Corruption, under their influence, is only the elimination of essential gases, destined to enter into new combinations for the support of vegetable and animal life. Thus are we, in spite of ourselves, useful in death; and the most pampered bodies run fastest to decay; while unencumbered muscle, particularly when death ensues suddenly, or after a short illness, resists the chemical action of the dissolving agents denied full play, as in the case of “Xavier's body” in its snug mausoleum. The story invented by the Jesuits about the body being first unconsumed in quicklime is simply absurd; though Xavier's abstemiousness in eating and drinking may have been his preservative in death as well as in life. He seldom eat meat, and often lived two or three days on a single loaf of bread.‡ I say the assertion about the quicklime failing to do its duty was absurd, but we are by no means sure that the mummy venerated *is* Xavier's. Xavier, say the biographers, was *above the middle size*, whilst the mummy proves, according to the Jesuit account just given, that the person whose it is, was of *very diminutive stature—de stature très basse!*—Let the Jesuits reconcile the contradiction. It is astonishing how these men have taxed human credulity. They even say that when Xavier's body was exhumed, three months after burial, “it emitted various scents of wonderful sweet-

* Rer. in Orient. p. 14.

† Duval, *Jour. de la Ter.*; see Alison, *Hist. of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 146, new edition.

‡ Acosta, p. 13. The account of the mummy is in the *Lett. Edif.* ii. 790.

ness,"* and that by invoking its aid in a storm as they sailed with it to Goa, the ship was saved from destruction †

The numerous miracles "proved" at Xavier's canonisation present no variety—they are the usual stock in trade with a ready sale attending. We must not judge too harshly the co-operating superstitions of the age, though we cannot too severely denounce the wicked impositions of its promoters, the Jesuits.

Baldeus,‡ Tavernier,§ and Hakluyt,|| three Protestants, give becoming praise to Xavier's merits, and the Jesuits quote their remarks as "the testimony of three heretics in favor of the saint;" it is unkind to abuse them with this epithet, seeing that they based their opinions on "the modern histories of the Indies, which are filled with the excellent virtues and miraculous works of that holy man." The Jesuits know who "filled" the said "modern histories." And the venerable guesser at Truth, Archdeacon Hare, the admirer of the not less venerable Kenelm Digby, of the Broadstone of Honor, associates Xavier with *Calvin and Knox*, which, under favor, is the unkindest cut of all:¶ no "heretics" are more thoroughly detested, denounced, and hated by the Jesuits and Catholics in general, than those two reformers associated with *Xavier* in the archdeacon's calendar of saints.**

Whilst the Jesuits in Japan were building the edifice of the faith on Xavier's foundations, the affairs of the Society on the Western coast of Africa were taking a desperate turn, involving, as we shall constantly find, the ruin of the Catholic cause in the hands of the Jesuits. Early in the sixteenth century the slave-trade was established in Africa by the Portuguese, and following their example, by all the Christian powers of Europe. The benevolent Las Casas has been handed down to posterity as the first who suggested the employment of negroes, to lighten the horrors of slavery to the Indians of America. This has been contradicted;†† and humanity rejoices to rescue so great and good a name even from the accidental imputation—for it could be no more.

The Jesuits appeared on the West coast of Africa in 1547. When

* "Ut variis efflaret odores miræ suavitatis."—*Id.* 14.

† Ibid.

‡ Hist. of the Indies, 1672.

§ Travels: he died in 1689.

|| The Principal Navigations of the Eng. Nation. He died in 1616, when all was ripe about the "Apostle."

¶ The Victory of Faith, and other sermons, p. 198.

** An epic was composed by the French poet, Dulard, entitled *La Xaveriad*, the Xaveriad. There is another in Latin, by Simon Franck, another Frenchman, in 1761. However crude and frosty the sentiment pervading these "epics" may be, it is evident from the "facts" we have read in these pages that a *Xaveriad* must be "infinitely" less somniferous than the *Henriad* of another Frenchman.

Xavier's works extant, are Five books of Epistles (Paris, 1631, 8vo.) a Catechism, and *Opuscula*. His life has been written* by several Jesuits: that by Bouhours is the most popular. It was translated into English by the poet Dryden, when he turned Catholic and figured at the court of James II. The tradition amongst the Catholics is, that he performed the task as a *penance* imposed by his father-confessor, probably the Jesuit Peters, confessor, &c., to James himself, certainly by some Jesuit. It is also said that Tom Moore's "Travels . . . in Quest of a Religion," had a similar origin—a penance on reconciliation to the Church.

†† Greg. Apol. de B. de Las Casas; also Biogr. Univ. in voce Casas, as the result of an examination of all the Spanish and Portuguese historians of the time. Herrera, an inaccurate historian, made the assertion.

the Portuguese invaded Congo, in 1485, they took with them four Dominicans. The negroes embraced Christianity; and they remained Christians as long as the priests, who ruled their consciences, proved themselves worthy of the priesthood; "but by degrees," according to the Jesuit-historian, "the shepherds became wolves: idleness engendered vice: sordid cupidities or guilty passions produced all manner of scandals; the faith was extinguished in the hearts of the negroes; and very soon there was not in this colony, so admirably founded by the Dominicans, a trace of civilisation, nor a vestige of modesty."^{*} The Jesuits were reformers from the first: they were sent to this retrograde colony of the Faith. As usual their efforts are represented as perfectly miraculous:—one set up a school,—another preached in the town; a third overran the forests, gathering the savages into families, to form a community. They baptised; they explained the duties of morality; crowds thronged around them; everywhere they found submission.[†] This was one of the finest opportunities offered to the Society of Jesus for the amelioration of humanity. The Jesuits might have done much for the civilisation of Africa—might have effectually checked, if not suppressed, the trade in men, so soon destined to shame humanity with its ruthless cruelty and injustice. Neither the power of Portugal, nor the arms of Spain, could have marred the good scheme in the trackless wilds of Africa—free, and impenetrable to all, save those whom God and humanity impel to a noble achievement.

The Jesuits surrendered the opportunity.

They themselves are compelled mysteriously to admit that their two missionaries, Diaz and Ribera, "had not thought that their kingdom was not of this world."[‡] These Jesuits intermeddled with the worldly business-matters of the people, and "facilitated to the European traders every kind of commercial intercourse with the natives."[§] The traffic in slaves was, therefore, not excepted. Congo was among the marts of human flesh. These Jesuits deserted the service of God for that of the King of Portugal and his ravenous subjects.

The King of Congo suspected their influence with the people, dreaded its political object, and, accordingly, assumed a menacing attitude towards the Jesuits. In this conjuncture, Soveral, one of the fraternity, was summoned to Rome, by Ignatius—so early did this transaction take place—to give an account of the mission. He confirmed the reports and recalled the offenders. He substituted two other Jesuits in their place: but it was too late: the African king was inflexible. He expelled the Jesuits and the Portuguese together in 1555.

Similar charges assailed the Jesuits in Japan: it seemed by experience that they carried everywhere war and destruction—*bellum excidiumpque importare*—pioneering the way to Portuguese supremacy.^{||} Though similar results did not ensue, one charge is rendered probable by the other, and we shall see, ere long, a terrible retribution on Jesuit-Christianity in Japan. It was not yet ripe: but the causes were in

* Cretineau, i. 488.

† Id. 489; Orland. l. xiii. 58.

§ Cret. i. 490.

† Ibid. i. 489.

|| Epist. Jap. iv. 213.

operation. To Japan thronged incessantly ravenous Portuguese, in quest of gold. Every year they carried off quantities of this, and other metals, to the amount of 600,000*l.* They also married the richest heiresses of Japan, and allied themselves to the most powerful families of the country.* In the midst of their petty wars the aid of the Portuguese was desirable, and the “European Bonza,” or Jesuit missionary, was an object of veneration, if not of dread, to the people and their leaders. We must not be blind to the fact, that the Bonzas, or native priests, were jealous of the Jesuit-influence; but they were silenced, disregarded, if not despised. Jesuit-miracles and portents were of daily occurrence: the blind saw, the lame walked, the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, devils were driven out, all manner of diseases cured,† or, all these mighty things were *proclaimed*—it was impossible to still the trumpet of fame braying forth renown to the conquerors. The neophytes were taught the most approved method of monkish justification. They would assemble together, put out the lights, and lash their naked backs most atrociously—*extinctis luminibus atrocissime cuncti sese diverberant*. The women vied with the men in this display—*ipsæ quoque mulieres in hanc partem se admodum strenue atque acriter incitant.*‡ To these people, recently converted from idolatry, the Jesuits distributed little wax images, called *Agnus-Dei's*, a box of which they received from Rome. The crowds of applicants for the talisman were so great, that the Jesuits had to cut up the wax into minute pieces, so as to satisfy the credulous piety of the faithful.§

Xavier had obtained possession of the College at Goa, which was ceded by the King of Portugal to the Society, with all its revenues, liberally increased, for the convenience of the Jesuits and their converts. More than a hundred Jesuits commenced operations. “Schools of divinity and the liberal arts” were opened, and the students were trained in the native language, so as to enable the future preachers to dispense with interpreters. Soon six hundred boys, from different nations, were on the benches: there were Persians, Arabs, Ethiops, Cafres, Canarians, Malayans, Moors, Chinese, Malaccans, and other scions of the Gentiles, youths of bright intellect—*præclarā fere indole*, for the most part, and of great hope—the future apostles of the Society among their own people.||

In a few years the Jesuits had establishments all along the Malabar coast, besides the Indian isles—wherever the arms of Portugal struck terror into the natives. But, though ever willing to take advantage of such terror, the Jesuits were too wise to rest satisfied with that protection alone: they constantly endeavored to win the hearts of the people, even when they thought it necessary to advise, or acquiesce in, the application of force against the unwilling subjects of Portugal in India. Already had the Jesuits devised the curious scheme which they after-

* Raynal. Hist. of the Indies, i. † Epist. Jap. *passim*. ‡ Epist. Jap. iv. 217.

§ Ib. p. 219. For the Jesuit notion of these talismans consult Pontificj Agnus Dei dilucidati dal Padre A. Balthassar della Compagnia di Gesù.

|| Acost. Rer. in Ori. p. 16.

wards so famously developed in Paraguay. In their domain (*mansiones*) at Tanna, or Tanaa, in the presidency of Bombay, they divided their neophytes into two bands: some they trained in science, others they brought up as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, blacksmiths, tradesmen of all sorts. From their daily labor the latter would go to the college in the evening for food and rest, and then, in chorus alternating, they sang devout hymns and litanies. Some of them were field-laborers, and would go, during the winter, clad in their great coats, to a neighboring plantation, called the village of the Trinity, to plant the yam,* depositing each bulb with their hands—a very laborious occupation; but they thus learnt the avocation, and were able to assist the other inhabitants, who were Christian workmen, so that they might in due time marry their daughters. In this plantation all the pauper converts found employment, and, by the liberality of the King of Portugal, they were provided with food and raiment for themselves, wives, and children; agricultural implements, seed, and oxen, were amply provided from a large farm, and they had herdsmen to look after the cattle. From the farm any Christian might take as many oxen as he needed (there were more than fifty in all), and in the evening, his labor done, he would lead them back to their pens.

The Jesuits would buy up boys and girls from their native parents, otherwise intended to be sold to the Mahometans, and join them to "the family of Christ; some of them died pronouncing, with their last breath, the name of Jesus. One of these poor slaves cost only three pieces and a half of silver, another only one and a half; hence it is sufficiently evident how incomprehensible are the judgments of God."

They also bought lands, from which they derived an annual revenue of about three hundred pieces of gold, *aurei nummi*, a part of which was applied to the support of widows and orphans of both sexes, whose daily labor was insufficient for their maintenance, and to that of the sick, poor and catechumens during their instruction; and a portion of the same was also kept as a fund to be distributed in loans to those who were unable to meet their engagements or pay their debts.

There were also flocks of goats and their keepers; and houses there were where the fathers of the families received every day for their little ones, a portion of milk, of which there was a plentiful supply all the year round.

* The yam (*dioscorea sativa*) is an herbaceous vine, with large tubers, and grows in the East and West Indies, and in Africa. There are many varieties in the form of the roots: some resemble the fingers of the hand extended, others are twisted like a snake: some do not weigh more than a pound, others are three feet long and weigh thirty pounds—enough for three Irish families at least, leaving plentiful skins for the pigs. One acre of ground has been known to produce from twenty to thirty thousand pounds weight. The yam is very palatable, when boiled or roasted,—probably superior to the potato in nutrient. As the Jesuit observes, the planting is laborious. Holes must be dug two feet apart, in rows eighteen inches distant from each other: the yams are put in the holes, covered with earth, then with haulm or rubbish, to retain the moisture. The removal of the crop also requires the greatest care, as a wound would cause the tuber to sprout much earlier than otherwise. The yam grows slowly, requiring more than a year before yielding the crop—but then you have enough in all conscience. The potato is the emblem of the vain, whose gains are quick and small; the yam is that of the ambitious, who can wait because they will have a big meal.

Extensive grounds supplied abundantly all kinds of fruit and grain, so that nothing whatever seemed wanting for their maintenance. They were all good husbandmen and good men.

By the unremitting diligence of their masters, kept in constant training, they were well acquainted with the mysteries and precepts of the Christian faith. Every day, at the sound of the bell for the angelical salutation,* all assembled, and the men and women repeated the elements of the Christian doctrine. Nay, even in the woods you might hear boys, and on the tops of palm-trees, men, singing the Ten Commandments.†

Not more than four or five Jesuits directed the domestic arrangements of the community; and one of them acted as surgeon.‡

In the midst of the village there were gardens in common, very extensive, watered by a perpetual fountain, and planted with many vines, citrons, fig-trees, and a variety of others.

The Catechism was explained to the villagers once on work-days, but twice on holidays; and they had very solemn public prayers, little boys dressed in white singing sacred songs. The same minstrels attended at the burial of the faithful, bearing the crucifix in advance, and chaunting the funeral psalmody. Four Christians decorated with the solemn badges of the Confraternity of Mercy, carried the corpse to the grave. The ceremonial was greatly admired both by the Christians and the barbarians.§

Few readers will have run over the foregoing description without reflection. In the admiration of the good done to humanity we stop not to consider, with the historian, how far the Jesuits had broken through their "Constitutions" in organising and superintending the worldly concerns of these new Christians. It is Acosta, the Jesuit, writing in 1570, who makes the remark, that such superintendence was "very foreign to the Institute," *certeroqui ab eorum instituto valde alienum.*||

Who will deem it foreign to the Institute of any body of Christian men to teach the savage the ameliorating arts of life, to lead them sweetly, gently, profitably, into those regular habits of civilised life, which are, in themselves, the human safeguards to the Gospel's Christianity?

If, from the first preaching of the Gospel, a similar method had been purely, disinterestedly, continuously pursued, the world of Christendom would now be more advanced in the practice of that divine theory which God himself would teach unto men.

The social duties are the first suggested by nature; and *they* first suggest the reality of that human responsibility which revealed religion

* A set form of prayer, repeated thrice a day, to the Virgin Mary, in commemoration of the angel's announcement to the Virgin and the Incarnation.

† "Quinetiam in silvis, pueri, et è summis palmarum arboribus, viri exaudiuntur praecepta Decalogi decantantes."

‡ The diseases he cured are mentioned,—"ulcers and impostumes, both horrible to be seen, and dangerous in their very nature;" *i. e.* contagious.

§ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 26, *et seq.*

|| Ibid. p. 27.

expands by the exposition of motives, having God in Heaven for their eternal, infinite object.

The first of social duties is to be *useful*. That complied with, there ensues the whole train of motives which end in God and Heaven. For, at every step, the useful man prepares for another—advancing ever, with the immediate reward for every deed—God's own approval to the grateful heart suggested.

Then these Jesuits were right, divinely right, in pursuing this method with the savage. True, they mingled with it much that tended to deprave, but the principle was good, more admirable than words can express. You must civilise the savage before you can make him a Christian. You may do both together—but both *must* go together. You must enable him to be a man before he can become a Christian. A miracle of grace would dispense with the *process*, but not with the *result*—the true Christian includes the man as perfect as his nature admits. Then begin with the arts of life; begin with teaching him how to live more securely; how to provide more efficiently for his daily wants; expand his mind with the knowledge of his *human* destiny—and then he will imbibe the truths which are the motives of your charitable teaching—that something-beyondness which strengthens and makes elastic every step in our earthly pilgrimage.

All the apostles of the Saviour were men of trades. The selection is not without import; Christ himself used the hammer and the saw. If, of all men, the Jesuits have been most successful with the savage, the secret of their success is explained, and deserves the deepest attention of those whom God has called to receive the reward of them who “shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.” Daniel xii. 3.

And why was the work of the Jesuits doomed to final failure? The last announcement in the same chapter of Acosta’s book, which has given us the preceding details, suggests the answer. He states that, besides these occupations, the Jesuits had to “superintend the *royal castles*.”* These were the rocks on which they split: this was the pitch that besouled their hands: whilst many of them were doing good, many were doing evil, or certainly that which was essentially “very foreign to their Institute”—serving the *kings of Earth* instead of the King of Heaven, until the unholy work made them utterly selfish for their Society: and then that became their “greater glory”—and retribution fell upon them heavily—but not before “they had *their reward*.” Matt. vi. 2.

The expansive energy of the primitive Society embraced other lands—disdainful of difficulties—defying peril.

The Portuguese were desirous of extending their arms or their commerce into Ethiopia. John II. had sent an embassy to the king of the country as early as 1486; and “friendly relations” had been interchanged.

The affairs of the Abyssinian king, contemporary with John III. of

* Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 28. Castella regia invisunt—affirming the good which thereby accrued to the Portuguese and the barbarians.

Portugal, became intricate : a rebel “ miserably wasted his dominions.” Claudius, or Asnaf, as he was named, applied for aid to the king of Portugal, as the Britons of old did to the ravenous Saxons. We read that Asnaf did also demand a Roman patriarch and some able divines, to be sent into Abyssinia : his subsequent conduct seems to belie the assertion, if better information and second thoughts did not induce him to change his mind on the important subject.

The religion of the Abyssinians was an incongruous but comfortable mixture of Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity, and is probably the same at the present time.* It was, however, the Christianity of the land ; the people, and the priests, and the nobles, were satisfied with it ; no wise king will meddle with the religion of his subjects, since by fostering it, he ensures the support of the priesthood, who live by it, swaying the minds and hearts of the people.

King John III. of Portugal solicited the pope to send a patriarch into Ethiopia. He seems to have had his designs—right orthodox son of the Church—grand Inquisitioner of the poor Jews in Portugal—and now having a bright eye on schismatic Abyssinia.

It was a fine country for a “ colony” after the manner of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Populous and fertile,—valleys and mountains in a state of cultivation. Cardamum and gigantic ginger covered the plains ; and innumerable springs intersected the country, their banks begemmed with the lily and jonquil, tulips and the countless multitude of nature’s beautiful eyes, of a thousand hues. There grew in the woods, orange-trees, citrons, the jasmin, and pomegranates ; every fruit-tree and flower-plant that taste, or scent, or sight can desire. And the land was also rich in gold.†

The king of Portugal wrote also to Ignatius, requesting the gift of twelve men for the expedition into Ethiopia. Out of these one was to be a patriarch, and two his coadjutors and successors. Orlandinus tells us that Ignatius at once appointed Bareto, Barnerio, and Oviedo, two Portuguese and one Spaniard ; but there is a letter extant, in Ignatius’s handwriting, which shows that these men were not his original choice. *Pasquier Brouet* was the Jesuit he selected for the enterprise of Ethiopia. The error of the Jesuit-historians, or their suppression of the fact, is unimportant, perhaps ; but it is indeed most curious to find that one of the very few documents given to Cretineau-Joly by the Roman Jesuits for publication, turns out to be the letter of Ignatius to Pasquier Brouet, attesting the above correction, and giving us the old veteran’s opinions of his men at the time, of whom the Jesuit-historians proclaim such wonderful laudation. It appears that Cretineau did not understand the letter ; at all events, he gives no translation of it, nor of any of the other unimportant, but excessively crabbed autographs of the Ignatian era. He has flung the precious document of Father Ignatius between two pages to which it has not the remotest reference.‡ It is

* Lettres Edif. et Cur. t. i. p. 617.

† Ibid. See Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop.; Bruce, Travels; Salt Abyss., &c.

‡ See pp. 128, 129, amongst the garbled “ Privileges” of the Jesuits, Hist. de la Comp. t. i.

very interesting : interesting for the expression of his opinions on his men, for its unmistakeable point amidst confusion and involution, and, lastly, for the composition, which is decidedly fair Castilian, barring a few vulgarisms.* I shall translate as literally as possible, retaining even the punctuation, and other peculiarities of the original.

" If God shall ordain, that any one of this Company should go on this enterprise of Ethiopia, I believe that the lot will fall on Maestro [Mr.] Pasquier, that as far as it depends upon my choice, considering the whole universal and particular interest conformably to my conscience I would not choose any one else, because supposing that I would not venture that there should be in such a charge any one who is not a Professed it seems to me that three things are very necessary, which he who shall go must have, the first virtue, the 2d. learning, the 3d. that he should be good looking—*que tenga persona*, strong, and middle-aged. These three parts united I do not perceive in any one of the Company so much as in Maestro Pasquier, for if we talk of Lejay he is too old, Maestro Laynez is not good looking, is very delicate, Maestro Salmeron not of long standing and is as it were so youthful and beardless—*tan moco y sin barbas*, as heretofore you have known him, Maestro Bonodilla [Bobadilla] too weak, and he does not suit the purpose, of those who remain there being only nine Professed, you are at the head of all, both because the parts which are possessed are all profitable, and because if one be demanded, Maestro Pasquier will appear to me to possess more completely all the parts united, first he is so good, that we consider him an Angel in the Company. 2d. With the learning which he has, he has much experience in visiting and reforming bishoprics and monasteries and having gone as Nuncio to Ireland, which no one of the Company has understood so much in these exercises, giving admirably a good account of all he has taken in hand, being very soli-

* *funr y aquel de Roma*
Jgnatius

The handwriting denotes a man of decided opinions, haughty and proud, and aspiring. The extraordinary care with which the signature is written, its elegance and flourish, show the conscious supremacy and power of the veteran general ; its decided difference from the body of the letter indicates a man of double character, a feature also evidenced by the waving lines of the letter. Perfect self-possession is evinced by the very many letters disjoined from their fellows ; in fact, there is not a word in the whole letter in which some letter is not isolated. This manuscript is, to me, one of the most interesting I have ever examined for the interpretation of character ; and I have interpreted very many, investigating the art, for such it is, of knowing human character by the handwriting.

citous by nature, and very careful to be diligent always in so many things relating to bishoprics and conscience, which will be most required for those parts of Ethiopia. Besides, he is sufficiently good looking, and strong, and healthy, and about forty years of age, a little more or less,* may god our lord by his infinite and supreme bounty ordain and govern all and if it be necessary choosing with his own hand, just as it may be for the greater service, praise, and glory of his divine majesty may which be always in our continual favor and the aid of Rome.

“ IGNATIUS.”

It is certain, however, that Oviedo and his companions finally departed for the enterprise of Ethiopia. Oviedo was made a bishop,—Father Ignatius making no appeal to the “end of the Society” against the reception of Church-dignities, on that occasion:—he could easily spare these Jesuits to be episcopated, and sent them to invade the kingdom of Prester-John. The remarkable events which followed belong to a later period of the Society—after the death of Ignatius, to which we are hastening. A few important matters must be dismissed ere we stand around the deathbed of Ignatius of Loyola.

Asia, Africa, and Europe, were now penetrated by the Jesuits. Germany was divided into two provinces of the Society, and Spain into three; Sicily was a province, Italy, as a matter of course, and even France, in spite of the determined resistance of the university, was considered a province by the unflinching Jesuits.† Across the Atlantic the Jesuits had gone, and were seen with the fierce and avaricious invaders pouncing on the coast of Brazil. The court of Lisbon despised this colony because it promised no gold—the all-compensating object of that degraded age. Criminals, persecuted Jews plundered and banished by the Inquisition, found there an asylum; and then the coast was parcelled out to adventurous noblemen for private speculation.

The Brazilian Indians were cannibals—knew of no God whatever—utterly barbarians: but hospitable—eager to befriend those who sought their friendship or protection.‡ If they knew no God, the handy-work of God was within them. They were not warriors by profession: when they went forth to battle, it was to avenge a relative or a friend. The cruelties of their warfare were great; but they did not equal the atrocities of the Spaniards, the “Christian” conquerors of America.

Six Jesuits commenced operations in Brazil; and their labors were crowned with great success. The savages hated the Portuguese: but the Jesuits gained their love and admiration. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played on their pipes, beat their drums, danced, and made the air resound with joyful songs; in a word, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction.§ They were fond of music; the

* According to the Bib. Script. Socet. Jesu., Pasquier Brouet died in 1562, aged fifty-five. He was, therefore, born in 1507, and was, consequently, about thirty-seven years of age in 1554, the period of the enterprise.

† Raynal.

‡ Orlandinus.

§ Id. iv.

Jesuits led them in procession singing the precepts of religion. The missionaries made every effort to wean them from the feast of human flesh; they would even pitch their tent in the midst of the savage bands about to prepare the horrible banquet; and when their supplications availed not, they would baptise the victims, deeming the ceremonial sufficient to save the soul, as they could not rescue the body. Strange human nature! These cannibals fancied that the waters of baptism made the flesh of the victims less succulent! They menaced the Jesuits with the same fate: the Jesuit Anchieta was singled out: he boldly told them that his hour was not come—remained amongst them without flinching, as a lion-tamer amongst wild beasts, and his prediction was verified: his intrepidity and calmness won them over, and they spared the Jesuit.*

Unquestionably these Jesuits in Brazil were the friends of the savages. They made every effort to protect and relieve them from oppression, and were blessed with the gratitude and confidence of the Indians. The Jesuits became mediators to appease the just indignation of the oppressed, and, by their gentleness and tact, they were successful. With the confidence of the people they gained their children, whom they received for education. The city of San Salvador arose: the Portuguese built the city, but it was peopled by the Jesuits. The Jesuits collected the children, penetrated into the forests, visited the savages in their huts, and gained their confidence by all the services they needed for body and soul. Three establishments or residences were founded by the Jesuit Nobrega, and Brazil became a province of the Order in 1553.† By the exertions of the Jesuits in conciliating the minds and hearts of the savages, the colony began to thrive; the sugar-cane was introduced from Madeira, and *Negroes* were imported to cultivate and make it into sugar, which, by the end of the sixteenth century, was in great demand as an article of luxury, having been previously used only as a medicine.‡ Earning and partaking of the advantages accruing from this prosperity, mainly attributable to their efforts, the Jesuits made Brazil the centre of their operations on the continent of South America. They will soon give us the proof of their influencing power; they will soon prove the incomparable advantage of gentleness and beneficence over violence and injury in the subjugation of the savage. “A handful of Jesuits will effect more than the armies of Spain and Portugal.”

Ignatius was now fast sinking under his Herculean labors. His strength was diminishing whilst the cares of the Society were increasing as she enlarged her bounds. He demanded an assistant. It is remarkable that Ignatius, contrary to the subsequent practice and the Constitutions, had ruled hitherto without assistants, and even now the assistant appointed was untitled; “the authority of the general was inviolate.”

Sinking fast, and one day feeling weaker than usual, and “considering that obedience was the soul and character of his Order,” he ex-

* Cret. i. 482.

† Ibid. 481.

‡ Raynal, iv.

claimed: "Write! I desire that the Society should know my last thoughts on the virtue of Obedience."

He dictated as follows:—

"I. As soon as I shall have entered upon a religious life, my first care shall be to abandon myself entirely to the conduct of my Superior.

"II. It were desirable that I should fall into the hands of a Superior who should undertake to subdue my judgment, and who should apply himself to that end completely.

"III. In all things where there is no sin, I must follow my Superior's judgment, and not my own.

"IV. There are three ways of obeying. The first, when we do what we are commanded, 'by virtue of Obedience,'* and that way is good. The second, which is better, when we obey simple orders. The third, and the most perfect of all, when we do not wait for the Superior's order, but anticipate and conjecture his will.

"V. I must obey, indifferently, all sorts of Superiors, without distinguishing the first from the second, nor even from the last. But I ought to see in all, equally, our Lord, whose place they hold, and remember that authority is communicated to the last by those who are above him.

"VI. If the Superior judges what he commands to be good, and I believe I cannot obey without offending God, unless this be evident to me, I must obey. If, however, I feel a difficulty through some scruple, I shall consult two or three persons of good sense, and I will abide by what they say. But if I do not yield after that, I am very far from that perfection which the excellence of the religious state demands.†

"VII. In fine, I ought not to belong to myself, but to my Creator, and to him under whose direction He has placed me. I ought to be, in the hands of my Superior, as soft wax which takes the desired form, and do all he pleases; for example, write letters or not, speak to any one or not, and other things in like manner.

"VIII. I ought to look upon myself as a dead body, which has no motion of itself, and like a stick which an old man uses, which he takes up or sets aside according to his convenience; so that Religion (*i. e.* the Society) may make use of me just as she shall judge that I will be useful to her.

"IX. I ought not to ask the Superior to put me in such and such a place, or give me such and such an employment. I may, however, declare to him my idea and inclination, provided I entirely place myself in his hands, and that what he shall ordain appear to me the best.

* This is the form of *solemn commands*, as distinguished from *simple orders* of the Superior.

† This strange paragraph is explanatory of the third. It completely gives a man a new conscience; his moral feeling is set aside for another's. It is, in fact, an example of the "probable opinion" of the Jesuits, which subsequently became in vogue. The idea of "sin" must be out of the question when a man must stifle the doubt of conscience by the opinion of another. It is, besides, awful to think that Ignatius, sinking to the grave, should, as it were, conjecture cases wherein the conscience of his men might shrink from crime,—from sin, at the command of a Superior,—and tells them, if they refuse to obey, they are very far from the *perfection* of the religious state!

“ X. This does not forbid the request of things which are of no consequence, such as visiting the churches or practising other devotions to obtain some grace from God; with the proviso, however, that we be in an equilibrium of mind, as to whether the Superior should grant or refuse our request.

“ XI. I ought to depend, above all, on the Superior for what regards poverty, not having anything of my own, and partaking of all things, as a statue which may be stripped, without its resisting or complaining.”

Such is the “Testament of Father Ignatius,” as the Jesuits call it; “the last deed he performed for the good of his Order.”*

On the 30th of July, 1556, Ignatius called for his secretary, Polancus; and having ordered those who were present to retire, he said to the secretary: “My hour is come. Go and ask the pope for a blessing for me, and an indulgence for my sins, in order that my soul may have more confidence in this terrible passage. And tell his holiness that if I go to a place where my prayers may avail aught, as I hope from the Divine Mercy, I shall not fail to pray for him, as I have done when I had more reason to pray for myself.”

The secretary hesitated, seeing no immediate signs of death, and expressed himself accordingly.

“Go!” said Ignatius, “and beg the blessing for another father!”

Lainez was then dangerously ill, and had received the last Sacraments. Polancus thought the implied prediction referred to Lainez: but, we are assured, that the event proved it to be Father Olave.

Ignatius continued sensible: two or three of the fathers remained with him till very late—discussing a slight matter relating to the Roman College. He passed the night alone. In the morning he was found in his agony. The fathers rushed to his bed in dismay. Thinking he was faint, they wished him to take something: but he whispered in dying accents: “There’s no need of it;” and, joining his hands, raising his eyes upwards, pronouncing the name of Jesus, he calmly breathed his last. It was on the last day of July, 1556.†

Thus died Ignatius, the Founder of the Jesuits, without the last Sacraments of the Church, without Extreme Unction, without Absolution from a priest of the Church. This fact is as remarkable as any in the life of Ignatius. To the Protestant, without some explanation, it may signify little: but to the Catholic it must appear passing strange and unaccountable. Every son of the Church is held by precept to receive those last aids in his last journey: the Council of Trent makes them imperative: all the doctors of the Catholic Church agree at least in the paramount importance of Extreme Unction.‡ Ignatius was in his senses: he had even predicted his death; and yet he conforms not to the last requirements of his Religion! He died as any “philosopher” may die. It would seem that the tale about the pope’s “bless-

* Bouhours, ii. 222.

† Bouhours, ii. 225, *et seq.* Also, all the biographies, &c.

‡ “Nec verò tanti sacramenti contemptus absque ingenti scelere . . . esse potest.” —*Conc. Trid. Sess. xiv. c. iii.*, in fine. See Ligorio, *Theol. Moral. t. vii. p. 216.*

ing and indulgence" were thrown in merely to make the founder's death somewhat respectable: the word "Jesus" is a matter of course.

So striking is this manner of the *Saint's* departure that Bartoli goes to great lengths in endeavoring to excuse the irreverent death-bed of his Society's founder. He attributes the absence of the Sacraments to the Saint's spirit of *obedience to his physician*, who had not thought him in imminent danger of death.* But the man who could predict his death, as we are assured, must have been permitted, without infringing obedience, to "represent" his state, according to the rules of the founder himself—if he cared at all for the rites of the Church.—On the other hand, it seems difficult to suppose that Ignatius, giving him credit for his usual astuteness, would wilfully refrain from giving that last external testimony to the "hope within him:" but DEATH wrings secrets from the stoutest hearts. At that awful moment Ignatius was laid bare. He was not *permitted* to prolong his deception. He had had "his reward." Then, was deception compatible with all the *zealous* enterprises of his life? Surely it was—just as were his pretended *visions* and *predictions*. Mohammed talked of God—worked "for God," as zealously as Ignatius for "God's greater glory." Further, we are *not* to take Jesuit-accounts as Gospel. We have already seen how they invent, add, and interpolate. It is only by dissecting psychologically the curious incidents of the man's life, as told by the Jesuits, that we can catch a glimpse of his inner character. We are told that from his wound in the leg, Ignatius limped a little, but managed so well in walking that his lameness was scarcely visible.† Apply this fact to his impenetrable mind, and it perfectly represents the character of Ignatius of Loyola, Founder and first General of the Jesuits:—his mental, his moral limpings were indeed scarcely visible—and those who perceived them best were most concerned in their concealment. If we are to believe the Jesuits, the devils were always with him, or at him. As long as he lived, says Bartoli and the rest of the biographers, as long as he lived the evil spirits inflicted upon him the roughest treatment. One night they wished to strangle him, and seized his throat with a hand like that of a man, which gripped him so tightly that he lost his breath, till at last reviving, he was able to name Jesus, and was released. Another night they thrashed him cruelly, and the brother who slept in the next room, roused by the noise of the strokes and the groans of Ignatius, rushed in and found him sitting on his bed, all breathless and exhausted. A second time he heard the noise, a second time he returned: but the saint forbade him to return again whatever he might hear.‡

The terrors of conscience embody themselves ever and anon, or they impersonate to the mind some dread avenger of its misdeeds. On the other hand, a diseased liver—which seems to have been the founder's malady—and nerves unstrung, and brain racked by untold, unshared, studiously concealed, anxiety, were enough to produce those constant

* Dell' Italia, ff. 340, 341, 342.

† Della Vita di S. Ign. f. 388.

‡ Bouhours, ii. p. 228.

agitations, which Ignatius and his disciples interpreted into the portentous fear nocturnal, and the noon-day devil. "The biographer of Ignatius Loyola," says Hasenmüller, "writes that the Founder of the Society died calmly; but Turrianus, a Jesuit, told me often, that Ignatius, at meals, at mass, even in company, was so harassed by devils, that he sweat copiously the coldest sweat of death. Bobadilla said he often complained that he could be never and nowhere safe from demons. Octavian, a Jesuit, and minister at Rome, or governor of the novices, observed to me: 'Our Father Ignatius was holy; but at the approach of his last agony, he shivered as in fever, and fetching a sigh, he exclaimed: I have done much good to the Church of Rome—I have seen many provinces of our men, many colleges, houses, residences, and wealth belonging to our Society; but all these things desert me now, and I know not whither to turn!' At length he expired in a fit of trembling, and his face turned black, according to an eye-witness, the Jesuit Turrianus."*

These may have been some of the tricks devised by Ignatius to inspire his disciples with awe; for they interpreted these visitations into evidences that the devils considered Ignatius as their greatest enemy.† If not tricks of the founder, how are we to account for them? Is it exalted holiness, or enormous guilt, which can give power to the devil to injure God's creature? As far as the body is concerned, we may be permitted to believe both cases impossible, or, at least, highly improbable, and by no means necessary for "the fulfilment of all justice," under the Christian dispensation. But you have here another striking "fact" elucidative of this strange man's character; the product of worldly ambition transplanted into the sanctuary, where it lost no particle of its energies, its craft, its recklessness, its calm, considerate, meditated hard-heartedness. His military ferocity never left Ignatius. When he played the part of mildness and kindness, and conciliation, he was like Napoleon or Cromwell, in circumstances where the thing was expedient; but when he had an aged father scourged for an example, then was he himself—and heaven only knows how many such instances edified the infant Society: some are said to have died from the effects of the lash.‡

* "Ignatium Loiolam primum Societatis auctorem ipsius vite scriptor, placide defunctum scribit. Sed Turrianus Jesuita mihi notissimus saepe dixit: illum in coenâ, in prandio, Missâ, in recreationibus etiam, ita à dæmonibus exagitatum, ut in magnâ copiâ, frigidissimum mortis sudorem fuderit. Bobadilla dixit: illum saepius conuestum, se nunquam et nullibi à demonibus tutum esse posse. Octavianus Jesuita, Romæ minister, seu novitiorum œconomus retulit mihi dicens: Sanctus erat noster pater Ignatius: sed circa agonem ita tremebat, quasi febri esset correptus, et suspirans dixit: Multa bona contuli in Ecclesiam Romanam; multas nostrorum provincias, multa collegia, domus, residencias et opes nostræ Societatis vidi: sed hæc omnia me deserunt: et quod me vertam ignoro. Tandem verò cum tremore ipsum obiisse, mortuumque nigerrimo vultu conspectum esse, idem affirmavit."—Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord. c. xi. p. 320.

† Bartoli, *ubi supra*, l. iv. and v.

‡ "Hanc plus quam ferinam feritatem, etiam post institutam Jesuitarum sectam adeò non depositum, ut Hoffæus, Romæ in domo Jesitarum professâ testatus est, eundem nonnullos societatis suæ fratres flagellis (Jesuitæ disciplinam Loyolæ spiritualem mortificationem nuncupant) ita consecisse, ut præmaturâ morte interierint. Salma-

He had wished for three things. Three things his spiritualised ambition longed to see accomplished—the Society confirmed by the popes—the book of the “Spiritual Exercises” approved by the holy See—and the Constitutions dispersed among his sons in every field of their labors.* His wishes were fulfilled; and then he died as we have witnessed.

Ignatius was in his sixty-fifth year; his Society numbered her sixteenth; and the entire world was gazing upon her—some with love, some with desire only, some with suspicion, and others with implacable detestation.

nassar Neapolitanus confitetur quod fuerit naturâ ferox, sævus, durus, truculentus.”—*Hasenm. Hist. Jes. Ord. c. i. p. 12.*

* Bouhours, ii. 222.

BOOK VI. OR, RODERICUS.

THE Jesuits have reason to lament, and Catholics in general have cause to feel surprise at, the uncanonical death-bed of "Saint Ignatius." The disinterested reader may lament the circumstance: but, having attentively observed the career of the founder, he will perhaps consider its termination as perfectly consistent as it was natural. His ambition had made his religion a lever; and when in that mortal cold bleak agony, ambition was palsied and dead within him, its lever became an object of disgust—as invariably to human nature become all the objects and instruments of passion in satiety, or in the moments when the icy hand of Death grips the heart that can struggle no more. It is, indeed, probable that the last moments of Ignatius were frightful to behold—frightful from his self-generated terrors—for, be it observed, I impute no atrocious crimes to the man, although I do believe that the results of his spiritual ambition entailed incalculable disasters on the human race and Christianity, as will be evident in the sequel. To me it would have been a matter of surprise, had Ignatius died like a simple child of the Church. Fortunately for the cause of truth and the upright judgment of history, circumstances hindered the invention of an edifying death-bed, by his disciples. Strangers knew all—a physician was present. But here I am wrong: one of them, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, *has* contradicted all previous biographers, and actually asserts that Ignatius died "with the sacraments!"* Had his disciples been permitted to *think* of the thing, no doubt we should have had a glorious scene on paper, painted by the first biographer for all succeeding generations of the tribe. But this has been providentially forbidden, and we are permitted to know that Ignatius died in such a manner, that, had he lived in the sacramental era of Jesuit-domination in France, the founder would have been by the law denied Christian burial. Comparing the accounts given by their respective disciples,

* Francisco Garcia, *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*. He says: "And finally, full of merits, having received the blessing of the sovereign pontiff and the sacraments, invoking the name of Jesus, he gave up his blessed spirit with great peace and tranquillity to Him who created him for so much good to the world—y finalmente, lleno de merecimientos, aviendo recibido la bendicion del Sumo Pontifice, y los Sacramentos, invocando el nombre de Jesus, diò su bendito espiritu con gran paz y sosiego al que para tanto bien del mundo le crio."—*Flos Sancti. tercera parte*, p. 518, edit. Madrid, 1675.

Luther's death is far more respectable than that of "Saint Ignatius," and so consonant with the man's character through life, that we think it as truly described as that of Ignatius, for the same reason precisely. The dominant thought of the Reformer accompanied him to the end—the thought of his mighty enterprise animated the last word he uttered.* His death was consistent with his *cause*: that of Ignatius was not; and *there* is the mighty difference. No unqualified admirer of Luther am I—nor unqualified disparager of Loyola; but the latter is forced upon us as a saint, whilst all admit the former to have been only a man; and I confess that I like the man better than the saint. Both achieved "great things" by very natural means, as we have seen; but the latter pretended to an equality with Jesus Christ—*Quando el eterno Padre me pusò con su Hijo*—"When the eternal Father put me beside his Son"—and, therefore, I consider him an ambitious impostor—like Mohammed and every other, past, present, and to come, for we may be sure that the race is not exhausted utterly. In Luther's writings and actions there is much to disgust us: in Loyola's impostures there is much likewise to disgust us: the errors of both emanated directly from that "religious" *system of Rome*, whence they emerged to their respective achievements.† Antipodes in mind—antagonists in natural character—diametrically opposed in natural disposition or organisation, both lived according to the internal or external impulses to which they were subjected; and frankly, the free-living of Luther, as represented by his associates, and by no means criminal or excessive, was as consistent and necessary in Luther, as were the "mortification" and "self-abnegation" and "chastity" of Loyola, as represented by his disciples.‡

* See Hazlitt's "Life of Luther," p. 350, *et seq.*

† For instance, both of them talked of incarnate devils incessantly tormenting them. In Hazlitt's "Life of Luther" there are very copious extracts from Luther's Tischreden, or Table-talk, on the subject—all highly characteristic of the age, as well as the superstitious cast of mind which the reformer never threw off—so difficult it is to get rid of early associations. The reader remembers that the Catholics represented Luther as the son of an incubus or devil. The reformer himself believed the thing possible, nay, even states a case which he vouches for! It is one of the least immodest and disgusting among Hazlitt's extracts: "I myself," says Luther, "saw and touched at Dessau a child of this sort, which had no human parents, but had proceeded from the devil. He was twelve years old, and, in outward form, exactly resembled ordinary children. He did nothing but eat, consuming as much every day as four hearty laborers or threshers could . . . if any one touched him he yelled out like a mad creature" . . . It is positively horrifying to hear the reformer say: "I said to the princes of Anhalt, with whom I was at the time, 'If I had the ordering of things here I would have that child thrown into the Moldau at the risk of being held its murderer.' But the Elector of Saxony and the princes were not of my opinion in the matter . . . Children like that are, in my opinion, a mere mass of flesh and bone, without any soul. The devil is quite capable of producing such things," &c.; p. 318. The whole chapter is dreadfully disgusting and humiliating: but Mr. Hazlitt deserves praise for the honorable integrity with which he has perfected Michelet's garbled performance. Still, some of the devil-matter should have been left out as too disgusting and immodest. A sentence to that effect would have answered all the purpose of conscientious fidelity.

‡ According to the Jesuit Bouhours, writing in the age of Louis XIV., the physicians who dissected Ignatius thought him of a "phlegmatic temperament," although naturally of the most ardent complexion: t. ii. p. 228. This he attributes to the efforts which Ignatius made to restrain his passions: but such a result would appear in *conduct*, not in the *organs* laid open by dissection, which are modified by *disease*,

Ignatius could not certainly have succeeded by any other plan in the given circumstances; and habit made the thing very easy, as any one may find on trial—with such views as imperatively required that the founder should not be as “other men.” Protestants have amused or deceived themselves and their readers, by comparing the “regenerated” spirits of Luther and Loyola. In so doing, they debase Luther, and pay a compliment to the clever inventions of the Jesuits. To my mind, at least, Loyola was perfectly innocent of all the distinctive spirituality ascribed to him in his “Spiritual Exercises” and Constitutions; or, at the most, that spirituality has come down to us, filtered and clarified by his clever followers, who extracted from Loyola’s crude notions of spirituality a curious essence, just as modern chymists have extracted quinine from the bark, *cinchona*, which they introduced into Europe, and made so lucrative at first.* The determined will of the Jesuits was the true legacy of Ignatius—like that of the Saracens bequeathed by Mohammed. On the contrary, Luther was essentially a theorist: his German mind and feelings made him such; and the essential characteristics of that theory prevail to the present hour—most prominently vigorous where men enjoy the greatest freedom, press forward most intently in the march of human destiny, ever mindful of God and their fellow-men—whilst duty is the watchword of the great and the little. We have not derived all the advantages which Providence offered to mankind at the dawn of the Protestant movement. We have not been blessed as we might have been, because since then we have modified everything: instead of pressing forward, we have been urged back to the things of Rome—every step in which direction is an approach to mental darkness and sentimental blindness. When there shall be absolutely nothing in our religious and moral institutions to suggest its Roman origin, then shall the hand of Providence be no longer shortened, and its blessings will be commensurate with our corporeal health and vigor, mental refinement, and moral rectitude—the three perfections destined for man. But this must be the result of enlightenment.

and not by rational, virtuous restraint. In fact, it is excessive indulgence or excitement, which totally alters their natural condition. Were it not so, morality would be man’s exterminating angel. Thank God, we are now-a-days being enlightened on these subjects of such vital importance to society and religion. But Bouhours garbles the fact to which he alludes. Maffeus, an earlier Jesuit, gives a diagnosis of the saint’s disease, showing it to have been simply an induration of the liver, with “three stones found in the *vena Porta*, according to Realodus Columbus in his book of Anatomy.” Ign. Vita. p. 158. He meant either gall-stones in the gall-bladder, or solid masses in the ducts of the liver, both morbid concretions from the ingredients of the bile. The *vena Porta* enters the liver at a furrow of its inferior surface, just where the bile-duct issues, and it ramifies with the duct throughout the substance of the organ. Hence originated the old anatomist’s mistake: but the diseased liver is manifest; and when we consider how many desperate afflictions result from disease in this organ, we should excuse many of the saint’s extravagances. Anxious, racking thoughts will derange the liver; and this derangement once begun, entails derangement in every other organ,—blood and brain evince the disaster, and constant misery is the result—gloom and fanaticism.

* The introduction of this medicinal bark to Europe took place in 1640. Under the name of *Pulvis Jesuiticus* the Jesuits vended it and derived a large revenue from the trade. It is said that the Jesuits were the first to discover its efficacy in fevers. Quinine is a purified form of the drug.

By persecution, by intolerance, you cannot effect it. If a poor hypochondriac will have it that his head is made of lead, would you persecute and kill him for his idea? Persecution on account of religion is pretty much as reasonable and as Christian-like. Enlighten public opinion, nourish the love of country, and human nature, with the power of God, will do the rest.

Their founder died thus uncanonically—without consolation—with-out absolution—it is even doubtful whether the messenger was in time to get the pope's indulgence or passport, by proxy: for we are expressly told that the Son of Obedience had “put off the matter to the following day;”* and as Ignatius expired one hour after sunrise, according to Maffeus, or two hours after, according to Bartoli, the time, even with Bartoli's provident enlargement, was doubtless much too early for a papal interview: the very old pope, who was, from his usual regimen, probably a heavy sleeper, was not likely to be stirring at that early hour of the drowsy morn. But the Jesuits were resolved to make up for the disaster. Rome, we are told, rang with the rumor—“The Saint is dead.” The body was exposed—devotees rushed in crowds, kissing his feet and hands; applying their rosaries to his body, so as to make them miraculous—and begging for locks of his hair or shreds of his garments imbued with the same quintessence.† They gave out that “when he expired, his glorious soul appeared to a holy lady called Margarita Gillo, in Bologna, who was a great benefactress of the Company, and that he said to her: ‘Margarita, I am going to Heaven, behold I commend the Company to your care;’ and he appeared to another devotee who wished to approach the saint, but the saint would not let him;” and to many other persons he appeared with his breast open, and displaying “his heart, whereon were engraved, in letters of gold, the sweet name of Jesus!”‡ By all these proceedings the Jesuits moti-
vated or encouraged a cruel, reckless mockery of the most sacred event venerated by Christians. They overshot the mark, however. The apotheosis of Ignatius was overdone. The pope resolved to put an extinguisher on the conflagration—and there was enough to provoke any man who felt the least solicitude for the honor of religion. They gave out that Bobadilla, who was ill, no sooner entered the room where the corpse lay, than he was cured—which turns out to be contradicted by the fact that he was for some time after an invalid at Tivoli, as the thoughtless biographers and historians depose! They said that a girl diseased with “King's Evil” was cured by being touched with a shred of the saint's garments—though other biographers tell us that the Brothers would *not* permit any to be taken! “The flowers and roses which

* “Re in proximam lucem dilatā.”—*Maff.* p. 158.

† *Ibid.* Bouhours wisely garbles the event.

‡ “Luego que espiró San Ignacio se aperició su alma gloriosa à una santa señora llamada Margarita Gillo, que estaba en Bolonia, y era muy beneficiaria de la Compañía, à la qual dixo: *Margarita yo me voy al Cielo, mirad que os encomiendo la Compañía.* También se aperició a Juan Pascual su devoto, y queriéndose llegar al Santo, se lo estorbió Hase aparecido muchas uezes, trayendo el pecho abierto, y en el corazón esculpido con letras de oro el dulce nombre de Jesus,” &c.—*Garcia, ubi supra,* f. 518.

were on his body gave health to many diseased; and when his body was translated, there was heard in his sepulchre, for the space of two days, celestial music—a harmony of sweet voices; and within were seen lights, as it were resplendent stars. The devils published his death and great glory—God thus forcing them to magnify him whom they abhorred!” Nor was this all. “A demoniac woman being exorcised at Trepana, in Sicily, God forced the devil to say that his enemy Ignatius was dead, and was in Heaven between the other founders of religious Orders, St. Dominic and St. Francis.”* This was the grand point at which the Jesuits were aiming—the exaltation of their founder to an equality with the other grand founders after death; which was, after all, somewhat *less* than the founder’s own ambition—for we remember that he declared how the Eternal Father had placed him beside His Son! And now let us listen to Pope Paul IV., reading these unreasonable Jesuits a lesson.

It does not appear that the brethren made great lamentation for their holy Father Ignatius. They rather complied with the founder’s advice on all occasions when a Jesuit migrated. “For what can be more glorious, or more profitable,” would he say, “than to have in the blessed Jerusalem many freemen endowed with the right of corporation, and

* *Garcia, ubi supra.* He also tells us that Ignatius raised at least a dozen dead men to life—*por lo menos doze*—one in Manresa, two at Munich, another at Barcelona, &c.; some after death, and others during his lifetime. See the disgusting narratives in this Jesuit’s “Life of the Founder.” Even Bouhours gives some vile instances. And yet Ribadeneyra, in his first edition of the “Life of Ignatius,” gave no miracles—nay, the last chapter enters into a long, windy, and most absurd disquisition on the subject of miracles in general, tending to their decided disparagement—finishing off as it does with these words: “But miracles may be performed by saints, by guilty men, by wicked sinners—ma i miracoli possono ben esser fatti così da Santi, come da rei, e da malvagi peccatori.” P. 589. His introduction to the subject at once conveys the certainty that no mention was as yet made of the invented miracles—let alone the fact that there were *none* performed, which is, of course, *the* fact. He says: “But who doubts that there will be some men who will wonder, will be astounded, and will ask why, these things being true (as they are without doubt), still Ignatius performed no miracles, nor has God wished to display and exhibit the holiness of this His servant, with signs and supernatural attestations, as He has done usually with many other saints? To such men I answer with the apostle: ‘Who knows the secrets of God? or who is made his adviser?’” P. 565. Thereupon he launches into a boisterous ocean of frothy boasting about the Company and its achievements—and the mendacious miracles of Ignatius’s sons all over the world, concluding thus: “These things I hold for the greatest and most stupendous miracles!” P. 582. Now this same Ribadeneyra was an inseparable companion of Ignatius, an eye-witness of all his actions: his first edition was published in 1572, fifteen years elapsed—no miracles appeared in the edition of 1587—nor in the Italian edition of 1586, which I quote, although the chapter is impudently entitled “Of the miracles which God operated by his means,” referring the title to the Institute, &c. But when the Jesuits began to think it necessary to have a saint to compete with Benedict, Dominic, Francis, &c., then they induced this unscrupulous Jesuit to publish miracles in 1612, which he did in what he titled, “Another shorter life, with many and new miracles;” and he got rid of the incongruity by saying that the miracles had not been *examined and approved when he previously wrote!* Truly, he would have at least mentioned this fact, *en passant*, in his elaborate disparagement of miracles in general. After this, miracles fell thick as hops, as you will find in all Jesuit-histories. The credulous Alban Butler gives a note on this Jesuitical “transaction,” and his remarks are all that the most gullible devotee can desire on the subject. “Saints’ Lives,” July 31. See Rasiel de Selva, Hist. de l’admirable Dom Inigo, for some sensible remarks on the subject, ii. p. 200.

there to retain the greater part of our body?"* This authenticated sentiment is exactly what the witty Father Andrew Boulanger expressed so pleasantly in an allegory of Ignatius applying for a province in Heaven.† "You should rather rejoice," said Ignatius, "to find that the colleges and houses which are being built in Heaven, are filling with a multitude of veterans—*gauderent potius collegia atque domos, quæ ædificabantur in cælo, emeritorum multitudine frequentari.*"‡ There was no time for the Company to think of lamentation amidst the strife and confusion of her ambitious members, struggling to decide who should seize the helm of the gallant bark of the Company, which, like the Flying Dutchman, was almost on every ocean, and almost in every port—and all "at the same time," like the Apostle of the Indies, according to the Jesuits, and decidedly so in point of fact. It was something great and prospective—that monarchy left behind by Ignatius, with all its provinces, and wealth, and colleges, which, however, as he said, left him in the lurch at last—cold, desolate, despairing. No monarch ever left an achieved kingdom in so flourishing a condition as Ignatius Loyola, the Emperor of the Jesuits. There were twelve provinces, with at least one hundred colleges. There were nine provinces in Europe,—Italy, Sicily, Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal; and three in Asia, Africa, and America, or in Brazil, India, and Ethiopia. Thus, in less than sixteen years every part of the world was penetrated by the Jesuits. The historian tells us that their number did not much exceed one thousand;§ but allowing the most moderate average of fifteen Jesuits to each college, we shall have 1500 Jesuits engaged in tuition, and the training of youth. Then allowing an average of 400 pupils to each college—there were more than 2000 in one of them subsequently—we shall have 40,000 youths under the care of the Jesuits.|| The scheme was new—tuition was "gratuitous," or parents thought it cost them nothing because they were not "obliged" to pay—all were readily admitted—and the colleges of the Jesuits were filled—for the Jesuits were "in fashion." To the number of Jesuits engaged in tuition we must add the important item of the missionaries dispersed all over the world, running from city to city in Europe, or wandering in the wilds of Africa, Asia, and America. At the death of Loyola, in 1556, there could not be less than two thousand Jesuits in the Company, with novices, scholastics, and lay-brothers of all trades and avocations, carpenters, bricklayers, shoemakers, tailors, bakers, cooks, and printers. Who was to govern this motley tribe of humanity? That was the question. Only five of the original Ten companions were alive. There were under forty professed members in the Society, according to the historians: but there scarcely could have been so many, seeing that there were only nine two years before the founder's death,

* "Quid enim sive ad decus, sive ad fructum optabilius quam in beatâ Jerusalem municipes plurimos, et quam maximam sui partem habere?"—*Sacch.* lib. i. 34.

† *Ante*, p. 111.

‡ *Sacchin.* lib. i. 34.

§ *Sacchin.* lib. i.; *Bartoli, Dell' Ital.* lib. iii.

|| *Sacchinus* says there were more than a thousand pupils instructed at the College of Coimbra, in 1560. *Lib. iv.* 65.

according to the Ethiopian letter which I have given. We are expressly told that Ignatius had the strongest objections to permit many to be raised to that dignity which constituted the *Power* of the Company*—having the privilege of voting in the congregation and the election of a general. Whatever might be their number, it appears that the five veterans of the foundation at once made it evident that only one of *their* chosen band should fill the vacant throne. Bobadilla aspired to the dignity, but he was ill at Tivoli,† and in the absence of the redoubtable firebrand, Lainez was chosen vicar-general. We shall soon see the consequences.

Paul IV., the Pope of Rome, had treated Ignatius very kindly; he had even expressed a wish to unite his Society with that of the Theatines, which Paul had founded. This was no small compliment for a pope to pay Ignatius; but the deep old general declined the honor,—he could never think of such a thing—it would have been throwing all the products of a life's labor into the Gulf of Genoa, where an ancient pope had drowned some cardinals tied up in a sack. Ignatius had no notion of being “tied up;” he had hold of a helm, and he had sturdy rowers, and an universe of oceans was before him for circumnavigation. And he was right in his calculation. Had he not prophesied *eternity* to the Company of Jesus, and is not that most strikingly boasted of in the glorious image of the first century of the Company of Jesus? It is, decidedly.‡ And who ever hears a word about the *Theatines* or their founder Caraffa? Echo says, Who? and no more. But who has not heard of the Jesuits and Loyola? And the universe sends a history from every point of the compass. Ignatius knew what he was about, and declined the honor most handsomely; nor was “the greater glory of God” forgotten. Whether the general's refusal was ascribed to the right motive by the pope, or that he was simply annoyed by it, as the Jesuits believed, whatever was the cause, one fact is certain, that the pope was heard to say, at the death of Ignatius, that the general had ruled the Society too despotically—*nimio imperio Societatem rexisset*.§ We remember the proceedings of the Jesuits at the death of Ignatius; unquestionably they were not likely to make the pope more favorable to the members than he was, to judge from that expression, to the head of the Company. Lainez, the vicar-general, thought proper to go and pay his respects to the holy father, in that capacity. According to the Jesuits, Paul, as I have stated, had wished to make a cardinal of Lainez. We remember what happened on that occasion. The Jesuit stuck to his Company, which, to him, with all the prospects before him, was worth in honor, power, and estimation all the cardinal-hats in existence. As matters now turned out, Lainez being at the head of affairs, with the contingent generalate at his fingers' ends, the deep old pope saw the thing clearly, and was resolved to strike home at once. He began with a few common-places, and the proofs of his regard for the Company. Then suddenly changing his tone and atti-

* Sacchinus calls them “the bones and sinews of the Company—*ossa ac nervi hujus Ordinis.*” Lib. i. 20.

† See *Imago*, p. 52.

‡ Bartoli, l. iii.; Sacchin. l. i.

§ Sacchin. lib. i. 31.

tude, he exclaimed : "But know that you must adopt no form of life, you must take no steps but those prescribed to you by this Holy See; otherwise, you will suffer for it, and a stop will be put to the thing at once ; nor will the edicts [Bulls, &c.] of our predecessors be of the least avail to you. Because, whenever we issue any, our intention is not thereby to hamper our successors, by depriving them of the right to examine, to confirm, or destroy what preceding pontiffs have established. This being the case, you must adopt, from this Holy See, your manner of life, and must not be governed by the dictates of the *person* whom God has called away, and who has governed you till now ; nor must you depend on any support but God alone. Thus working, you will build—*super firmam petram*—on a firm rock, and not on *sand*; and, if you have commenced well, you must, in like manner, go on well, lest it be also said of you : '*Hic homo cœpit ædificare, et non potuit consummare*,—this man began to build and he could not finish.' Beware of doing otherwise in the least point, and you will find in us a good father. Tell my children, your subjects, to console themselves." "And with these last words," says Lainez, giving the account, "with these last words he gave me the blessing," which was tantamount to showing him the door.* We can easily imagine the scope of this thunderbolt. It must have been long preparing. Its effects will be soon visible. But what a disenchantment for *Saint Ignatius* to be called *the person*—*la persona che Dio ha chiamato a se*; and the decided disapprobation of Loyola's principles, and the allusion to *sand*. We have here much light thrown upon the Jesuit-method at that early period, and it should not leave us in the dark. A pope finds fault with Loyola's principles or dictates ; then, surely, the University of France, the Archbishop Silicio, the monks of Salamanca, old Melchior Cano, were not altogether without justification in denouncing Ignatius and his system. Justice requires this fact to be remembered. Sacchinus acted consistently in garbling the pope's address, even as Lainez reported it ; Bartoli imprudently let out the thing, and Pallavicino, his brother-Jesuit, would have blamed him as he blamed good Pope Adrian VI., for admitting all that the heretics denounced in the Church. On the other hand, observe the threat of *suppression*, and see how the final suppression of the Society is justified in advance, by explaining the true nature of papal Bulls and apostolic Breves. Bartoli enters into a long discussion against these papal sentiments ; but he leaves the matter just where he found it, actually twisting the pope's menace into an exhortation, "for Lainez and the whole Company to keep in the same path, and never to leave it,—or to regain it, should they ever wander !† This conclusion he founds on the words "*if you have well begun* ;" but he forgets that the dictates—*dettati*—of the *person* Ignatius were no longer

* Bartoli gives the affair as he says from a document left by Lainez. Sacchinus leaves out the disparagement of Saint Ignatius, and adds a qualification not in the document. He says : "After other things of the sort, at length, shaking off his frown —*fronte explicatâ*—he bade them to be of good cheer." This is an invention : at all events, the pope had not done with them yet.

† Dell' Ital. l. iii. f. 356.

to govern them, and, consequently, the "good beginning," if uttered at all, had reference to a period preceding the "despotic government" and present "dictates" of Loyola.

The Jesuits were not the only nettle in the side of Paul IV. It is possible that the fierce old pope hated them for their Spanish origin; and that circumstances conspired to make him suspicious of the essentially Spanish Company. Nothing could exceed the pope's abhorrence of the Spaniards: he hated them from his inmost soul, says Panvinius, the papal historian; according to others,—heaping upon them the bitterest invectives, calling them schismatics, heretics, accursed of God, seed of Jews and Moors, dregs of the world—nothing was too vile to represent his enemies, whether in his sober moments, or when charged with the thick black, volcanic wine of Naples, which he swallowed largely. He even hated and disgraced all who did not hate them enough,—Cardinal Commendone among the rest; and now he had resolved on *war*, determined to avenge himself and all belonging to him, on the execrable Spaniards—without the least chance of succeeding.* Charles V. had just abdicated in favor of Philip II. A comet had frightened him;—precisely the same comet which is now flaming athwart the firmament. It blazed over the death of Ignatius Loyola—the abdication of Charles V.—and has now come to summon *Louis Philippe* to drop the diadem from his wrinkled brow. Curious coincidence: but ten thousand comets would not have frightened the intriguer into abdication without the yells of exasperated Frenchmen, who eat fire and drink blood in their fury.† And the same comet waved its torch over Smithfield, whose fires were burning Protestantism out of England. Spain and England were now united. Mary had married Philip II.—bigotry united to bigotry, begetting the monster "religious"

* Panv. Paul IV.; Gratiani, *Vie de Commend.* p. 105; Navagero; Ranke, p. 74.

† At its appearance in 1556 this comet is said to have seemed half the size of the moon. Its beams were short and flickering, with a motion like that of the flame of a conflagration, or of a torch waved by the wind. It was then that Charles is said to have exclaimed: "His ergo indicis mea fata vocant—Then by this sign Fate summons me away." Several comets appeared during this century—in 1506—in 1531—the present in 1556—and another in 1558, which last was, of course, to predict the death of Charles V. Besides the catastrophes of kings, comets are supposed to influence the seasons. Historians tell us that for three years before the appearance of the one in 1531, there was a perpetual derangement in the seasons, or rather, that summer almost lasted throughout the whole year; so that in five years there were not two successive days of frost. The trees put forth flowers immediately after their fruits were gathered—corn would not yield increase—and from the absence of winter, there was such a quantity of vermin preying on the germ, that the harvest did not give a return sufficient for the sowing of the following year. A universal famine was the consequence; next came a disease called *trousse-galant*—then a furious pestilence. The three calamities swept off a fourth of the French population. A bright comet, called the star of Bethlehem, appeared in 1573, and menaced Charles IX. for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as Beza and other Reformers publicly declared. Charles, who had languished dreadfully since the wholesale murder, died in effect a few months after, in 1574. Another comet appeared in 1577—the largest ever seen—and it seemed to predict the murder of Henry III., which happened so long after, in 1589. Whatever may be the physical effects and moral influences of comets, the present one, in the absence of all other explanations, must account for the thunderbolt-like shattering of the Orleans dynasty—and this excessively mild and flowery winter. Heaven grant that nothing more is in reserve!

Persecution. In vain a Spanish Friar, Alphonso di Castro, denounced the thing as contrary to the spirit and letter of the Gospel: his *words* had no blessing from Heaven: for he was Philip's confessor, and his words were only a decoy to conciliate the people to the Spaniard whom they hated intensely. Hooper, Saunders, Taylor, Rogers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—the heads of Protestantism,—fed with their bodies the flames of the holocaust which Catholicism, once more restored, offered to the God of Christians! A few short years, in this century of mutation, had sufficed to make and unmake three different forms of Christianity in England—to “establish” three universal churches. An embassy had been sent to Rome: the pope’s supremacy in England was acknowledged: absolution was duly pronounced; and an English ambassador thereupon took up his abode in the papal city. Persecution followed and ratified Catholic ascendancy in England.* Glorious prospects were these—such a fool is humanity when drunk with selfishness. But Spanish power in Italy was not adequately compensated by papal power of England: Pope Paul IV. began the war with Philip in Spain and England, by publishing the famous Bull *In cœnâ Domini*, which swallows down all kings and countries as though they were a mess of pottage. It excommunicates all the occupiers of the pope’s possessions on land and sea—it excommunicates all of them, however eminent by dignity, even imperial; and all their advisers, abettors, and adherents. Vigorously the old pope buckled to the contest. He would crush his enemies. All men, without exception, were invited, urged to hold up his arms whilst Amalek was shivered into naught. The King of France, the ambitious lords of the land, his accommodating wife and unscrupulous mistress—all with different motives—were solicited by Paul’s messenger, his nephew Carlo Caraffa. Even the Protestant leader, Margrave Albert of Brandenburg—even the Grand Turk Solyman I.—the hopeless infidels who had so long battered the Christians—even these were solicited to fight the battle of the pope, Father of the Faithful, St. Peter’s successor, and Christ’s Vicar on earth.† How did it end? All his undertakings completely failed; and left him the will for the deed. His allies were beaten: the Spaniards ravaged his domains—marched against Rome, once more menaced with destruction—and then the old man consented to peace.

It was during the consternation produced by this imminent siege, that the Jesuits showed the pope what they could do in a time of trouble. The priesthood and monkhood of Rome were summoned to throw up defences. Sixty Jesuits sallied forth with mattocks, pitchforks, and spades, marching in a triple column led by Salmeron, whilst the affrighted Romans groaned and wailed around them, fancying that the day of judgment was come; and that this triple troop of Jesuits, with mattocks, spades, and pitchforks, was going to dig them an universal grave or pitfall—*ad quandam quasi Supremi Judicij instantes speciem*

* See Lingard, vi.; Burnet, ii.; Hallam, i.; Dodd (Tierney’s), ii.

† Botta, iii.; Rabutin, Mem.; Bromato, Vita di Paolo, iv.; Ranke; Panvinius.

cōhorrescentibus. Vicar-General Lainez graced the works with his presence.*

To the Jesuits, by profession “indifferent to all things,” the crash of arms—the hubbub of human passions—were an angel’s whisper to be stirring—and they bestirred themselves accordingly. The year 1556 closed with a magnificent display at the Roman College. It opened with theological, proceeded with philosophical disputations, and concluded with three orations in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, interspersed with poems in the same. Theses on ethics and the usual subtleties of theology were proposed and defended, and *printed* at the press of the Roman College. “Sweet to the men of Rome, amidst the din of arms, were these voices of wisdom,” exclaims the historian: “whilst confusion filled the city with uproar, there was a quiet little nook for the Muses—among the Jésuits.”† A tragedy was performed by the scholars, with all the concomitants of former exhibitions; for “though Ignatius was dead, his spirit animated all spirits; and the master considered those amusements of the stage useful to form the body and to develop the mind. Amongst the scholars were Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Greeks, Illyrians, Belgians, Scotchmen, and Hungarians. United from so many different quarters, these youths followed the same rule of life and routine of training. Sometimes they spoke the language of their country, sometimes Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. On Sundays and festivals, they visited the hospitals, the prisons, and the sick of Rome. They begged alms for the House of the Professed. During the holidays at Easter and in autumn, their zeal spread over a larger field. They made excursions into the Terra Sabina and the ancient Latium, evangelising, hearing confessions, and catechising†—thus fructifying their pleasures as well as their studies, and practising for a more glorious manifestation.” As yet, we are told, there were no public funds, no endowments for the support of these establishments. All was maintained by CHARITY:—but she would have been blind indeed if she had not seen where to fling her superfluities, whilst the Jesuits were offering such enormous interest, such splendid equivalents for her “paltry gold.” Benedict Palmio, the ardent and eloquent Jesuit, was winning immense applause and creating vast sensation: in Latin or Italian, a renowned orator, equally fluent in both, he preached in the pontifical chapel and “wonderfully held captive the ears of the most distinguished princes.”§ Emmanuel Sa, Polancus, Avillaneda and Tolletto, the renowned of old, were at that time the Company’s teachers: Possevinus, Bellarmine, and Aquaviva, future luminaries, were amongst her scholars on the benches.

Then, despite her troubles, in the face of her enemies, the Society was advancing. She had fought her way cleverly and valiantly to re-

* Sacchin. lib. i. 37.

† “Haud injucundæ vulgo accidebant inter arma sapientiæ voces: nec pauci mirabantur, cùm turbæ ubique Urben miscerent, apud Patres quieti Musarum locum esse.”
—*Id.* lib. i. 39.

‡ Cretineau, i. 341.

§ “Cujus et ardor animi et eloquentia magnos et plausus et motus excitabat in sacerdoto pontificio clarissimorum principum aures mirifice tenuit: haud minus in eâ lingua quam in vernacula oratoris adeptus nomen.”—*Sacchin.* lib. i. 39.

nown. What she possessed she had earned : it is impossible to deny her exertions. Think of the items. Sworn champions of the Catholic faith, the Jesuits were its determined supporters—the terror of Protestantism : their very life they exposed in opposition to “heresy.” Wherever a “heretic” lurked, some “nimble-witted Jesuit” was ready and eager “to bestow a few words on him.” There was something inspiriting in the very thing itself. Excitement begat effort, and effort begat success. Another item :—The schools of the Jesuits were bidding defiance to all competitors, without exception. Franciscans, Dominicans, Benedictines were freezing in dim eclipse, whilst the orb of Jesuitism rose to its meridian, or approached its perihelion, intercepting every ray of favor and renown. A third item :—The fame of its “apostle” Xavier, the Jesuit-Thaumaturg of India, was a vast deposit in the bank of the Company’s “merits :” he died in the midst of his glory, but he left Jesuits behind, to transmit to Europe “Curious and Edifying Letters” concerning the wonderful missions. Was that nothing to the purpose ? And, lastly :—Already the Company had “martyrs of the Faith.” Antonio Criminal in India,—Correa and De Souza amongst the savages of Brazil. Hundreds were eager to brave the same fate—generous, noble hearts, self-devoted children of Obedience, to which they refused neither soul nor body. They died in striving to humanise the savage. You will say, perhaps, they misled them. But that was not always the fault of these valiant men, and true heroes. Their hearts impelled them to the work, which they did as was prescribed to them—responsible to Obedience, as their superiors were responsible to the all-seeing God of Truth and Righteousness. You must, for a moment at least, forget the creed of these men in the unequalled heroism they displayed. Not that they were cast into an uncongenial element. Far from it. The missionaries dearly loved life in the wilderness ; preferred, in a very short time, the savage to the man of Europe. One of these Jesuit-missionaries had lived thirty years in the midst of the forests. He returned, and soon fell into a profound melancholy, for ever regretting his beloved savages. “My friend,” said he to Raynal, “you know not what it is to be the king—almost even the God of a number of men, who owe you the small portion of happiness they enjoy ; and who are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immense forests, they return overcome with fatigue, and fainting. If they have only killed one piece of game, for whom do you suppose it to be intended ? It is for the FATHER ; for it is thus they call us ; and indeed they are really our children. Their dissensions are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards, than we do, surrounded by our savages. It is amongst them that I will go and end my days.”* Not that it cost these men no effort : far from it : but what has ever been achieved without effort ? Yet there was joy in their sorrow—ease in their hardships—pride in their minds—and a most pardonable vanity in their hearts. These adventurous

* Hist. &c. of the East and West Indies, iv. 418.

spirits themselves selected the field of their exploits : all who were sent had expressed the wish to the general.* Meanwhile the men at home—the writing, the stirring Jesuits—made the most of the distant missioner for the entertainment of the curious and the edifiable. If the blood of the missionaries did not fertilise distant lands into Christian fruit, their fame swept over land and sea, to fan, as a mighty breeze, their Company's renown.^t

And now she stands forth, a fascinating maiden to the world presented, with her retinue of a thousand warriors—men of intellect, polished manners, grace, and comeliness—each eager, at her bidding, to achieve some high feat of arms, as gallant knight, to win his lady's special praise and favor. Such was the Company in her seventeenth year—her marriageable age. Two suitors appeared—both with high pretensions to her favor—the Pope of Rome, and the King of Spain. There was a difference between them, however. The former was tottering on his throne, but pretending quite the contrary, and had menaced the Company: the latter was certainly the richest king in Europe, and was therefore the most powerful; and he was full of big, Spanish

* "Qui missionem Indicam cupiunt, debent generalem admonere."—*Sacchin.* lib. ii. 92.

^t "By the true and painfull endeavours of Thomas Gage, now Preacher of the Word of God at Acres in the County of Kent, Anno Dom. 1648," we have presented before us another view which may be taken of the missioners in general, though not of the Jesuits in particular. This most amusing old traveller thus unfolds his experience: "True it is, I have knowne some that have written their names [he had resided among the monks] in the list of *Indian Missionaries*, men of sober life and Conversation, moved only with a blind zeale of encreasing the Popish Religion : yet I dare say, and confidently print this truth without wronging the Church of Rome, that of thirty or forty which in such occasions are commonly transported to the India's, the three parts of them are Fryers of lead lives, weary of their retired Cloister lives, who have beeene punished often by their Superiours for their wilfull backsliding from that obedience which they formerly vowed ; or for the breach of their poverty in closely retaining money by them to Card and Dice, of which sort I could here namely insert a long and tedious catalogue ; or lastly such, who have been imprisoned for violating their vow of chastity with, &c. &c., either by secret flight from their Cloisters, or by publike Apostatizing from their Order, and cloathing themselves in Laymens Apparell, to run about the safer with their wicked, &c. Of which sort it was my chance to bee acquainted with one Fryer John Navarro, a Franciscan, in the city of Gautemala, who, after he had in secular apparell enjoyed, &c. &c., for the space of a year, fearing at last he might be discovered, listed himselfe in a mission to Gautemala, the year 1632, there hoping to enjoy with more liberty and lesse feare of punishment, &c. &c. Liberty, in a word, under the cloak of Piety and Conversion of Soules, it is, that drawes so many Fryers (and commonly the younger sort) to those remote American parts ; where, after they have learned some Indian language, they are licenced with a Popish Charge to live alone out of the sight of a watching Prior or Superior, out of the bounds and compasse of Cloister walls, and authorized to keep house by themselves, and to finger as many Spanish Patacones as their wits device shall teach them to squeeze out of the newly-converted Indians wealth. This liberty they could never enjoy in Spain, and this liberty is the Midwife of so many foul falls of wicked Fryers in those parts." Then follows an account of the adventures of the aforesaid Fryer John Navarro, strikingly illustrative of the Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem testa diu, or that though a northern winter might untinge an Ethiop's skin a shade or two, the tropical suns have just the contrary effect on a monk's "old Adam." See the English-American, his Travail by Sea and Land ; or A New Survey of the West Indies, chap. iii. Lond. 1648. I omitted to state, after Gage, that John Navarro was a Doctor of Divinity, and celebrated preacher in his "mission." The &c.'s in Gage's text above are unfit for transcription.

designs—the conquest of England will succeed to many—and he was just on the point of figuring in revolutions which would shake the thrones of Europe.

A general was to be elected—a successor to Loyola. Lainez, the vicar-general, had, for reasons not stated, put off, from the very first, the assembly of the general congregation which was to elect a general. It seems that he wished to pave the way to his own permanent exaltation. The war between the pope and the King of Spain intervened. The King of Spain forbade the Jesuits in his dominions, even the Jesuit-duke Borgia, to proceed to Rome for the election. Philip would have the general congregation take place in Spain, hoping to transfer permanently the centre of the Order from Rome to one of his own cities.* Brilliant idea, and teeming with prophecy—a forward glance into the coming history of the Jesuits. To whatever extent the Jesuits might contemplate this Spanish scheme, circumstances intervened to render it abortive in form, although, virtually, they would never belie the origin of their Company—ever eager to advance the interests of Spain, to serve her king among the many who *fee'd* their services. But a most extraordinary intestine commotion supervened, menacing the very life of the Company.

Hitherto the Company has appeared strong by union. It was a bundle of sticks, not to be broken, undivided; and to those who give the Jesuits credit for nothing but spiritual and divine motives in all that they perform or undertake, it will be somewhat startling to hear that, according to their own statement, the worst passions of human nature raised a tempest in the Company herself, such as was not surpassed in rancor by any storm roused by her most implacable enemies. Bobadilla—the man of the Interim—who had braved Charles V. to the face, sounded the trumpet of revolt. Lainez and the generaleate were the bones of contention. Ignatius had left his kingdom, like Alexander, “to the worthiest.” That was a matter of opinion, and Bobadilla thought himself worthiest of all. As a preliminary to what is to follow, we must remember that in the curious Ethiopian letter, before quoted, Ignatius certainly dismissed both Lainez and Bobadilla without laudation. Pasquier Brouet he praised most highly; and if the *Saint's* opinion had been at all cared for, in reality, the “angel of the Society” was, perhaps, the heaven-destined general of the Jesuits. The inference is that Lainez had a “party” in the Company—had been “stirring” in spite of his “illness” and vast “humility,” commonly called “solid,” and pointedly ascribed by the historians to their second general—in his triumph over revolt. The Jesuits have never spared their enemies, publicly or privately; and they lash Bobadilla as one of their greatest antagonists. Bartoli dissects this member most unmercifully. Had Bobadilla triumphed in the contest—and he was foiled by superior management only—Lainez would have been “picked to pieces,” and the successful rebel would have merited the awarded amount of his rival’s laudation. It is evident that Bobadilla had large claims on the

* Cretineau, i. 363.

Company's gratitude and respect. He felt that he had won her applause and renown; he had carried out to the fullest extent her measures and her schemes. Bishoprics he had visited; monasteries he had reformed; in the court of Ferdinand, in that of Charles V., he had figured as confessor; all Germany, Innspruck, Vienna, Spires, Cologne, Worms, Nuremberg, had heard him preaching, had seen him working in the cause of Catholicism; and he had *scars* to attest his prowess in the strife, having been mobbed by the "heretics." Was it not quite natural for this Jesuit to think himself superior to Lainez, who, after all, had been only a skilful speechifier, and rummager of old tomes at the Council of Trent? At least, there is no doubt that Bobadilla took this view of his rival's merits, which, by the way, he had slurred on a former occasion in a manner most striking and characteristic. Ignatius had assembled the fathers to consult on a case of some importance. The secretary made a sign to Lainez to begin the proceedings; but Bobadilla stopped him at once, saying that his years and his works entitled *him* to the lead. All was silence, whilst the veteran went through his achievements, summing up as follows. "In fine, excepting St. Paul's *catenâ hâc circumdatus sum*—excepting imprisonment only, I can show that I have endured every kind of suffering for the aggrandisement of the Company, and in the service of the Church."* It is thus evident that Bobadilla perfectly understood the duties of a Jesuit; and it must be admitted that he deserved his "reward" for having performed them so gallantly. Action was this Jesuit's "one thing needful." According to Bartoli, he termed all religious rules and observances mere childish superstitions, bonds and fetters, which did nothing but restrain and check the spirit. His constant cry was *charity*, which he said was the form and measure of holiness in every state: in possession of charity, no other law was necessary; charity alone was all the law in perfection. You will scarcely believe that Bobadilla was a man of the "Spiritual Exercises" and the Constitutions. In effect, he had attempted to introduce his law of charity at the college at Naples, where he was superintendent; but he failed, apparently from the opposite system being enforced *at the same time* by Oviedo, a hot-headed bigot, whom we shall find anon in Ethiopia. Confusion ensued—the young Jesuits were disgusted, and returned to the world. Ignatius, of course, cashiered Bobadilla, and Oviedo remained. These facts seem to prove that Bobadilla had all along thought himself called upon to resist many points of the Institute; and that, on the present occasion, his ambition, and his objection to Lainez, only gave point and animus to his vigorous resistance. In justice to the rebel, on whom the foulest imputations are heaped by Bartoli and Sacchinus, this foregone conclusion of the Jesuit must be remembered. Moreover, it appears that his object was merely to *share* in the government of the Company; he objected to the supreme authority being vested in one only.†

* "Che trattone il *Catenâ hâc circumdatus sum* di S. Paulo, potea mostrare ogni altro genere di patimenti sofferti in accrescimento della Compagnia, e in servizio della Chiesa."—Bartoli, *Dell' Ital.* lib. iii. f. 365.

† "Summam potestatem penes unum hominem esse."—Sacchin. lib. i. 74.

He had been ill at Tivoli, the Company's rural retreat. On his return, finding that Lainez had put off the General Congregation "to heaven knows when—*fino a Dio sa quando*," says Bartoli, he felt excessively indignant at not having been invited to share the dignity and administration of affairs: he maintained that the Company should be governed by the survivors of the ten founders named in the papal Bull. Four of the professed immediately joined Bobadilla—among the rest, no other than the "angel of the Society," *Pasquier Brouet*.—Simon Rodriguez also was among them. These striking accessions to the revolt are hard matters for Jesuit explanation. The first they attribute to simplicity, and the latter to rancor from his late condemnation by Ignatius. It is curious how the Jesuits expose themselves by appealing to the paltriest motives in their own great men, when they think it expedient to denounce their proceedings. What value, then, have their vituperations and imputations in the case of their enemies? To the other two rebels similar motives are ascribed. Another member of great standing, Pontius Gogordanus, went further than Bobadilla and his associates. He presented to the pope a memorial, in which he distinctly charged Lainez and other Jesuits with the determination of proceeding to Spain for the election, and with the intention of modelling the Institute as they pleased, after removing it to a distance from papal authority. Great was the pope's indignation at this announcement. Lainez was ordered to deliver up the Constitutions and other documents relating to the Institute, within three days, with the names of all the members, who were forbidden to leave the city. Bobadilla followed up the stroke vigorously. The vicar-general was soon the general object of suspicion and blame, and the Institute itself was roughly handled by the sons of Obedience. Lainez met the storm with the last resource of the Jesuit. This "most humble" man called a council of his party: frequent meetings took place; he made it clear that the thing was not to be neglected, lest the Company should suffer damage—*ne quid Societas detrimenti capiat*—says Sacchinus, after the manner of Titus Livius, when he talks of a dictator; and it was resolved to make an impression, to create a sensation. Public prayers were announced. Public flagellations were self-inflicted three times a-day. Lainez in the House of the Professed, Natalis in the College, presided over the verberation.* But this was not the main method of success. Lainez got possession of all the papers written by the rebels. These men wrote all they thought; but Lainez held his tongue, and committed nothing to writing. Bobadilla and Pontius were either too honest or too imprudent to cope with the crafty vicar and his spies.—Their papers were abstracted even from their rooms, and carried to their enemy. "But it so happened, by the Divine counsel," says Sacchinus, though he relates the dishonest means by which the *end* was effected—*divino tamen consilio fiebat!* Bobadilla soon found himself almost deserted. A cardinal was appointed by the pope to de-

* Sacchin. lib. i. 78. "Quomodo turbis occursum—how the mob was met," is the marginal title of the section.

cide the question. Both parties were to be heard. Bobadilla set to writing again, and again were his papers abstracted and carried to Lainez.* Meanwhile the greatest moderation appeared on the vicar's countenance: no man could possibly seem more humble and resigned. He won over the cardinal:—nor were rebels, however justified or justifiable, ever countenanced at Rome, except they were Catholics resisting their heretic king. Lainez even made the rebels ridiculous. On one of them he imposed a penance. And what was it? Why, to say one Our Father and one Hail Mary! It was Gogordanus, the only one who had stood firm in the enterprise; for Bobadilla took fright at last, withdrew his case, and was dispatched to reform a monastery at Fuligno.† Deserted by his Pylades, Gogordanus stood firm to himself, and taxed Lainez with oppression in having penanced him for writing to the pope. "What was the penance?" asked the cardinal. "An Our Father and a Hail Mary!" He was forbidden to say another word; and when the cardinal related the whole affair to the pope, Paul was filled with wonder, and made a sign of the cross, as at something strange and prodigious.‡ He reserved sentence; but gave permission to the Jesuits to leave the city, and even gave them money to expedite the deliverance. Lainez sent Gogordanus to Assisium; he reluctantly obeyed, though he would there be near his friend Bobadilla.— We are, however, assured, that both of them set to work right vigorously in reforming or stimulating the monks of St. Francis.§ Reform was the cry of the Company against "other men;" but "*ut sunt, aut non sint*"—as we are, or not at all," was her motto for herself, and The Greater Glory of God. Thus did the cool dexterity, the keen-eyed tact of Vicar-General Lainez "put down" this remarkable revolt.— First, he frightened the masses of his subjects with the terrors of his religion; secondly, he restrained himself from committing himself by recrimination—above all, he avoided "black and white," penned not a word, lest it should be turned against him; thirdly, he avoided all violence—he permitted the rebels to give the only example of that inviolable disparagement to every "party;" fourthly, he made them ridiculous; fifthly, he won off as many as he could, then he frightened the ringleader, and yet, not without the certainty of impunity—nay, with the immediate appointment of him to a congenial "mission." A better specimen of clever management was never given. Certainly it was suggested by the circumstances in which the vicar-general was placed, his uncertain position with the pope, and his limited authority; but we must also remember, that it is not always the consciousness of peril and

* "Quæ item capita ad Vicarium perlata sunt."—*Id. lib. i. 85.*

† *Id. lib. i. 86.*

‡ "Quod vulgo solemus in rebus maximè ab opinione abhorrentibus."—*Sacchin. lib. i. 86.*

§ "Uterque tamen egregiè operam posuit," &c.—*Id. lib. i. 88.* Assisum or Assisi is the famous city of St. Francis, founder of the Franciscans, whose *Sagro Convento* at this place is the master-piece of the Order. It has three churches built one on the top of the other; Divine office is performed in the middle one; St. Francis is buried in the lowest, which is never used; the highest is seldom frequented. These churches and the cloister are decorated with fine paintings by Cimabue, Giotto, Peter Cavallino, Giottino, Barrocci, and others.

weakness which makes men cautious, collected, and inventive to achieve deliverance. Bobadilla, in his manifesto, had stated that it was difficult to relate how many blunders, absurdities, fooleries, and childish indiscretions Lainez and his assistants had in so short a time exhibited;* but Lainez seems to have resolved to prove that his first step towards reformation in his conduct would be the management and subjugation of the arch-rebel himself and his assistants. Bobadilla ventured to attack the Constitutions of Ignatius, which, Bartoli sarcastically says, he had never read, nor understood, even had he read them, because he read them only to turn them into ridicule,†—a strange accusation for a Jesuit to bring against one of his founders;—but Lainez resolved to show the rebel how he could imitate Ignatius in his astuteness, as well as uphold him in his Constitutions. This victory achieved by Lainez exhibits the character of the Jesuit as strikingly as any “great” occasion of his life—unless it be the moment when he gave out that “God had revealed the ‘Spiritual Exercises’ to our holy father—yea, that it was signified to some one by the Virgin God-bearer, through the Archangel Gabriel, that she was the patroness of the ‘Exercises,’ their foundress, their assistant, and that she had taught Ignatius thus to conceive them.”‡

Thus subsided, for a time, the intestine commotions of the Jesuits. And the hostilities had ceased between the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome. The pope accepted gladly the proffered peace when he found himself at the conqueror’s mercy, and dismissed the execrated foe with his pardon and blessing. On the very same night Tiber overflowed his banks, and deluged the holy city. Up to the highest steps of the Jesuits’ church the angry waters foamed and floated the College. Immense damage was done to the city by the uxurious river; but he seems to have only unsettled the Jesuits, as though he came, as in times of old, to pay a visit of inspection, after their late domestic convulsions—

“ Audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
Quo graves Persæ melius perirent,
Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara juventus.”

A rare, choice calamity was this to be converted into a Divine judgment by fanatics: and so it was, and ever will be. The “heretics” cried Judgment, and over Germany it was told as a fact that many thousand Romans had been engulfed by the exterminating angel of a river—among the rest seven cardinals—and that the pope himself had escaped with difficulty.§ Meanwhile, the embargo being taken off the Jesuits of Spain, they come to the General Congregation. *Quem vocet divum populus ruentis Imperi rebus?*—whom of the professed Gods

* Bartoli, *ubi suprà*, f. 368.

† Ibid.

‡ “Fidâ traditione inde usque à P. Jacobo Lainio . . . acceptum haberi, Deum hæc ‘Exercitia’ sancto patri nostro revelâsse: imò per Gabrielem Archangeli non nemini fuisse à Deiparâ Virgine significatum, se patronam eorum, fundatricem, atque adjutricem fuisse, docuisseque Ignatium, ut ea sic conciperet; quo nomine se huic operi dedisse initium.”—*Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu.* f. 1.

§ Sacchin. lib. i. 90. *Hæreticorum mendacia guttura, &c.*

will they invoke to guide the helm in the storm, raging and still impending? To the holy conclave twenty electors—only twenty electors out of more than a thousand men—proceed to elect a general for the Company of Jesus. Holy obedience in the vulgar herd—the *ignobile vulgus* of the Company put their necks into the yoke,—why should we complain? If the Evil One may do as he likes with his own, why should we interfere by force or argument between a Jesuit and his soul? But see, in the midst of the assembled electors, a cardinal enters, unexpectedly, in the name of the sovereign pontiff! Not exactly like Cromwell into parliament, he comes:—but still in a significant attitude, saying to the startled Jesuits assembled:

“ Paul IV. does not pretend to influence a choice which should be made only according to the Institute. The pope desires to be considered the Protector of the Order—not in a general sense, as he is of all the Faithful and all religious Orders—but in a sense altogether special and particular.”*

The pope’s jealousy of Philip II. was not dispelled. Borgia had not left Spain: this Jesuit, by reason of ill health, we are told, and from “political motives,” could not abandon Spain.† He remained with the hated Philip. Reformed or not reformed, the pope would have the Company entirely to himself, admitting least of all, such a rival in his fond possession. Now, what if Borgia be elected general? In that event the pope would have confirmation strong for his suspicion. Pacheco, the cardinal, further announced that he was charged by Paul IV. to act as secretary, and teller of the ballot to the electing Congregation. The Jesuits were taken aback: but they soon trimmed sail to the wind—ever yielding to the storm when they cannot control it. There was no doubt of the vicar’s election to the generalate; and he had a large majority. Lainez took thirteen votes out of the twenty,—Nadal, Loyola’s coadjutor and assistant, when lately disabled—took four,—Lannoy and Brouet, the angel of the Company, had only one each; and Borgia, the duke-Jesuit, had a single vote. Lainez was proclaimed general with immense applause and gratulation. *Te Deum laudamus* was sung, three sermons were delivered, one on the Trinity, a second by way of thanksgiving, and a third on the Virgin Mary. So great was the spiritual excitement on the occasion, that many said they had never been before so abundantly and solidly enlivened by celestial delights.‡

The ghost of Reform came suddenly upon them in the midst of their celestial banquet. Paul IV. insisted that the choral offices of the monks should be performed in the Society of Jesus. This is one of the most important exemptions of the Jesuits. It gave them seven or eight hours daily for—work. To have boxed them up in cloisters, and to have made them sing “the praises of God,” whilst they might promote the glory of the Society, by their numerous avocations—the composition of books in particular—in a word, to have made *monks* of

* Cretineau, i. 365.

† “Pour des raisons de santé, et des motifs politiques.”—*Id. ib.* 372.

‡ “Cælesti dulcedine usque eo affluenter ac solide recreatos.”—*Sacch.* l. ii. 31.

them, was neither the notion of Loyola, nor contemplated by the Constitutions, nor in the least relished by the Jesuits in general. But this was not all. General Lainez received the next blow from St. Peter's Vicar. The pope required that the generalate should be only for a determinate period, as for example, the space of three years. This would at once make the Order a democracy—aristocratical more or less—but still its high monarchical elements would evaporate—fear and anxiety would hamper the triennial monarch, and open the way for further democratical influence. It would be impossible for the general to adopt schemes of any magnitude, requiring time for maturity and complete achievement: the work of the Jesuits was by its very nature progressive—a sort of new creation, in veritable geological days, unto the glory and rest of the Sabbath.

The Jesuits, in a respectful memorial, protested against these innovations. Lainez and Salmeron went to present it to the pope. Paul IV. received them freezingly. In the presence of the Cardinal of Naples, his nephew, the pope let fall upon them the weight of his displeasure. The two Jesuits attempted to explain the motives of their persistence—"You are rebels!" exclaimed his enraged Holiness; "opiniators verging on heresy—and I very much fear to see some sectarian issuing from your Society. For the rest, we are well resolved no longer to tolerate such disorder."

Lainez replied :

"I have never sought nor desired to be general; and as for what concerns myself personally, I am not only not repugnant to resign at the end of three years, even this very day would I esteem it a favor if your Holiness would free me from this burthen, for which I have neither inclination nor fitness. Nevertheless, you know that the fathers, in proceeding to the election, have intended to elect a general in perpetuity, according to the Constitutions. Cardinal Pacheco announced to us that your Holiness desired two things: 1. That the general should fix his residence at Rome; 2. That he be appointed for life. The fathers were of the same opinion. The election being made in that manner, we are come to your Holiness, who has approved and confirmed it. But I shall not hesitate an instant—I shall obey willingly, as I have said."

"I do not wish you to resign," rejoined the pope,—"it would be to shun labor: moreover, at the end of three years I shall be able to prolong the term."

How to deal with a furious old man! Lainez appealed to the bowels of his mercy.

"We teach," said he, "we preach against the heretics: on that account they hate us, and call us papists. Wherefore your Holiness ought to protect us, to show us the bowels of a father, and believe that God would be to us propitious."

All in vain! Paul IV. was inexorable. He ordered the choir to be instantly established, and that this article should be *appended to the Constitutions* as the expression of his sovereign will.*

* Cretineau, *ubi supra*; Sacchinus, lib. ii.; Bartoli, lib. iv.

The Jesuits obeyed, for it was absolutely necessary. The pope's death, within the year, freed them from this ostensible obedience: they threw up the hateful choir; and tore off the spiteful article superadded to their Constitutions. The pope's successor, the "dexterous, prudent, good-humored" Pius IV. was not likely to look with more displeasure on this trivial disobedience to a mandate of his enemy Paul IV., than he had probably felt at the display of popular hatred when Paul's statue was torn down from its pedestal, broken in pieces, and the head with the triple crown dragged through the streets.*

All circumstances favored the Jesuits. The pope had died miserably,† unpopular, detested by his subjects, as evidenced by the violent demonstrations which followed his demise. His Inquisition was pillaged and set on fire: an attempt was made to burn the Dominican convent Della Minerva. All his monuments were to be destroyed, as the Romans resolved in the capitol:—they had suffered so much under him, and his infamous nephews the Caraffas—for "he had been an ill-doer to the city and the whole earth."‡ So did, and so spake the masses, stirred through the length and breadth of their stormy sea as it rolled with the turning tide. From the tempest the Society emerged, as the moon what time her horns are full, rejoicing. "She was restored to her normal state, stronger than before the death of Loyola. She was more united—because she had just tested her unity."§

And not only that: she triumphantly stood on the pinnacle of a splendid reaction. A year before, she was at the mercy of a capricious old man, wielding the bolts of the Vatican. There had been a dread hour when all seemed lost—the gulf yawning beneath her. On the brink she stood unterrified. A strong man in her van battled with destruction. He bridged the chasm: she crossed: and sang the song of thanksgiving to the master-mind which had planned and effected her deliverance. The reaction was one of the most wonderful recorded in history:—in the conclave for the election of a successor to Paul IV., Lainez, the general of the Jesuits, was proposed, and would have been *Pope of Rome* but for a prescriptive formality! Custom required that the pope should be chosen from the college of cardinals.||

Lainez was a Spaniard: the most exalted members of the Society, with the Jesuit-duke Borgia at their head, were Spaniards; the Society was a Spaniard's—in Spain she was best established;—and the interests of Spain were then paramount;—Italy had suffered—Rome had been threatened by the indignation of Spain's powerful king: he had designed to take the Society under his special superintendence: he was sure of its devotedness to his interests; and now how splendid the prospect if, by one great stroke, both the Society and the tiara should

* See Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, p. 80.

† "At last, when laid low by an illness sufficient to cause the death even of a younger man, he called the cardinals once more together, commended his soul to their prayers, and the Holy See and the Inquisition to their care: he strove to collect his energies once more, and to raise himself up: his strength failed him: he fell back, and died." (Aug. 18, 1559).—*Ranke, Hist. of the Popes*, p. 79.

‡ Id. p. 80; Panvin. Paul IV.

|| Cretineau, i. 385; Sacchinus and Bartoli.

§ Cretineau, i. 371.

become his vassals! A mere formality (but in the city of inexorable formalities) defeated the splendid design,—and “the partisans of Lainez gave their votes to Cardinal Medici, who took the name of Pius IV.”*

Simple facts as the Jesuit-historians record them: but how significant when transfixed and entomologically examined, by cool reflection, with memory at her side opening the archives of antecedent and contemporaneous events.

Bloody executions within two years avenged Pius IV. and the Jesuits for what both Medici and the Jesuits had endured from the late pope and his nephews, the Caraffas; and his relatives, Count Allifani and Cardini. They were condemned to death: it is not necessary to state the crimes of which they were accused, since the next infallible pope, St. Pius V. made restitution to their memory and their family, his appointed judges declaring “that Pius IV. had been led into error by the Procurator-General,” who was duly put to death as a scapegoat.†

Jesuit-fathers attended the condemned in their preparation for death. Silver crucifixes were kissed, the *De profundis* was gloomily muttered; the *Te Deum* too, at the suggestion of one of the Jesuits, alternated the lament of death. The Cardinal Caraffa was resigned, for he had made his confession, and was absolved, and had recited the office of the Virgin. And the grim tormentors approached ready to strangle the anointed of the Church. The cardinal shrunk in horror from the sight, and turning away he exclaimed with unspeakable energy: “O Pope Pius! O King Philip! I did not expect this from you!” He rolled on the ground, a strangled corpse.‡

The bodies were exposed to public view; the effect did not correspond to the expectation. The Romans had detested the late pope’s nephews—they would themselves have torn them to pieces without remorse: but the revenge of another hand only found (as usual) indignant pity in their breast: they bewailed the victims—the feeling was contagious—a tumult was imminent. The Jesuits were sent forth to restore tranquillity in Rome; and they succeeded.§

If the conduct of these Jesuits in the field of blood was edifying, it compensated in some measure for that of another Jesuit, in the confessional, a few months before these dreadful scenes horrified and disgusted the hearts of Rome. There was at Grenada, in Spain, a repentant

* This Jesuit-fact is, however, somewhat suspicious. It is scarcely probable that the cardinals would elect any one who did not belong to their body. See Quesnel, ii. 10.

† His name was Pallentiere, the “Attorney-General” of the prosecution. Pius V. declared the sentence unjust; and Pallavicini, the Catholic historian, asserts that the cardinal’s guilt was not made out, to judge from the documents which he had examined.

‡ Cretineau gives a long description of these executions, actually with the view of “showing off” the Jesuits in the cells of the condemned! But the fact is, that the cardinal was denied his usual confessor. “He was not allowed his usual confessor: he had much to say, as may be imagined, to the confessor sent him, and the shrift was somewhat protracted. ‘Finish, will you, Monsignore,’ cried the officer of police, ‘we have other business in hand.’”—*Ranke, Hist. of the Popes*, p. 83.

§ Cretineau, p. 389; Thuan. lib. 23; Ciacon. Vita Pontif. Paul IV.

lady, who went to confess to a Jesuit, whose name is not mentioned by the Company's historian. This lady accused herself, in confession, of a certain sin which requires an accomplice. The Jesuit insisted upon having the name of the party revealed to him: the lady refused: the Jesuit withheld absolution, until, overcome by his importunities and menaces, she revealed the name of her accomplice. The Jesuit immediately imparted the crime, and named the criminal to the Archbishop of Grenada, who, according to the Jesuits, had advised his indiscretion. Immense scandal ensued. The whole affair transpired: the Jesuits were denounced by the public voice as not only betrayers of confession, but also as intriguers, making every effort to get at the secrets of those who did not confess to them, through the instrumentality of their penitents. Certainly it was unfair, unjust to denounce the whole body for the fault of one member: but, instead of respecting the sacred principle which aroused popular, nay, even royal, indignation, instead of denouncing the conduct of their member, they permitted, if they did not command, one of their best preachers to defend his conduct. He did so publicly. Sacchinus gives us his argument: it is proper to know the Society's doctrine on the subject. John Raminius, the preacher, admitted that "It is never lawful to break the sacred seal of confession, though the destruction of the universe might ensue: but, there may be occasions when a priest may lawfully insist upon being informed by his penitent of a criminal accomplice, or a heretic, or any delinquent tainted with some pestilential vice, if there be no other remedy at hand: that he may in confession exact permission to use that knowledge in the case of a fraternal admonition, or may exact it out of confession, for the purpose of a judicial accusation. Should the penitent refuse, he ought not to be absolved—just as no thief ought to be absolved, if he refuse to make restitution."* It is impossible to point out all the abuses to which this doctrine invites a prying Jesuit. Accordingly, three ecclesiastics denounced it as "new, pernicious, impious, or rather monstrous,"—whose tendency was to alienate the people from the practice of confession. Nevertheless, the Jesuits found supporters: disputes ran high: the archbishop put a stop to the litigation by undertaking to decide on the matter, enjoining silence to both parties. But so strong was public opinion set against the Jesuits, on account of the transaction, that Borgia declared there had never before been such a storm raised against the Company. Throughout Spain and Belgium—even at the court of Philip II.—the infamous transaction excited merited indignation. The Jesuit-confessor may have erred through indiscretion; but Raminius seemed to speak, or did speak, the doctrine, and declared the practice, of the Company. It is thus that the Jesuits have almost invariably, publicly or in secret, accumulated execration on their heads, by never admitting an error, and by defending to the uttermost their sinning brothers.†

* *Sacchin. lib. ii. 130. Hispania Amatoria, ii. lib. vi. p. 79; Hist. des Religieux de la Comp. i. 234.*

† *Id. ib. 131. Also Hispania Amatoria, ii. lib. vi. p. 97; Hist. des Religieux de la Comp. i. 234.*

Fortunate coincidences often give an outlet from difficulties—like the sun-lit dawn after a night of tempest. Frequently have the Jesuits experienced this alleviation of their toil and trouble. At the height of the execration which has just been traced to its origin, Charles V. died, appointing by will one of their body, Francis Borgia, a co-executor of his royal behests. Charles had never liked the Jesuits. Policy rather than esteem seems to have motived his acquiescence in their establishment throughout his dominions. Borgia paid him a visit in his retreat at St. Juste's. They spent their time very agreeably together: it was a congenial amalgamation of ascetic feelings, brought more closely in contact from the similitude of their abnegations. There was even, perhaps, some little danger of Borgia's acquiescing in the ex-royal wish, that the Jesuit should leave his Society and take up his abode with penitent royalty. Charles "had his doubts" about the Company: he expressed them to his beloved visitor: but the Jesuit was forewarned of the temptation,* and left the royal monk in his solitude, after receiving "a small sum," by way of alms from one poor man to another, as the king expressed the sentimental charity.† This had occurred the year before, whilst Melchior Cano was denouncing the Jesuits, public report declaring Charles to be hostile to the Company. It was on this account that Borgia visited Charles: and the result of his kind reception and the correspondence which ensued, were greatly beneficial to the Company as soon as the interview, friendship or "patronage," was given to the winds of popular rumor by the calculating Jesuits, who always knew the value of "great names" among the vulgar in mind or condition.‡ As a Jesuit, Borgia was unable to undertake the executorship so honorable to the Company: such secular offices were expressly forbidden by the Constitutions; but Lainez and six of the most influential Jesuits decided to supersede the "dictates" of Ignatius for the sake of policy, though they stubbornly refused to do so for the sake of the pope, who so wisely advised them not "to build on sand." And they got the "reward" of expediency. "The Company, meanwhile, made no small advancement—*nec leve interim Societas incrementum accepit*"—says Sacchinus. Borgia performed his duty as executor with honor and integrity. It was, however, an easy matter: for Charles V. had left nothing either to the Jesuits, nor the monks, not even to the Church, nor for Purgatorial prayers to be said for him, which last omission brought his orthodoxy into doubt among the Inquisitors and the

* Cretineau, i. 375.

† Borgia knew how to win over the royal ascetic. Charles complained to the Jesuit that he could not sleep with his hair-shirt on his back, in order to macerate himself the more. The apostolical Jesuit replied: "Señor, the nights which your majesty passed in arms are the cause that you cannot sleep in hair-cloth—but, thanks be to God that you have more merit in having passed them thus in defence of your faith, than many monks have who number theirs wrapped up in hair-cloth." The "small sum" given to the Jesuit was two hundred ducats, and Charles said it was the best favor he had ever granted in his life—*la mayor merced que avia hecho en su vida.*—*De Vera, Epitome*, p. 253, *et seq.*

‡ "Dictu facile non est quantum hæc Caroli humanitas vulgo cognita et sermonibus celebrata, rebus Societatis attulerit."—*Sacchin. lib. i. 115.*

Jesuits, it is said, who quarrelled with the ex-king's memory, since he had not given them a chance for fighting over legacies.*

Certainly the Jesuits did not spare a friend of the deceased monarch, Constantine Ponce, a Spanish bishop, and a learned doctor of the Church, but suspected of heresy and Lutheranism. He had been preacher to Charles in Germany, and had accompanied Philip II. to England when he married Queen Mary. Constantine Ponce applied for admission into the Company of Jesus. He had been one of her many enemies in Spain. The wily Jesuits suspected some design upon their secrets. They deliberated on the application: consulted the Inquisitor Carpius: Ponce was arrested and cast into the prisons of the dread tribunal, where he died, but was subsequently burnt in effigy;† undoubtedly a severe return for his advance to the Company. True, they might have rancorous recollections of his former hostility, and they might even have grounds for doubting his orthodoxy, but perhaps a milder method should have been adopted by the Companions of Jesus to revenge an injury and to reclaim a heretic.

Although as yet not officially connected with the Inquisition, the Jesuits might be considered its jackalls, as is evident from the last fact, and their confessional maxims, as recorded by themselves. In 1555, a year before his death, Ignatius, with the opinion of a majority of the Fathers, had accepted the direction of the Inquisition at Lisbon, offered to the Society by King John of Portugal, with the advice of his brother Louis and the Cardinal Henry. The death of Louis, and the illness of the Cardinal, prevented the accomplishment; but the Jesuits Henriquez and Serrano filled the appointment of Deputies to the General Council of the Inquisition in Portugal.‡ And it was in consequence of the urgent advice—*gravibus literis*—of the Jesuits in India that the Inquisition was established at Goa, with all its horrors, against our “false brothers of the Circumcision congregated in India from all parts of the world, pretending to be Christians, but fostering Judaism and other impieties privately, and sowing them by stealth. Therefore, if in any place, these Fathers thought the tribunal of the holy Inquisition most necessary, both on account of the existing license and the multitudes of all nations and superstitions there united.”§ And it was established. The Jesuits did not get the appointment; for, from time immemorial, it

* Hist. de l'Inquisit. liv. ii. p. 235, *et seq.*; Anecdot. Inquisit. Hispan. p. 503; Hist. de la Comp. de Jesus, i. p. 237.

† Sacchin. lib. ii. 128; Thuan. lib. xxiii. Ann. 1559. In the barbarities he suffered in the prison, though he had not yet tasted the tortures, Constantine often exclaimed: “O my God, were there no Scythians in the world, no cannibals more fierce and cruel than Scythians, into whose hands thou couldst carry me, so that I might but escape the claws of these wretches!”—Chandler, *Hist. of Persecut.* p. 186.

‡ Franco (Soc. Jesu) Synops. Ann. Soc. Jesu in Lusit. p. 45. I must here remark, that Orlandinus (lib. xv. n. 100) positively says that Ignatius *declined* the offer, or “received it unwillingly.” He does more; he pretends to give all the saint's motives for so doing. In the face of this invention, another Jesuit, Franco, published the founder's letter to Miron on the subject, in which he shows even anxiety to obtain the appointment for the Company. Synops. *ubi suprà*. This curious fact proves how little faith we can place in the Jesuit-exposition of Jesuit-motives, nay, even of Jesuit “facts.”

§ Sacchinus, lib. i. 151.

was the almost exclusive patrimony of the Dominicans, whose cruel method of making converts to the faith, the Jesuits copied, when their milk of kindness was soured by disappointment in proselyting the heretic and the savage. None surpassed the Jesuits in the arts of persuasion whilst these could prevail; but, also, none exceeded them in terrible rancor when the destruction was next in expediency to the conversion or conciliation of their victims. And the flaming banner of Goa's Inquisition flapped and expanded to the breeze, wide spreading the motto: "*Mercy and Justice!*" and unto a merciful good God it said: "*Arise, O Lord, and judge thy Cause,*" a cross in the middle, and a bald-headed monk of St. Dominic, with sword and olive-branch in his hand, and a blood-hound mouthing a fire-brand, inflaming the world at his feet.* The views of the Jesuit-fathers were fully carried out; the Pagans, the Jews, the Christians, whom they could not convert, were handed over to tortures too horrible to detail, and then unto the death by fire, when their souls went up to God, perhaps in their regenerated charity exclaiming: "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do." The Inquisition was thus one of the blessings given to India by the Jesuits,—one of the religious ceremonies of the ancient faith.†

The musket had been long the cross of salvation to the Gentiles of India. Torrez, the Jesuit, procured royal letters enjoining the viceroys and the governors of India to lend their powers to the Jesuits for the purpose of converting the infidels, and to punish their opponents. This excellent scheme abridged their labors wonderfully. All they had to do was to ferret out the places where the Indians congregated to sacrifice to Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Then a detachment of soldiers, headed by some Jesuits, completed the success of the apostolate. Saccchinus, the Jesuit-historian, describes one of these evangelising forays. It happened in the island of Cyorano, close by Goa, where, says he, "by a wonderful afflatus, an immense number rushed to Christianity — *miro quodam afflatu ingens numerus ad Christiana sacra confluxit* (!) Not far from the church of the Blessed Virgin about forty heathens were lurking in a grove of palms. They had been informed against as having indulged in certain rites publicly, contrary to the royal edicts. To these men Fathers Almeida and Correa were sent, together with a certain Juan Fernandez, a lawyer, and the lord of the grove of palms. This lawyer circumvented the pagans completely, we are told; consequently, he must have had not a few muskets and men to shoulder them. He ordered some of them to be seized, whilst the rest took refuge in the bush. They were frightened, and one of them, the oldest of the troop, cried out, 'What's the use of binding us? let us be made Christians.' " "Nothing more *was* needed," continues the chuckling Jesuit. "Then a cry arose throughout the village that all wished to be made Christians. Almeida and his companion ran up; and, whereas, previously the conversion of only seven or eight of the guilty men was hoped for, the *Divine Spirit in wonderful modes scat-*

* See Chandler, p. 276, for an engraving of the banner.

† For details see Chandler; Geddes; Dillon, Relation; Buchanan, Christ. Research. p. 149, *et seq.*; Moreri, vi.

tering celestial fire, all of them, some rushing from one side, others from another, to the number of three hundred in a short time, shouted and declared that they would be made Christians! When Gonsalvez mentioned the joyful affair to the viceroy, he said ‘it was the festival of the day when the Precursor of our Lord was beheaded;’”* and, we may add, with less guilt in the king who caused the murder, than in those who advised and practised “religious” murder and violence to please the wrinkled lady of Rome. There were no Brahmins among these captives of the faith; “but the fathers, suspecting that they would escape beyond the reach of Portuguese power, placed sentinels and guards round about, by whom thirty were intercepted and added to the catechumens. In fine, by constant accessions, the number gradually increased so much, that on an appointed day, when the viceroy visited the island, five hundred postulants of baptism presented themselves. They marched in a long train, with the Christian banner, and drums, and various sounding instruments of the nation. When they came to the viceroy, their salute was kindly returned, and all entered the church of the Virgin, the viceroy bringing up the rear. There they were baptised, and then, as the day was far spent, they were treated to a generous repast, and, lastly, with an appropriate exhortation. On the following day, they learnt how to make the sign of the cross.”† Such is a specimen of the Indian “mission” in 1559; about five hundred and thirty pagans, at one fell swoop, by the terror of the musket and “the Divine Spirit in wonderful modes scattering celestial fire,” were flung into the Jordan of Rome, then feasted, and lectured, and taught the sign of the cross, and thereby became sterling Jesuit-Christians of the Indian mission. In fact, it was nothing but a downright fox-hunting, boar-hunting, bear-baiting apostolate, when the Jesuits got tired of preaching to no purpose, with no results to boast of in the annual letters which, with other proceeds, were the bills of exchange and assets of the missions for the bank of devoteeism, and passed to the credit of the modern “apostles.” In the viceroy Constantine the Jesuits found ready patronage and support in their system of conversion. The Brahmins in India were like the Romish priests of Ireland to the people. By their authority and exhortations the superstitions of the people resisted the arguments of the Jesuits in their public disputation. What did the viceroy to make his Jesuits triumph in spite of their discomfiture? Why, he ordered forty of the chief Brahmins to sell all they had and to leave Goa with their families, to make themselves comfortable where they could find a resting-place secure from tyrannical viceroys and apostolical Jesuits.‡ “Deprived of this defence, and terrified by this

* “Isque diem baptismi, quo sanctus Domini Præcursor obtruncatus est dixit.”—*Sacch.* lib. iii. 129.

† *Sacch.* lib. iii. 129.

‡ “Prorex cùm videtur Brachmanum quorundam auctoritate et suasionibus superstitionem tenuiorum stare, neque admodum multum disputationibus profici, quas priore anno institutas docui,—quadraginta eorum præcipios, divenditis rebus una cum familiis alijs sibi quærere sedes jussit. Quo et munimento exuti, et exemplo territi inferioris notæ mortales, procliviores aures, animosque Dei verbo dedere.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 245.

example," says the unscrupulous Jesuit Sacchinus, "the pagans of less note gave readier ears and minds to the word of God!" They actually banished the shepherds so as to rob the flock more easily! Now, how could these Jesuits complain when Elizabeth soon after banished the priests of Rome when she found that they "stirred" her people to rebellion? Or, had she been a fanatic, and finding that arguments would not do with the people in the presence of the priests, and proceeded to banish the latter, so as to entrap the former,—I ask, what moral difference would there have been in the matter? In truth, had England copied this Jesuit and Portuguese example in Ireland, in the time of Elizabeth, had every priest been sent forth, and the coast guarded against their return, we should long ere this have beheld that country as flourishing, as free, as happy, as honest, and honorable as any on the face of the earth. We have to thank the "roaring bellows of sedition and incendiary Pharisees" for the present degradation of Ireland. The method did not succeed in India except in producing hypocritical pagans, because there was so much in their rites and ceremonies which it was impossible to *wear* out without many years of advance to civilisation: but in Ireland, it was only the false hopes and incendiary harangues of the priesthood that kept the Irishman a savage for the sake of "his" religion—the beggarly trade of his *Brahmins*.

Following up this advantage gained by the expulsion of their priests, Antonio Quadrio, the Provincial of India, sent forth his Jesuits into the villages. Goa is an island about two leagues in length, and one in breadth: it contains thirty-one villages, with a population of two thousand souls. There were now but few pagans after this year's conversion—as it were the stray bunches after the vintage—and it was hoped that in the following year there would be a complete gleaning of the grapes, says Sacchinus—*absolutam racemationem*. The method of the vintage was as follows:—Quadrio sent out his missioners by twos; they explained the gospel to the neophytes briefly, and discoursed on the sum of the Christian law copiously; then in the afternoon they perambulated the villages, made a gathering of "the boys"—*eogerent pueros*, with the sound of a bell, and gave them each a green bough to carry in their hands. These were marched to the church singing the rudiments of the faith—*fidei concinentes initia*. Lastly, they inquired into the wants of the pagans, and either gave assistance, or reported the case at head-quarters. The result was that crowds of the pagans assembled, either for the sake of the sight, or enticed (*pellecti*) by their neophyte friends and acquaintances, and easily imbibed a love of baptism from that religious display of prayer and song, and the charity and exhortations of the brethren. It was sweet, continues the historian, to see the congratulations with which the brethren returning home were received; for all eagerly waited for their return, that they might see how large a troop each would bring to the house of the catechumens to be baptised; and might hear what particular and special proof of mercy the celestial Father had on that day vouchsafed to the apostles. Each led his troop, and joyfully to joyful listeners his glorious deeds related—*et præclara lætis læti narrabant*. This method of propagating

the faith, says Sacchinus, seemed the most adapted to change the superstition of all India into religion, and was now, for the first time, invented—*et nunc primum inventa*. Six hundred were the first batch of Christians. Five days after, on the birth-festival of *John the Baptist*, it was impossible to baptise all the converts—five hundred and seventy received the rite—but more than two hundred had to be postponed! It is pleasant to behold how many candidates a name of so little importance produced, observes the Jesuit—*tantumque candidatorum quam levi momento nomen dederit*. But was it the name of John the Baptist? Was it not rather the suggestion of poor persecuted humanity, crying out “*Quid opus est his vinculis? efficiamur Christiani*”—‘what need of these bonds? let us be made Christians,’ since nothing but our receiving your rite, which we know nothing of, and care less for, is the only guarantee of rest and peace, and comfort. Besides, you promise to make us comfortable, to attend to our wants. We can understand that, at least: when our Brahmins get the upper hand again, and come back with their families, we’ll shout again for Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and beat our drums and cymbals, and other sounding instruments for *them*, after the manner of our nation, just as we beat them now for you, great Christian Brahmins!”

In the face of these facts, in spite of our knowledge of the most peculiarly social paganism of the Hindoos, we are expected to believe that the historian really believed his pen, when it wrote these words: “The eagerness with which the Indians flew to the faith seemed not without ■ miracle”—verily, the miracle was that Christian men should be so blinded by their rage for exhibiting boastful catalogues of “conversions,” as to abuse the sacred rite of Christianity with such unscrupulous recklessness, thus making the poor pagans as despicable hypocrites as they were before miserable victims of Portuguese tyranny and Jesuit persecution. Who can believe that such apostles really carried out the ideas of social organisation for the savage, which, in a former page, I heartily translated? Beautiful was that theory; but the men adapted to carry it into practice honestly, and in the Christian spirit of Christ, were not the Jesuits. Anon we shall see more than enough of these “apostles.” The arms of Portugal flashed “faith” into the helpless hordes of India. It was the object of her viceroys to make the Hindoos totally dependent on their Portuguese masters. The rite of baptism was the infallible means to that end. It made them Pariahs, outcasts from their respective ranks, and compelled them to crowd the Christian temples, and cry *Credo Pater!* I believe, father,—so that their hungry stomachs might be filled. Thus were numbers actually demoralised, for they lost *self-respect*; and became, in their turn, decoys to others as unfortunate as themselves. Conversion was the expediency of the Portuguese, and the rage of the Jesuits, their faithful humble servants. “Numbers” declared success for both respectively; and so we read that in the year 1559, by the authority of the viceroy, and his desire for the spread of

* “*Alacritas quoque quâ Indi advolabant ad fidem, haud videbatur carere miraculo.*”—*Sacchin.* iv. 259.

Christianity, no less than three thousand three hundred and thirty-three pagans were baptised in the church of St. Paul at Goa!* You perceive that the Jesuit balance-sheet of conversion is as carefully "cast up" as the sum of our national revenue with its imposing pence and farthings. The fact is, that the very gorgeous display of these multitudinous baptisms—enough to tire a legion of hundred-handed Titans, and drain a river—was just the thing to captivate the Hindoos, so passionately fond of festivities, which their Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva, and other thousand gods most liberally vouchsafe to them, and which they found ready for them in the cities of the Christians, different in very few points from their own outrageous "mysteries." For the sake of "pomp and feast and revelry" they would submit to have their foreheads washed by a Jesuit, instead of dipping them in "Ganges, or Hydaspes, Indian streams." The fact was proved in the year 1561.

"This year, the College at Goa did not receive the increase of Christians it hoped for," says Sacchinus, adding,—"and here is the cause: the archbishop, who arrived at the end of the preceding year, just came when the produce of that most lucky harvest was unusually abundant, when immense troops of Indians were daily added to the congregation of the faithful. Whereupon, being prejudiced by the reports of certain persons more intent on money than the gain of souls, saying that the Indians were compelled to receive baptism, he ordered that all who were to be baptised should receive the rite in their respective parishes; and that if the rite was to be celebrated with greater ceremony than usual, he reserved the case to himself. This arrangement, established with a pious design, by the most excellent bishop, did not succeed as was intended," adds the chuckling Jesuit; "for," he continues, "as the Hindoos were, one by one, or certainly only a few together, almost in darkness, and in corners, *sprinkled with the sacred water*"—to translate the bombastical expression—"whilst that splendor of Goan magnificence—of the number of the candidates—of the new garments and decorations—of Portugal's nobility—the presence and eyes of the viceroy—and other attendant display—when all this was no more—*then* the estimation and desire of so great a mystery began to fall off and freeze amongst the uncivilised people who, in every part of the world, but there most especially, *are led by the eyes—oculis ducitur.*"† Here is an admission! Can anything more be required to desolate the heart with the conviction that the Jesuit-Christianity of India was altogether but a vile, deceitful, lying phantasm, which it "out-Herods Herod" to think of? Yes, there is one thing more—and that is, the

* "Secundum Deum Constantini maximè Proregis auctoritate, &c. In Goano S. Pauli templo ter mille et ducenti triginta tres baptizati, præterque hos in privatis tectis valetudine non permissi exire, circiter centum"—making the 3333—a curious and striking lot of triplets for the gaping devotee to convert into a mystery.

† "Quæ res pio consilio ab Antistite optimo instituta, &c.—Etenim cùm singuli, aut certè pauci, prope in tenebris, et in angulis sacrâ tingerentur aquâ; ille autem splendor ex Goanâ magnificentiâ, ex numero candidatorum, ex novo vestitu, cultuque, ex nobilitate Lusitanâ, ac Proregis ipsius præsentia et oculis, ceteroque apparatu abesset; cœpit tanti mysterii opinio et cupiditas rudem apud populum, que ubique terrarum, sed ibi maximè, oculis ducitur, cadere et frigere."—Sacchin. lib. v. 246.

awfully debauched life of the Portuguese themselves in India—the “true believers” of that Christianity which these sight-loving, miserable pagans were tempted to embrace with their lips and their foreheads, by an appeal to their wretched vanity, in the midst of gorgeous display, rank, and decoration! The prohibition was taken off, and the Jesuits “went ahead” as usual.

From India, across that ocean which the Portuguese knew so well, let us advance into Abyssinia, to see how the first bishop of the Jesuits, Andres Oviedo, has managed his apostolate. Doubtless we remember the occasion of this promising mission—resulting, if we are to believe the Jesuits, from an express invitation of Asnaf, the Abyssinian king—the descendant of the famous Prester John.* The king of Portugal and Father Ignatius wrote letters to the king of Abyssinia. These letters went through the hands of the Indian viceroy, who sent them to Asnaf by “three other persons, that they might sound the Emperor’s inclinations before the patriarch’s arrival,”† a precaution scarcely necessary if Asnaf was really a party to the visitation.

Only two of the Jesuits (how cautiously they move) entered the country: but suspicion was there before them: King Asnaf, the descendant of King Solomon, (as the race royal of Ethiopia claimed to be deemed,) suspected some sinister design in this expedition; and even if he had applied for a Roman patriarch, there was surely no need of sending one in the shape of thirteen Jesuits. Asnaf argued very naturally that these Jesuits were but the forerunners of an European invasion. If he had not the head of Solomon, he had the eyes of an observer, and could look around at his neighbors in their exemplary misfortunes. It was, in fact, the common opinion round about that “he would become the tributary of the conquerors, and that the Catholic religion sanctioned all manner of spoliations;”‡ so averse were the nobles to their admission that some of them openly affirmed that they would sooner “submit to the Turkish than the Roman yoke.”§

Asnaf gave them an audience: one of them explained the doctrines of the Roman faith. Asnaf heard the Jesuits patiently, but dismissed them with a letter to the king of Portugal, which was as much as to say that “he had his doubts about the matter, and begged to decline their services.”

* This time-honored name is a curious specimen of learned absurdity, in seeking to explain a difficulty before verifying its existence. “Prester John” is consecrated to the royal skull of Ethiopia: but it was the name of a Nestorian Priest, John by name. He was the Mohammed of the twelfth century; and his kingdom was in Asia, near China. According to Du Cange, William of Tripoli, and other writers, a Nestorian priest, about the middle of the twelfth century, assembled troops of his sect, and pretending to be of the race of the Magi, usurped the dominions of his king, Choriem-Ran, after his death. He vanquished seventy-two kings in upper Asia, and extended his empire to the Indies and Tartary. Meanwhile, Scaliger, and other geniuses have grubbed out the etymology of the name in the Persian and Arabic; and Cretineau records the intelligence that “*Prester John* is *Ethiopian* for *great and precious!*” Just like *Gherkin* from *Jeremiah King*: naturally derived thus—Jerry king, Jer king, Gherkin. See for the above explanation of Prester John, Mem. sur l’Ethiop. in Lettres Edif. t. i. p. 636.

† A brief account . . . Hist. of Ethiop. 1679.

‡ Cretineau, i. 486.

§ Hist. of Ethiop., before quoted.

The spokesman was Rodriguez: his special mission had been "to study the situation of the country," say the Jesuits themselves.* He returned to his eleven companions at Goa, for further orders—an unfortunate precaution, for the king was given to understand that "a great number more were waiting at Goa to be transported into his kingdom."† He was frightened at the idea of this Jesuit invasion,—although in sending forth thirteen Jesuits, Father Ignatius, it is said, only intended to represent Christ and the twelve apostles.‡

Rodriguez, the pioneer and explorer, decamped; not so Oviedo the militant bishop. The sturdy Jesuit resolved "not to yield his footing so easily." He challenged discussion with the schismatic monks: the king joined in the controversy, and "very much foiled the bishop," for "he knew more than his doctors."§

Then the Jesuit-bishop came down with an excommunication of the whole church of Abyssinia.¶ Asnaf had threatened to put Oviedo to death, but contented himself with banishing him for ever from his presence.|| An enemy, two months after, appeared on the frontier: Claudius went forth to give him battle: fortune was against him: the Turk prevailed: the king was slain; and left his throne to Adamas his brother, a sworn foe of the Roman Catholics, "upon whose account," he said, "his brother had not only lost his life, but the whole empire of Ethiopia had been reduced nearly to ruin."**

Severe measures against the Roman Catholics ensued. Oviedo stood before the king. Adamas forbade him to preach Catholicism. The Jesuit replied: "'Tis better to obey God than men." At this bold reply, the king brandished his scimitar to cut off the Jesuit's head: but the Queen threw herself at his feet, the Jesuit stood unterrified, and the king withheld the blow.†† This is a fine Jesuit-picture; but another account says that Adamas only tore the gown from the Jesuit's back, which makes no picture at all.†††

A persecution of the Catholics followed: "divers were imprisoned, tortured, and put to death." Oviedo and his companions were banished to a cold and desolate mountain, for the space of eight months. A miracle set them free. "A princess of the blood royal, whom curiosity, or rather Providence, had led to the cavern of the banished Jesuits, beheld their persons surrounded by a miraculous light, and obtained from Adamas the recall of the holy missionaries." They set to work again; made new conversions; and the persecution was redoubled; and "the miracle of Daniel" in the den of lions, "was renewed," say the Jesuits. "Five Abyssinians who had abjured error, were exposed to famished lions: the ferocity of the lions was changed into tameness." Adamas changed not, however; and his cruelty eventuated a splendid miracle, unsurpassed either in the Bible or the legends of the saints. "He condemned Oviedo, his companions and disciples, to a more distant and horrible exile than the first. They were on the point of per-

* Cretineau, i. 485.

† Prof. Lee's Brief Acc. in Gobat's Journ.

‡ Ibid.

§ Cretineau, Brief Acc., and Lettres Edif., t. i. p. 630.

|| Brief Acc. in Gobat.

¶ Ibid.

** Ibid.

†† Cretineau, i. 486.

†† Hist. of Ethiop., before quoted.

ishing from hunger and thirst,—when God, touched by Oviedo's prayer, caused to appear to their eye, a *river*, which, opening asunder after quenching their thirst, presented to them *a multitude of fishes*, enough to feed them.”*

The tyrant's severity was an admirable excuse for rebellion ; and accordingly a leader was soon found, who, with “thirty Portuguese,” entered into a conspiracy against the king, “not without the concurrent instigation of the Jesuits who led the Portugal faction.”†

Adamas tried to temporise with the Portuguese, and even invited the Jesuits into his camp : but the evil was done : battles ensued : Adamas was worsted ; and died soon after.‡

Respecting his successor, the accounts before me are very conflicting : some making him a persecutor, others “eminent in glory and virtue,” and a great admirer of “the morals and holy life of the Jesuits.” Nevertheless Oviedo was by no means comfortable, nor was his cause triumphant—for the pope recalled him from the mission, with orders to proceed to China or Japan, which, however, he did not, or did not live to obey. In great privation at Fremona, a town in the kingdom of Tigrá, he had not even paper to write a letter to the pope, or to the King of Portugal (as another account states), and was forced to tear out the fly-leaves of his breviary or an old commentary,§ sticking them together for the purpose. One account states that he expressed the wish to leave Ethiopia, “charging the miscarriage of his whole enterprise on the want of aids from Portugal :”—others assert that he stated the difficulties of his mission, but still affirmed his desire to remain on the ungrateful soil in spite of his tribulations. He was ready for martyrdom. “Yet” (by another account quoting his letter) “he must be permitted to inform his Holiness that, with the assistance of five or six hundred Portuguese soldiers, he could at any time reduce the empire of Abyssinia to the obedience of the pontificate ; and, when he considered that it was a country surrounded by territories abounding with the finest gold, and promising a rich harvest of souls to the Church, he trusted his Holiness would give the matter further consideration.”|| In effect what was wanting ? Only Portuguese muskets and a viceroy. “All who have any experience of Ethiopia,” says the Jesuit Tellez, “know that without arms in hand to defend and authorise the Catholic preachers, we shall never have the desired success among those schismatics.”¶ With these sentiments, Oviedo could not bring his mind “to see the Holy Church of Rome lose the most glorious enterprise under heaven—and this only for want of 500 or 600 Portuguese sol-

* Lett. Edif. i. 631. † Hist. of Ethiop., 13. ‡ Ibid.; and Lett. Edif. i. 631.

§ Acosta says, “non plus digitali magnitudine, e vetusto (ut videtur) aliquo commentario excerpta.”—Rer. in Or. 31.

|| See, for the conflicting accounts of this mission, Cretineau, i.; Prof. Lee's Brief Acc. in Gobat; Hist. of Ethiop., as before; Lettres Edif. et Cur.; Ludolf. Hist. Ethiop.; La Croze; Geddes; Tellez; Acost., Rer. in Orient. p. 31; Voyage aux Indes, iii.; Lobo, Voy. d'Ethiop.; Sacchin. i. iii. iv.

¶ “Esta sempre foy a practica dos que tem experientia de Ethiopia, que semas armas na mam, que defendam et autorizem a os Pregadores Catholicos nam poderam nunqua ter o successo desejado entre aquelles schismaticos.”—P. 184.

diers."* But the fact is, the promises of the Jesuits were mistrusted even in Portugal; and whether the Court had no reliance on the word of the Jesuits, or was unable to lend them assistance, it was resolved to command a retreat to all the Portuguese in Ethiopia, who were rather numerous there, and as infamously debauched as elsewhere.† Some make Oviedo leave the country—others settle him for fifteen or sixteen years at Fremona, dying a saint, with miracles after death as numerous as those which he performed in life, according to the Jesuits. Such was the first expedition of the Jesuits into Ethiopia; and such was its termination after all the efforts of Ignatius, all the expenses of the King of Portugal. It was attended with great suffering and persecution to the people—disgrace to religion—and good to none—not even to the Jesuits, whatever interpretation they might give to the word.

If the political designs of Portugal on Abyssinia failed by the precipitation of the Jesuits, and the promptitude of the native sovereigns, the eastern coast of Africa presented fewer obstacles to the religio-political advance of the Jesuits. Not content with their sovereignty in Arabia, Persia, the two Peninsulas of India, the Moluccas, Ceylon, the Isles of Sunda, and a settlement at Macao—which last ensured them the commerce of China and Japan—the Portuguese invaded the opposite coast of Africa;—and in the beginning of the sixteenth century established an empire extending from Sofala to Melinda, from the Tropic of Capricorn to the Equator. Mosambique was its centre, well fortified and garrisoned, commanding the ocean and the African continent. Gold, ivory, and slaves, were its attractions.

Under the shelter of this absorbing power three Jesuits were dispatched into the country between Sofala and Mosambique, in the year 1560;—their leader was Gonsalvo Silveria, a Portuguese. Accordingly, we are assured that in a few days—*intra paucos dies*, the native king, his wife, sister, children, relatives, nobles—in a word, almost the entire population,—with great joy and gratulation became Christians, or rather, (to translate the original,) the Jesuits “cleansed them in the sacred fount—*sacro fonte lustrarunt*;” and a church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.‡

Andrew Fernandez boldly advanced among the horrid savages of Caffre-land. Threats and contumely dismayed him not:—inflamed with the zeal of a scriptural enthusiast, or strong in the terror by his country’s arms inspired, he presented himself in the midst of a festivity celebrated by the savages, demolished with his own hands the whole apparatus of the pagan rites, and trampled them under foot with impunity. The King of the Caffres was present,—the Jesuit humbled him, covered him with confusion, in the presence of his subjects.§ Still, the

* “Ver perder a Santa Igreja de Roma a mays gloriosa Empreza, que ha debayxo dos ceos, et isto so por falta de quinhentos, a seycientos Soldados Portuguezes.”—Tellez, p. 195.

† “Mas como nosso Senhor (a o que parece) queria com elle castigar as liberdades et solturas de que alguns Portuguezes uzavam em Ethiopia, assim tambem quiz, que elle nam passasse sem acoute.”—Id. p. 178.

‡ Acost. Rer. in Orient. p. 32.

§ This is called by Acosta, *Andreae ingens facinus*, Andrew’s mighty exploit. It

king had been baptised: his presence at these pagan rites explains the depth of his conversion.

Meanwhile Gonsalvez left Mosambique, with six Portuguese for his escort, proceeding to Quiloa on the coast, by sea. A dreadful storm arose: all was over with them, as they thought: but the Jesuit "raised his hands and eyes to heaven in supplication:"—the winds ceased, and the waves were still.*

Through the lands colonised by the Portuguese, Gonsalvez advanced, reforming and baptising the slaves of the Portuguese, and was received everywhere with great demonstrations of respect by the native kings, who were vastly edified by the Jesuit's disinterestedness. Thinking all the Portuguese alike, one of these kings offered him "as many women, as much gold, land, and as many cows as he pleased." The Jesuit replied that "he only wanted the king himself." Then the king ejaculated to the interpreter a moral universally useful: "Indeed," said he, "since he will receive none of the things which are so vastly coveted by others, he must be immensely different from other mortals." The king dismissed him with the kindest expressions of friendship,—the Jesuit devising a method to convert the sable king, constitutionally fond of the "fair sex," if the term may, by courtesy, be applied to the ladies of Africa. It succeeded to admiration. Gonsalvez said mass next morning in an open spot, exposing on the altar a picture of the Virgin Mary, which he had brought from India. Some of the "couriers" passing by, fancied they saw a real woman of great beauty. They reported accordingly to the king, who instantly sent to the Jesuit, telling him he had heard that he had a wife; that he wished him exceedingly to bring her to him. Gonsalvez covered the picture with a costly robe, and took it to the king. Before he exposed it to view, in order the more to sharpen the king's desire—*desiderium quod magis excusat*, Gonsalvez told him that it "was the image of God's mother, in whose power and dominion were all the kings and emperors of the whole world." Then he uncovered the image. It received the king's veneration. He asked the Jesuit again and again to give it him: the Jesuit consented, and placed it in the king's chamber, fitting up the room as an oratory or chapel—*veluti sacellum quoddam precandi causâ peristromatis exornat*. Whilst the king slept that night, "the Queen of Heaven appeared, standing by his side, exactly as represented in the picture, surrounded with a divine light, shining with a sweet splendor, with a most venerable and joyful aspect." On the following day the king sent for Gonsalvez and told him that he was "wonderfully concerned that he could not understand the words of the Queen of Heaven, which she spoke to him every night." Gonsalvez was ready with his elucidation: he told the savage "that her language was divine, and not

seems that the king, *licet baptizatum*, though baptised, was a bit of a rogue; and the bold Jesuit compelled him to acknowledge that he had *no power over the rains of heaven* (so useful to the crops), as was pretended by the Caffre kings—a sort of Vatican prerogative to cajole the people and make them submissive. This humiliating confession of the king would at once cast him far below the wonder-workers of Jesuitism.

* Acost. ib. 32. b.

to be understood except by those who submitted to the laws of that Queen's son, who was God and the Redeemer of the whole human race." In conclusion, the king and three hundred of his "nobles" were solemnly baptised with great pomp and ceremony,—the king being very consistently named Sebastian, after the King of Portugal, and his mother received the name of Mary, after the Queen of Heaven.* If you remember "the trumpeters in the nave," placed by the preacher of Navarre, you may easily guess the secret of this reflecting and speaking picture, managed by the Jesuits.

Subsequent success tallied with this splendid beginning; it seemed likely that the whole population would become Christians, when some powerful and clever Mahometans, in high favor with the king, made serious representations to his majesty respecting the Jesuit expedition, assuring him that he was endangering his life and kingdom; that Gonsalvez was an emissary of the viceroy of India and the chiefs of Sofala sent to explore his condition, to excite the minds of his people to rebellion, and ready with an army to follow up the movement with a hostile invasion. We can only record such imputations, having no means of verification; but it is remarkable that savages as well as civilised men, came to the same opinion respecting the Jesuits. True or false, the representations were deemed probable by the king; Gonsalvez was doomed to destruction. He was killed, and his body was thrown into the river, "lest the corpse of such an evil-doer, if left on the ground, should kill them with its poison;" for he was believed "to have brought with him various poisons and medicaments to work on the minds of the people and kill the king." Fifty Christians whom Gonsalvez had baptised on his last day, shared the same fate. The Portuguese interfered, and threatened the king with the vengeance of war. This threat had due effect. The king expressed regret, threw the blame upon his advisers, whom, with barbaric recklessness, he put to death without delay, to propitiate the Juggernauts of Portugal. When the intelligence of these transactions reached India, more Jesuits were despatched to the country, at the urgent request of the viceroy—*vehementer optante Prorege*, in order "to promote the beginnings which promised altogether happy progress."[†]

In Brazil, the Company of Jesus had produced a miracle-worker, such as the world had never seen before—whose like we shall never see again. The Jesuit Anchieta far excelled even Xavier in powers miraculous. The Jesuits call him the Apostle of Brazil, and the Thaumaturg of the age.[‡] The wonders related of this man, by the Jesuits, surpass in absurdity all that can possibly be imagined. Let the Jesuits describe him: "His praises may be comprised in one word if we call him the *Innocent Adam*. It was only just for God to create an Adam for the mortals of the New World—*mortalibus Novi Orbis novum à Deo creari Adamum par erat*. I know not which to call his terrestrial Paradise—the Canary Islands, where he was born, or the Com-

* Acosta, *ibid.* p. 35, *et seq.*

† Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu, Joseph Anchieta.

† Acost., p. 59.

pany which he entered ; for, in the former, he breathed the breath of life ; in the latter, the breath of grace. He shared the four endowments which Adam received in his state of innocence ; namely, dominion over the animal creation, a right will, an enlightened understanding, an immortal body. His dominion over the animal creation was proved six hundred times by fishes, birds, wild beasts, serpents, all which he would call in the Brazilian language : they obeyed and followed him, by the privilege of Adam : ‘Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.’ Wherever he wished, fishes were found, and suffered themselves to be caught ; hence he was called by the ignorant savages the father who gives us the fishes we want. And it sometimes happened that the people of a village being reduced to want by being hindered from fishing in stormy weather, he led them all to the beach and asked them what sort of fish they desired. By way of a joke, they would ask for a sort not found at that season of the year ; and he would produce such a shoal of the fishes, that they caught with their nets, nay even with their hands, as many as they liked. He would call birds to praise God, and they flew to him and perched on his finger and chirped. A flock of crows had gathered round about some fishes laid out on the shore by the fishermen ; at his command they moved off and waited for a promised part of the prey. Once on a voyage, when ill, and the sun’s meridian rays were too hot to bear, he commanded a bird to go and call her companions to make him a shade—a parasol. And she went and gathered a flock and returned, and they shaded the ship with their wings, to the length of three miles, until he dismissed them, and they flew off with a joyful croaking.—Often, whilst he was praying or preaching, little birds would perch on his head and his arms ; so great was their beauty, that they seemed things of Heaven rather than of earth.”* The savage beasts of the forest—the ferocious jaguar he tamed ; two of them followed him as guards when he went to the woods at night to say his prayers, and when he returned he rewarded their fidelity with some fruit—*fructibus*—which enhanced the miracle ; seeing that their carnivorous stomach accommodated itself to an herbivorous digestion,—their intestines were elongated, as a matter of course. He even used the beasts of the country to instruct the savages, and impress them with their barbarity : thus, the death of a large monkey, killed by a Brazilian, furnished him with matter for a sermon and occasion for a miracle. “The noise that this animal made in falling,” says Jouvencel, “having brought to the spot all the other monkeys of the neighborhood, Anchieta spoke to them in his language, commanded them to go and invite the little ones, the father, the mother, in fine all the relatives and friends of the deceased, to assist at his funeral and celebrate his obsequies. All these animals assembled immediately, making great lamentations, some striking their breasts with their paws, others rolling on the ground before the corpse, others tearing their beard and sprawling in the

* Bib. Script. Soc. Jesu, Joseph Anchiet.

dust,—all moaning and pulling frightful faces. After these preludes, many monkeys approached, and lifted the defunct, and carried him on their shoulders, whilst the rest followed the funeral, leaping from tree to tree. There were some,” says the *historian*, “ which, imitating the ferocity of the barbarians, seemed to reproach them with it, by glaring on them with furious and threatening looks. Thus the funeral advanced to a village four miles off. Then Anchieta, dreading lest the savages would set upon these charitable animals, commanded them to return into the woods, and they obeyed. Thereupon the Jesuit, turning to the Brazilians who were already running to give chase to the monkeys, exclaimed: ‘ See how these beasts bewail the death of one of their kind, whilst you rejoice at the death of your fellow-creatures, and sometimes devour them alive.’ ” Whether Father Jouvenci perceived the absurdity of this missionary Arabian Entertainment, or really wished to give us an idea of the natural and most excusable incredulity of these savages, he adds that this adventure of the wonderful Anchieta only made them laugh.* Nieremberg says that Anchieta stopped a tempest which was impending, in order that the Indians might enjoy a comedy which he had composed for them. It lasted three hours in the representation, and the tempest frowned pregnant with its cataract; “ but the prayer of God’s servant held them fast” until the people departed, and then the tempest burst with whirlwinds, floods, and dreadful thunders.† Savage bulls he forced to the yoke by the sign of the cross; and sometimes, merely to amuse the Indians who happened to be with him, he would, for mere sport, *ad oblectamentum*, command the monkeys of the woods to gambol and to dance, and they did so, until he dismissed them. “ Our Adam handled serpents without injury—*serpentes Adamus noster inoffensus tractabat*. So completely did he rule over vipers, that when he trod on one with his naked feet, and tried to make it bite him, it licked his foot respectfully, nor did it dare to lie in ambush for his heel.”‡ We almost fancy that these marvels were invented expressly to ridicule all that Christians read with awe and adoration. Nor is the budget exhausted, by very many items. All nature was subject unto him: he spoke, and all obeyed him. Tempests he stilled, desperate diseases he cured, showers he suspended in the air, language he gave to a dumb infant, life and vigor to a dying father, limbs to the maimed. He cured leprosy with water, consumption with the touch of his sleeve, headache with the shreds of his garments, and the sound of his voice dispelled anguish of mind and put to flight temptations. The elements themselves respected him as their master—*ipsa elementa observabant ut dominum*. Often when a shower came on during a journey, whilst his companions were wet to the skin—*permadentibus*—he appeared quite dry—*siccus apparuit*. The sea respected him as well as the showers. When in prayer kneeling on the beach, the flowing tide would pass beside him, leaving a vacant space where he was enclosed within a double wall of the

* Juvenci, Hist. lib. xxiii. p. 766, apud Quesnel, i. 160.

† Varones Illustris, ii. 519.

‡ Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, *ubi suprà*.

heaped up billows—*velut in geminum parietem undis exaggeratis*—and leaving him a dry path to the shore in the midst of the waters. “But what need of many instances,” exclaims the Jesuit, “since he ruled nature not as a master but as a tyrant—*sed quid multis opus est, cum non tam dominatu, quam tyrannide naturam tenuit*, and sometimes forced her to produce what she did not possess—*cogeret interdum quod non habebat exhibere*. In a great scarcity of oil he produced some from an empty cask, and though dry within, it afforded for two years as much oil as was wanted for two colleges, for the use of the church, the table, and the poor.” He changed water into wine, to revive some one on a journey; and to humor the longing of a sick man, he changed a fish into an oyster—*piscem in pernam mutavit*.* A pagan, who falsely thought himself a Christian, had died. Joseph called back his soul, and led it back to his body, baptised him, and sent him back to Heaven—*alius Gentilis, qui se Christianum falso crediderat, obierat; ejus animam Josephus revocavit, reduxitque ad corpus, baptismo tinxit, ac cælo remisit*. He knew what happened in his absence, secrets, and things about to happen; and he foretold them as distinctly as though his mind was the mirror of the Divine Wisdom to which all things are present—*quam si Divinæ Sapientiæ, cui præsencia sunt omnia, speculum esset ejus intellectus*. Inspirations, revelations, the peculiar endowments of beatified bodies he enjoyed, “for we know on good authority that whilst in prayer his body was often raised from the ground, surrounded with the most brilliant light, with heavenly music sounding the while.” They say he once forgot his breviary, leaving it behind, twenty-four miles off; an angel brought it to him !† In the twinkling of an eye he performed long journeys—*memento temporis longa itinera decurrisse*; yea, was in two places at one and the same time; and when you liked he would make himself invisible, sometimes vanishing, then returning to astonish and stupefy the spectators. It is scarcely credible that God created a man of such wonders for one world only—*virum hunc tantæ admirabilitatis vix credibile sit a Deo fuisse uni mundo conditum*.‡ Surely there was enough in all these wonders and portents to make a *saint* for the glory on earth of the Company of Jesus; but though the Jesuits expected that result,§ they were disappointed, and Joseph Ancheta remains the silly, stupid thing of their biographies, though he may have been, for all we know to the contrary, a laborious missioner, and author of a few books, rendered curiosities by the “solid falsehoods” of his brethren respecting their author.||

* Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, *ubi suprà*.

† Tableaux, p. 231.

‡ Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, *ubi suprà*.

§ “Et spes est illum propediem ab sancta Matre Ecclesiâ utro mundo ad venerationem, imitationemque (!) propositum iri,” &c.—*Ibid.*

|| Among the rest, he wrote a *Drama* for the extirpation of the vices of Brazil!—*Drama ad extirpanda Brasilia vicia*. *Ibid.* One would suppose that his miraculous powers ought to have given them “a twist,” as St. Patrick served the frogs and toads of Erin, and “banished them for ever.” Besides his life in the *Bibliotheca*, and Neiremberg’s amongst his *Varones Illustris*, Illustrious Men of the Company, there are two lives of Ancheta by the Jesuits Beretarius and Roterigius, all horribly ridiculous.

These angels of disturbance and inventors of fables—with the best possible intentions, if we are to believe themselves—were not less active in Europe than in India, Abyssinia, Caffre-land, and Brazil. In 1560, the Jesuits penetrated into Switzerland: the Valteline, in the land of the Grisons, became the scene of contention. The invading force consisted of three priests and three other Jesuits not in orders. They insinuated themselves into the good graces of a certain Antonius Quadrius, a simple old gentleman of the Valteline, belonging to one of the first families of the country. How it happened, who can tell?—but the old gentleman gave the Jesuits all his wealth to build a college —*re suā familiari collegio extruendo donatā*. The Jesuits took possession; but it appears they were too precipitate. A mandate of the Canton fell upon their dreams like a nightmare. They were ordered to leave the country forthwith. The messenger added that “he was a Catholic, and on that account he was unwilling to proceed to force: he rather would give them a friendly hint, to return to their people, and not to wait for compulsion.” But it would never do to resign so easily a boon so promising: the Jesuits held out, and their patron, the old gentleman, protested against the mandate. There was a gathering of the people—men and women: the nobility joined in the fray. The old gentleman’s relatives were naturally excited. He had no children, and they were his heirs at law. They tried persuasion with the Jesuit-principal, Tarquinius Raynaldus. They begged that he would not rob them of all their inheritance, contrary to the rights and customs of men. The Jesuit’s reply was handsome, whether it be the composition of Sacchinus or Raynaldus. “It is only a few days since I have become acquainted with Quadrius [the old gentleman aforesaid]: religious men who have given up their own patrimony do not come into this valley in quest of another. We are here by command of those whom we have taken as the rulers of our life, in the place of Christ the Lord: we are ready, should occasion require, to give our life and blood for the salvation of souls, not only to the family of Quadrius, but all the world. But if Quadrius will listen to me, I will see that he bequeaths to you a great part of the inheritance. For, although it were better for him to consecrate the work to God, as he had resolved, still, in order to preserve peace with all men, I shall suggest what you demand. A few religious men will not be suffered to want sustenance, by the bounty of the other citizens, and the providence of the heavenly Father.”* This fine address was really all they could desire: and so they went their way, rejoicing; but the Jesuits at once began to teach a multitude of boys, whom they divided into three classes; and vast was the daily conflux of accessions to the benches. They had sent Quadrius to appeal: they were working away joyously, when down came a final decree from the authorities abolishing the college. Resistance was vain: the determination to dislodge them was evident. The Jesuits yielded to the storm for the present, and took their departure, treasuring the remembrance of what they left behind—“ draw-

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 59.

ing at each remove a lengthened chain." In the following year, the agitation was vigorously renewed. Sacchinus puts all the motives and expedients to the account of the *people*: but their source is too evident to be thus mistaken: they are as follows:—that Quadrius was a man of great authority, and would be respected by the princes of Germany, and the Emperor himself: that recommendations from all the princes of Christendom would prevail: that the consent and agitation of all the people of the Valteline would gain the day: that nothing was certainly *impregnabile to money*—*pecuniae certe nihil inexpugnabile esse*. The relatives of Quadrius could be won over by the hope of getting a great part of the inheritance—the Governor of the Valteline, being a Catholic, would undertake the business, and bring it to a happy issue.* Letters of recommendation were forthwith obtained from the King of France, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Bohemia, the Marquis of Piscaria, the Governor of Milan, the Duke of Bavaria, the Catholic Cantons, and other authorities, addressed to the Grisons in favor of the scheme. Is not this determined manœuvre worthy of admiration? Is it easy to get rid of the Jesuits when they have once had a footing? Nor was this all. They chose two of the citizens—sharp and sturdy men—*acres ac strenuos viros*—as their commissioners. These went about among the neighboring people, praying and conjuring the Catholics to favor the common cause; and others they filled with promises—*cæteros implent promissis*. Their old patron was stimulated almost to frenzy: he was ready to resign all he had—even the shirt on his back—nay, he would even give up himself, with apostolical charity—*apostolica caritate superimpendere seipsum*. Meanwhile, the "heretics" were no less active on the other side, agitating with equal determination, perfectly convinced that there was not a greater pestilence against the Gospel than the Jesuits—*nullam esse Evangelio suo capitaliorem pestem quam Jesuitas*. In the midst of this fermentation, the cause was tried before the authorities. The Jesuit-commissioners delivered a speech, carefully prepared—*accuratè præparatæ oratione*—which you will find in Sacchinus, much too long and elaborate for translation, but duly eloquent and diffuse on the good qualities and pious intentions of the founder of the college which had been taken from the Jesuits, imputing the worst motives to his heirs at law, ascribing the banishment of the Jesuits to their avarice—the whole concluding with the following glorious peroration:—"Therefore, most excellent gentlemen, preserve far and wide the reputation of your firmness and gravity, with our safety and dignity. The most Christian King of France begs this of you," (saying this, they exhibited the letters): "the Emperor Ferdinand begs it: Maximilian, the King of Bohemia, Albert, Duke of Bavaria, the Republic of the Swiss, the Governor of Milan, our whole country, suppliant at your feet, our children, our grandchildren, our whole posterity, all join in the petition. If they could come hither, you might see the boys, the mothers of families, the whole population of the valley and all the vicinity, prostrate at your

* Sacchin. lib. v. 96.

feet, uplifting their hands in supplication. For, most kind gentlemen, we have experienced the powers of this right Institution: we know the learning and talent of these men. They were only a few months among us, and already our boys are different to what they were: they are much more modest than before, more quiet at home and out of doors, more respectful to their elders, more obliging to their relatives, and far more desirous of praise and learning. Confiding in the justice of our cause, in the wisdom of Quadrius, in the glory of his deed, and in your justice and kindness, we deem all the annoyances, or expenses which we have incurred in the matter, rightly placed, in order that the memory of so great a benefit, first conferred by Quadrius, and by you, who will restore it, shall live forever in our mind, and that of our posterity.” The address was delivered with vehemence and with tears, says Sacchinus.*

This glorious speech might have been a prize-essay of some pupil among the Jesuits. You will find other specimens in Jouvenci’s *Orations*, on a variety of topics or common-places.† But the speech shows its origin—and what the Jesuits say of themselves and their miraculous transformations amongst “the boys” and the mothers of families. As such it would have been a pity not to give an extract. The address of the Jesuit-commissioners overshot the mark, and was heard with apathy. The relatives of the old gentleman were skilful lawyers and spoke for themselves, and were heard with immense applause and success. They said that their relative was extremely old and without children: they were consequently the lawful heirs to his property: that it was unjust to permit his wealth to pass into the hands of adventurers, who, under the pretence of instructing youth, were only seeking to enrich themselves with the spoils of individuals, and to alter in their favor the maxims and fundamental laws of nations—that the great age of their relative had weakened his mind, and that these Jesuits had taken advantage of his imbecility to induce him to give them his money, thus robbing his relatives and his country, and pampering a set of vagabond and turbulent monks with the wealth of the Valteline.‡ This appears to have been the general opinion of the audience; for a decree was passed banishing forthwith the Jesuits from the country of the Grisons, as the enemies of the Gospel. The old gentleman’s donation was cancelled; and the administration of his affairs was given over to his relatives, though he was undisturbed in the possession and use of his property during life, but all was to descend to his relatives after his death. The Jesuits say there was immense lamentation at this decree, and that the fathers had not got five miles from the city before a severe earthquake shook the country, “so that the vulgar feared lest the earth should open and hell should swallow down all the people on account of the crime of those who had expelled the fathers.”§ I expected to read of

* Sacchin. lib. v. 101.

† Juvencii *Orations*. See also *Stradæ Eloquentia Bipartita*, which is rather more sensible than the former.

‡ Sacchin. lib. v. 102.

§ “Vix ab ponte quinque millia passuum recesserant, cùm tam gravi motu illa omnis

some such portent at the end of the affair ; and would have been much surprised had I not found it recorded. In truth, it is hard to maintain the requisite impartiality of the historian when we have to do with such desperate party men, such unreasonable and reckless inventors as the Jesuits. There is, however, an unintentional equivocation in the words "*scelus ejectorum patrum:*"—which may be interpreted into—"the crime of the ejected fathers," which crime may have had as much to do with the "earthquake" as anything else *below*. Disturbances and menacings among the Jesuit-party were left in fermentation : but it was thought useless to make any further efforts to regain the college. Still Sacchinus assures us that the old gentleman, Quadrius, again ratified the grant before his death, which followed close upon the edict—apparently to justify the stubborn pertinacity of the Jesuits in still clinging to the property: for Raynaldi again went to the city, and managed to make an impression on one of the heirs—but all to no further purpose, although the Jesuit tells of various calamities falling upon the "peculators of the sacred money."* Whatever view we take of this expedition into the Valteline, it is impossible to make it reflect credit on the Company. An imbecile old man—the disturbances that ensued—the evident hand or toil of the Jesuits throughout the agitation—their subsequent hankering after the money,—all must declare that grasping spirit of possession which the Jesuits soon began to display—and the sort of victims they selected.

Whilst the Jesuits were thus expelled from Switzerland for the reasons above stated—the inhabitants of Monte Pulciano in the Duchy of Tuscany were endeavoring to get rid of them as the corruptors of their wives and daughters. It certainly does appear, from their own version of the affair, that the accusations were not without foundation. Sacchinus treats them as popular rumors: but the very facts which he does admit lead us to infer the contrary :—at all events, as in the Swiss affair, the Jesuits invariably appeal to popular demonstrations in their favor : they should, therefore, be the last to shield the guilt of their men by depreciating the credit of the popular voice. The facts are follows. One of the Jesuits was accused of having offered violence to a respectable lady, who, trying to escape from his brutal passion, was, by the savage, fiercely pursued. One of their lay-brothers had also committed himself in a manner unbecoming a religious man, or any man, though Sacchinus says he was imprudent and too simple, and only asked a woman whither she was going. In addition to this, a Jesuit had been seen leaving the college, and entering a disreputable house, where he remained all night. The Jesuits—mighty men of disguises as they were—easily get rid of this, by stating that some rogue had disguised himself as a father, in order to increase the bad odor of the

*ora concussa est, ut vulgus timerent, ne dehiscente terrâ ob scélus ejectorum patrum
(sic interpretabantur) omnes Tartarus absorberet.”—Sacchin. lib. v. 106.*

* Ib. 106. As an instance of Jesuit-mystery, take the following phrase, whose meaning is, that Father Tarquinius made a religious impression on one of the heirs : “*Cum Pater Tarquinius . . . pontem abiisset, unum heredum religio subiit?*”—*religion went into the mind of one of the heirs!*

Jesuits—a method of exculpation, or rather ■ recrimination, which requires us to believe a double or a triple crime in another man rather than the simple one in a Jesuit.* Certain it is, as Sacchinus admits, that the Jesuits were extremely familiar and diffuse with the ladies of Monte Pulciano, and confessed almost all the women and girls of the city.† It is even said that the very walls of the Company's church breathed and begat devotion—*ipsos templi Societatis parietes spirare et ingenerare in adeuntium animis pietatem.* Accordingly, the number of the women who frequently went to confession and the sacrament, was immense, and their devotion remarkable. This sacred tribunal was always the shoal of frail ministers; and must ever be the bitter source of never-ending temptation to the most virtuous. The close contact of beauty, the warm breathings of the sanguine, the soft accents of blushing modesty, must naturally ruffle, and stir, and agitate the feelings of the confessor; but when to this gentle attraction of human sympathy is superadded by the fair penitent, the more or less protracted list of her temptations, her troublesome thoughts, her frailties, how horrible must be the intensity of that struggle with the clinging suggestions of nature in the confessor, who finds that his penitent is inclined to be as frail as himself! Against the Jesuits of Monte Pulciano suspicion succeeded to suspicion: the people shunned them, and one of the principal citizens felt himself called upon to protect the honor of his family. This gentleman had two sisters, very amiable both of them: they were the spiritual daughters of Father Gombar, Jesuit, and rector of the college at Monte Pulciano. They were accustomed to enjoy long conversations, on pious matters, with the Jesuit, apparently contrary to the stringent rules and regulations on the subject of female intercourse, which I have already laid before the reader. Rules and regulations are good things, but they are nothing if not observed. Public rumors frightened Gombar, and he bethought him of the rules and regulations, and, of course, offended his spiritual daughters, though very much given to piety—*plurimum deditæ pietati.* But he had not the strength to do more than half his duty, for he only threw off or cut short one sister, and retained the other, who was ■ matron, and had a son in the Company. The dismissed lady imparted a bad suspicion to her brother, actuated by jealousy, according to the insinuation of Sacchinus: but can we be even sure of the alleged cause of jealousy? It is so easy to invent the obvious crimination,—though it is impossible to say what a jealous or slighted woman will *not* do for revenge. Be that as it may; the result was ■ fact which spoke at least ■ strong conviction of the Jesuit's guilt or indiscretions. The brother of the ladies forbade both of them to confess to the fathers, and even to visit the rector. A great sensation ensued: all the noble ladies of Monte Pulciano were scared from the church of the Jesuits. A good-natured Capuchin monk, with brotherly sympathy

* However he reasserts the fact subsequently, and says that he saw a document in which the man is stated to have confessed the disguise on his death-bed!—Sacchin. lib. vii. c. 25.

† “Sed seminarum ad confessionem et sanctam Eucharistiam crebrð accedentium numerus et pietas erat insignis.”—Id. lib. v. 107.

thy, lent assistance to the Jesuit's reputation, and gave him a stave from the pulpit; but, whatever was the intention of the monk, his sermon became a trumpet to the scandal, and everybody "took the thing in hand," determined to "sift it to the bottom."

A number of love-letters, either written to, or by Gombar, was found. It was also discovered that he had inveigled a large sum of money from a lady, which the grand vicar of the place compelled him to restore. Sacchinus says that the vicar treated him in a most honorable manner—when he proved that he had made restitution—*probatā satisfactione*: but it was a very bad case altogether, and Gombar, the Jesuit rector, took to flight, and nobody knew what had become of him, until it was made known to the offended world of Monte Pulciano that General Lainez had expelled him from the Company, saying, "He should have done anything rather than permit himself to appear guilty by such a flight, and cause the name of the Society and of so honest and holy a lady to be contaminated. If he had not the courage to die, he might have avoided the danger of death by hiding himself at home. Why did he not fly to Perusia, or to Rome, if he fled at all?" The penalty was expulsion;—though Gombar begged to the last to be set to any work, *even* to the tuition of youth all the days of his life!—*ac nominatim ad pueros totam vitam docendos paratum**—hence we may see the estimation in which this department of the Company's functions was held by the members—the offer pointing to it either as an humiliation, or a labor of Hercules. But this wise precaution did not serve the purpose of General Lainez. The expulsion of a guilty or imprudent member was not permitted by Providence to restore the credit of the whole body at Monte Pulciano. The Jesuits who remained, or were sent to retrieve the Company's honor, were visited with the public and private inflictions of general detestation. Their church and their schools were utterly deserted. The city revoked the stipend of the public teacher. The college itself was taken from them by the parties who had originally given them the use of the building. They were reduced to the greatest necessity—actually starved out—as far as the Monte Pulcians were concerned. They suffered so much that the Jesuit Natalis facetiously said it was not a college, but a house of probation. Lainez put a stop to the sufferings, bodily and mental, of his men, by dissolving the college in 1563, after seven years' duration.† Thus were the Jesuits quietly expelled from Monte Pulciano—by a most effectual method, it must be admitted, since neither great alms nor small alms—the tithes of the Jesuits—enabled them to proselytise the heretics, to lead the women captive, to train "the boys," *gratis*.

* Sacchin. lib. v. 110. For the Italian reader, Bartoli is unusually concise on this affair at Monte Pulciano. He coolly says, "It would be fastidious to relate the particulars." Actually the name of Gombar is not even mentioned in the whole chapter; and all that we have just read from the learned and often mysterious Latin of Sacchinus is wisely "left out," like the part of Hamlet, "by particular desire," from the tragicomedy. And there is reason for the Jesuits to be ashamed of the transaction occurring in their best days, and before the *Monita Secreta*, or Secret Instructions were given to the public.—See Bartoli, *Dell' Ital.* lib. iv. c. 12.

† Sacch. vii. 20.

This affair at Monte Pulciano opens an inquiry into the domestic arrangements of the Jesuits, the result of which was their immense influence with the people—as exhibited on more than one public occasion. I allude to their confraternities and sodalities. Sufficiently striking and impressive were their bands of self-scourging laymen, who congregated at their houses every Friday to bare their backs and inflict the propitious castigation; or who on festivals were led forth through the streets in procession, in the same predicament. It appears that Xavier invented the method among the people of Japan; and in the historical romances of the Jesuits, we read that besides arresting temptations of the flesh in the ardent islanders, the whips actually cured diseases by contact, and by the same process, alleviated the pains of child-birth.*

We remember the efficacy of processional flagellation in Portugal, when the good name of the Company was to be restored. The question is, how could such means produce the result which is stated? Simply by appealing to the superstitious associations of the people, who considered corporeal austerities the guarantees of holiness. Hence the method failed when the Jesuits tried it in Germany, for the conversion of the heretics. These public and private “antidotes of chaste religion,” as the Jesuit calls them, availed little or nothing against what he also terms “the venom of the impious.”†

In other places they established what they called sodalities—clubs or réunions, cliques and conventicles, where the secrets of families were collected, and pious frauds concocted. These began in Sicily in 1555, the year before the death of the Founder. The institution was called the Council or Office of Charity—a captivating name for the multitude. The duties of the members consisted in distributing the collections made for the poor, in espousing the cause of widows and wards engaged in law-suits; and they had to see to the proper administrations of the churches, convents, chapels and hospitals: the administration of wills and bequests was no less a special duty of the brethren.‡ A more cheering prospectus could never be devised—except such a one as would announce an infallible method for preventing the abuses likely to result. These sodalities were generally filled with persons devoted to the Jesuits, in whose houses the assemblies took place. For a time, results were satisfactory: but soon it became evident that the guardians against fraud had become victimisers in their turn; and the sodalities were abolished.§ The Company, always fruitful in inventions adapted to promote their designs, supplied their place with other confraternities which they devised, destined to enjoy a longer duration. These were called the Congregations of the Holy Virgin. On Sundays and Festivals the members assembled with the Jesuits to recite the Office of the Virgin—a set form of extravagant adulation in which the Song of Solomon, the Prophets, and other books of the Bible are made to do strange service to Mary. A Jesuit presided, heard their

* Orland. x. 133, *et seq.*

† Id. xv. 17.

‡ Id. iv. 19, 20.

§ Hist. des Religieux, &c., i. 144.

confessions, said mass to them, and administered the sacrament. These sodalities were very comprehensive. Their organisation seems to have been modelled on that of the castes of India. They were divided into classes. The first was the sodality of the nobles and the highest ranks; the second comprised the merchants and simple citizens; the third consisted of workmen and servants. To make the castes more distinct—and in deference to the gradations of human vanity—each class had its particular assembly and chapel.* The whole sodality was governed by one of the Jesuits, a prefect elected by the congregation, two assistants and a council. There was a secretary, with twelve consultors, whose office it was to watch over those members who were committed to their care by the Jesuit father-president, or by the prefect, and to report on their conduct accordingly.† The greatest deference and obedience were inculcated by rule towards the father of the sodality, and other officials.‡ No member was to leave the town of the sodality without apprising the father and prefect of the same; and letters patent were given to him to insure his admission into another branch of the sodality, wherever he might be travelling. Peace, concord, and brotherly love were to reign throughout the members of the association; and in order to promote their advance in "true and Christian virtues," frequent assemblies of the members were to take place, and there would be frequent intercourse with those who could assist them in their progress. As each member, even in his absence, shared "the merits of the sodality," it would be only fair for him to give information respecting himself and his concerns to the prefect, commanding himself to the prayers of the sodality:—always striving to show himself a true son of the sodality by his moral integrity, and endeavoring to edify all and entice them to the practice of virtue and piety.§ It was the duty of the prefect to watch carefully over all the members, and their conduct. Any notable fault was to be by him reported to the father of the sodality, for admonition and emendation. Penances were enjoined for certain faults, or according to the devotion of postulants; and an official was appointed by the father to enjoin and direct the inflictions. The rules were plainly written on a board, or printed, and the greatest diligence was enjoined to promote their observance. There was a book in which were inscribed the names of those who frequented, or were remiss in frequenting the assemblies.|| When a member became scandalous, he was summoned before the whole congregation, the charges were made against him, and his name was erased from the list of the sodality: but the father always had the power of summary dismissal "in matters of moment—in *rebus gravibus*."¶ Strict secrecy was enjoined to the secretary of the association: "When it shall be necessary to observe secrecy, he must strive not to divulge nor hint at the resolutions or undertakings of the sodality, and he must not show any papers to any one without the express command of the father and prefect of

* Hist. des Religieux, &c., i. 145.

† Leges et Statuta, &c., Congreg. B. V. Mar. part i. § viii.

‡ Ib. part i. § i. 12.

|| Ib. § v. 5.

† Ib. part i. § 1.

¶ Ib. § v. 11.

the sodality.* He must have ■ book in which he will enter the names of the members, their entrance, country, and other particulars, according to the custom of each sodality. He will also make account of those who die, or marry, or be dismissed from the sodality: but he is not to state the cause of dismissal.† Such are the peculiar rules or statutes of this sub-Jesuit-Order. It must be allowed that it had something like an organisation, and was worthy of the Jesuits. Of course we cannot see what most of these regulations could have to do with piety and the advance in Christian perfection; but we *can* see how the sodalities multiplied the Jesuits *ad infinitum* wherever they existed; and we *can* now account for the demonstrations of their “friends” whenever they got into difficulties. What the “resolutions and undertakings” of the congregations might be, it is little to the purpose to inquire; but the certainty of Jesuit-leverage by means of these sodalities, must be evident at a glance. By these they could always tune the popular voice, command the assistance of the middle ranks, and influence the great, or their wives and children, which, in the long-run, answers the purpose equally as well. To entice devotees to enter these sodalities, numerous graces and indulgences were proclaimed by the Jesuits. On the day of his entrance the member gained “a plenary indulgence”—that is, a total remission of the penalties due to his sins, absolved in confession, according to Catholic doctrine. At the day of his death the same is awarded, besides other days consecrated to the festivals of Christ and the Virgin Mary. Nor was this all. All who “in a state of grace” followed the corpse of a sodalist to the grave, gained an indulgence of a year,—that is, they satisfied by that act just as if they underwent the ancient canonical penances for the space of a year. Innumerable other indulgences blessed the sodalist, and enticed the devotee to enter the congregation of the blessed. So indulgent were the Jesuits that they procured an indulgence for all the world on condition that they should on certain days visit the churches of the Company, on all days when Catholics *must* go to mass—a plenary indulgence in return for a *Miserere*, a *Pater Noster*, or an *Ave Maria*, rehearsed in behalf of the pope!‡ Does not all this prove that the Jesuits knew the secret of influence, and set to work accordingly? Was not this a right good means “to bring water to their mill,” as the French would say? Meanwhile the women were not neglected; there was something specially for them, under the name of retreats. These were houses contiguous to their own residences, and built expressly for the purpose, to which ladies might retire from the tumult of the world and the dissipations of fashionable life, for a few days, in order to spend the time “with God” and their father-confessor, the whole to conclude with communion on some grand festival. In these curious and interesting coteries of devout ladies under Jesuit-influence, the same distinctions were observed as to

* “Ubi autem oportebit servare secretum, studeat ita, ut neque loquatur, neque indicet, quae fuerint constituta, vel agenda sint, neque vero scripta ulla cuiquam, sine expresso patris mandato, ac praefecti sodalitatis, ostendat.”—*Ib.* § vii. 1.

† *Leges et Statuta*, part i. § vii. 2.

‡ *Ibid.* part v. § i. *et seq.*

rank, as in the great sodalities. They classified the ladies; so that there was no fear of the shop-keeper's wife coming into contact with the magistrate's lady, nor of the servant-maid's falling in with her mistress. The object of these pious inventions—which they even attempted to introduce subsequently into regiments of soldiers—is pretty evident. At Louvain, where these congregations began, it was perceived that the object of the Jesuits was thereby to entice the faithful to their churches, from their respective parishes. With regard to the retreats for women, we may observe that it was a very bold and presumptuous undertaking. It is written that those who seek the danger shall perish in it; and we all know that *this* is one of the greatest dangers to which the sons of Adam can expose their thoughtless frailty. The Jesuits should have been the last men to meddle with the thing. Their rules and regulations were clamorous against female conversation. They infringed, and scandal ensued. Strange and disgraceful reports got afloat —nor was it the least remarkable fact, that “some of these pious women were whipped once a week by their father-confessors”—and the fact is admitted by Orlandinus—*nec falsa narrabantur.** Clamors actually rose against the Jesuits; but they were strong in their sodalities; and they went on as usual in conscious triumph; so glorious indeed was the result of their operations, that on the Christmas following, one single Jesuit gave the sacrament to more than two thousand communicants.[†] Such a thing had never before been heard of, says Orlandinus.

The women gave them trouble in Venice as well. The Jesuits could not dispense with their influence in society; they strove to insure it, and suffered accordingly. There was in the city of the Doge a convent of female penitents, who passed for saints according to the representations of their father-confessor; but it subsequently turned out to be quite the contrary. Their priest was convicted of grave misdemeanors, and suffered the penalty of death. It appears, too, that the fair penitents were condemned to strict seclusion. There were more than a hundred women thus shut up together, which, it seems, proved a hard matter in the given circumstances. They resolved to starve themselves to death, if not permitted to leave their convent.

An unfortunate Jesuit, Father Palmio, undertook to reduce the fair rebels. Palmio had the gift of persuasion, we are expressly told, and succeeded in quelling this female insurrection.

This success proved a sorry boon to the Jesuits. Their method was incomprehensible, and therefore liable to “misrepresentation.” Now the fact was evident, that they were the confessors or directors of most of the women in the republic. It was therefore concluded, that by this “subterraneous medium” they got at the secrets of the state. The senate took the matter in hand, and one of the members declared that “the Jesuits meddled with an infinity of civil matters, even those of the republic; that they made use of the most respectable and holy things to seduce women; that not content with very long conversations with them in the confessional, they enticed them to their residences for

* Lib. xiii. 29.

† Ibid.

the same purpose; that it was the ladies of the highest rank who were the particular object of the advanced Jesuits. The abuse was to be remedied without delay, either by expelling them from the country, or by appointing some person of authority and merit, such as the Patriarch of Venice, to watch over their conduct."

Such were the charges and the remedies proposed. The patriarch was their sworn enemy, and he had called them *Chiappini*, a very contemptuous cognomen in Italy, to be modestly translated into "bird-catchers" periphrastically; but a word which a patriarch ought to have "ignored."

The idea of supervision was too galling to be endured. A friend of the Jesuits defended them in the senate, and an appeal was made to the doge Priuli. At the same time the pope, Pius IV., himself wrote to the senate and the doge, guaranteeing the good morals and doctrines of the Society. This, of course, was conclusive, and the patriarch hid his diminished head. Nevertheless, the doge sent for Palmio, and thus addressed the Jesuit: "If you have calumniators, bear them with patience; it is the property of virtue to have to fight. The Society has amongst us hot defenders; but I am required to draw your attention to one or two points; they are the only ones which have been entertained in the heap of fictions debited by your enemies. In the first place, we see with pain that you, who are the best confessor in existence, avoid the duty; and, to the great regret of the whole city, you impose that function, with regard to several battalions of women, on young men scarcely twenty-five or twenty-six years of age!" Palmio affirmed the contrary: the confessors were more than thirty-two years of age; and, Constitutions in hand, he pointed to the precautions, the curious details of watchfulness enforced in the Society to preclude all suspicion in so delicate a function. There the matter rested.*

This is a specimen of Jesuit-escapes from trouble, according to the statement of the Jesuits themselves. Their misdemeanors were, of course, still certain in the estimation of many; but, for this time, they triumphed and went on confiding, reckless in their machinations. A less fortunate hour will surprise them anon in the same Venice. Still, they were doomed to feel the effects of Gombar's guilt or indiscretions at Monte Pulciano. The Venetian senators being apprised of that affair, forbade their wives to confess to the Jesuits, which was probably as painful a prohibition to the ladies of Venice as it was to the Jesuits.†

At Rome, the affairs of the Society had received great development. Freed from the haunting ghost of Paul IV., the Jesuits had breathed freely once more, and at the exaltation of the old man's enemy, Pius IV., to the chair of St. Peter, they made every effort to win his good graces. It was at first uncertain what they had to expect on their own account, although, inasmuch as the pope's enemy, Paul IV., had treated them with considerable rigor, it was probable enough that they would be

* The whole is an *ex parte* statement of the Jesuit Palmio in a letter, whence Cretineau extracted the facts as above. Tome i. p. 390, *et seq.*

† Antiquit. Venet. apud Quesnel, Hist. des Rel. ii. 4.

befriended, were it only to cast a slur on Caraffa, whom the Romans disgraced so horribly at his death. But the Jesuits had shirked the papal mandate respecting the public choir. This was disobedience to the Holy See. And the third year of the term prescribed to the generalate of Lainez was approaching. The general bethought him of the doom right anxiously; but there was little reason to fear, as events declared that success was to attend him, and when all would be certain, he would make a show, like Father Ignatius, of resigning the generalate,—a delicate piece of superfluous magnanimity. As a cardinal, Pius IV. had shown no favor to the Company, he had had “nothing to do” with the Jesuits. Lainez began his operations round about the papal throne by inducing four cardinals to recommend to his Holiness the whole Society in general and himself in particular—*et nominatim Lainium*. Lainez then presented himself in person, and after the solemn kiss of the holy toe—*post osculum solenne pedis*—he proceeded to deposit the Company in the pontifical lap, protesting that all were ready, without tergiversation, without a word about travelling expenses, at once to be sent by his Holiness to any part of the world, to barbarians or heretics; in a word, that his Holiness might use them *as his own commodity—tamque suá re uti posset*—and he hoped to be useful in very many respects—*sicubi speraret usui fore quam multis nominibus.** It must have been evident to the Jesuit that his point was gained by the matter and manner of this exordium. I say it must have been so evident to him; for, according to his historian, he at once proceeded to ask a favor from his lord and master. The words ascribed to him constitute Jesuit-matter, and they are worth recording. Lainez hoped that his Holiness would patronise the Society, and particularly the Roman College. He said “there was now in that college an immense number of young Jesuits, about a hundred and sixty, all of them most select, almost all of them endowed with genius, excellent dispositions, gathered together from all the nations of Christendom; and now being trained most learnedly and piously, and were ardently progressing, in order to be despatched all over the world to preserve, to restore, to infuse, to propagate the Christian religion; that the Roman College was the source whence the colleges of all Italy and Sicily had arisen and were supplied; thence had colonies been sent into France, Belgium, and Germany, with constant accessions, to be ramparts against the assaults of the heretics; thence went forth colonies bearing the light of the faith even into India and the uttermost bounds of the East, to nations unknown from time immemorial; thence, in fine, had Spain and Portugal received subsidies. But the house is too small. We are packed together, dreadfully inconvenienced, in want of every thing. Health suffers, sickness blasts our fairest hopes, our brightest geniuses wither and die. We have neither food nor clothing. May your Holiness cast a kind look on this your progeny, your faithful and ready cohort—*fidam ac promptam cohortem*; and let us feel a particle of that paternal care which is over all. It is a deed worthy of the piety of the

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 1, *et seq.*

Roman bishop, the guardian of all nations, presiding over the Queen-city of the earth, the sole oracle of the world, the eternal palace of religion and piety, to preserve and perpetuate this refuge and rampart of all nations [the Roman College], and thus, by one deed, to bestow a meritorious favor on all the nations of the universe.”*

After this speech it will surely be ridiculous to talk of Jesuit-modes-ty:—and we may be permitted to think that men who could thus boast of their “spiritual” deeds were scarcely actuated by spiritual motives. I allude to the leaders, the enterprisers of the Company—the “men in authority”—the Jesuit-princes: for undoubtedly there were amongst the body some hearty, honest, truly conscientious men, who labored as God seemed to direct them, by the lips of their superiors. The latter I shall gladly cheer as I find them; and the former shall portray themselves as above—to my mind they are despicable throughout. The drift of the foregoing address, or its equivalent—not likely to be less to the purpose from the lips of Lainez—was nothing less than the covetous usurpation of a building which he thought admirably suited for a “refuge and rampart of all nations,” and more calculated to keep his “fairest hopes” from being blasted, and his “brightest geniuses” from withering and death. In truth it was a desperately keen device of this wily Jesuit. There was at Rome a large convent of nuns, which had been founded by the Marchioness de’ Ursini, the niece of the late Pope Paul IV. This convent was very extensive, and with its agreeable and commodious situation had for a long time tempted the cupidity of the Jesuits. Now, as they knew that the present pope was the mortal enemy of the Carreras, whom he then kept in prison, and whose trial was proceeding, the Jesuits took advantage of the pope’s temper to solicit the grant of this convent, with the design of making it the Roman College. The preceding interview, address, and its disgusting sentiments, were the beginnings of the perpetration. The skilful mixture of presumption, falsehood, and flattery, produced the effect which Lainez had promised himself. “Popes,” says Quesnel, “like other men, have always been open to the most extravagant flattery. It is one effect of the corruption of their nature, and of self-love, which is always alive in them. Pius IV., who soon sent the whole family of his predecessor to execution, was so intoxicated with the fulsome laudation Lainez bestowed upon him, that without any formality of justice, he expelled the nuns from the convent, which he gave to the exulting Jesuits.”† Their historian has the heart to be somewhat merry on the pitiful subject:—he actually says that the Marchioness de’ Orsini, its foundress, was by degrees conciliated to the transfer of the convent, and so far approved the pope’s action, that “she confessed herself deeply obliged to the most Holy Father for giving her so many sons in lieu of a few daughters!”‡ I am no advocate nor admirer of the system which delivers up a number of women to the horrors of seclusion, or the temptations of luxurious sloth, to become bearded and hideous from physical causes—pining,

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 1, *et seq.*

† Quesnel, ii. Sacchin. lib. iv. 5.

‡ “Ut magnam se gratiam Beatissimo Patri habere profiteretur, quod paucarum loco filiarum filios sibi tam multos tradidisset.”—Sacchin. lib. iv. 5.

corrupted, withering, raving in a harem infinitely more disgusting to think of than any which Turks can devise:—but this is not the question. It is a question of right and possession superseded by covetousness and tyranny. Be it so: let the Jesuits exult:—but let them beware: retribution will come betimes: they shall be done to as they have done by others: Providence will chronicle their spoliations, to be accounted for hereafter—in *this* world, be it understood—a crushing but merited retribution. Not content with flinging them this stolen property, the pope added a revenue of 600 ducats for the support of his “faithful and ready cohort,” whose commander he was just declared, thus putting their bandit-possession on a footing for operations. Was there no voice raised against their spoliations, ten times worse than any which Henry VIII. ever perpetrated? Worse, because perpetrated by the very men who held themselves up as the patterns of morality—the guardians of the Christian faith—the oracles of religion. Was there no voice raised against these spoliations? There was—and in Rome. Their claim to the college of Coimbra was disputed. One Gomius Abreus showed himself “a very troublesome adversary” to the Jesuit, as they call him—*adversarius erat permolestus*. “It was a law-suit of great moment,” says Sacchinus, “and on its issue depended that noble safeguard, not only of Portugal, but especially of the Indies.” Abreus advanced against the Jesuits—held consultations with the judges, publicly and in private, denouncing the Jesuits as robbers of benefices and spoliators of the clergy, and commenced an action against them, with no small chance of success if the case was to be tried before a just tribunal. And the Jesuits evidently were of the same opinion: for their historian says: “So far had Gomius proceeded, that in so serious a loss which *was imminent*, the Company was less anxious about their wealth than their reputation;”—* and well they might be—for their factitious reputation or “credit,” would soon be the basis of ulterior speculation. The most unprincipled rogue on ‘Change will, in a predicament, postpone his “*purse*” to his “*reputation*”—the infamous *Iago* tells you this, as well as the “Company of Jesus.” What followed? Interviews, a speech, and a supplication, doubtless from General Lainez to the fatuous pontiff. And the most Holy Father took the thing in hand—reserved the case to himself. Abreus insisted. What availed it? Nothing. The pope gave his cohort the verdict. He did more: he remitted them the *fees* of the “Apostolic Diploma,” or letters patent, which confirmed their “right” to the property. “By this benefaction,” says Sacchinus, “he gave us more than a thousand ducats, which we would otherwise have had to pay.”† A thousand ducats—about £500, for a verdict in the papal chancery! English law must certainly be cheap in our estimation, since at the very oracle of heaven the “costs” are so ruinous. But let that pass,—and compute or conceive, if you can, the immense revenues that the sovereign

* “Eo rem adduxerat, ut in tam gravi quæ imminebat jactura, minor Societati rei quam famæ cura esset.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 6.

† “Quo corollario plus mille aureorum nummum, quod in id impendendum alioqui fuisset, donavit.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 6.

pontiff lost by the Reformation—when so many “cases” and “appeals” were decided without “apostolical diplomas”—and their thousand ducats. Was it not perfectly natural that the popes should go mad on the subject of abstract orthodoxy—all that was requisite to maintain the formalities whence they derived their enormous revenues?—and was it not also quite natural that the pope should foster the Jesuits who *seemed* so likely—and who certainly flattered themselves with the notion—to reduce all the world to papal subjection? Accordingly, possessed with this irrational, mad idea, the pope thought he could not do too much for his faithful and ready cohort; and when Lainez went to thank his Holiness for all his benefactions, the pontiff exclaimed: “There’s no need of thanks—I’ll shed my very blood to foster the Company!”* What could be more glorious for the Jesuits? And they “prospered” accordingly. Honors and appointments fell upon them like the debauching shower of gold wherein Jupiter descended to beget Perseus, who with the head of the Gorgon Medusa turned all his enemies into stone, if not otherwise defeated—a fit emblem of the Jesuit. Jesuits were appointed to examine the candidates for orders. Jesuits were made inspectors of churches, and directors of nuns. Lainez was in his glory—with more work than he could possibly perform, and yet he undertook to convert a poor Calvinist whom they had caught in Rome and condemned to be burnt. He intended to cajole him out of his faith—*blandè mulcere*: but when he went to the prison and saw a multitude of cardinals, bishops, nobles, and the pope’s relatives, sitting around to witness the discussion, the vain boaster of Trent thought it a fine occasion for display, and “felt compelled to proceed in a manner more glorious to Catholic truth, though less adapted to the proud mind of the heretic.”† From his Collections of the Fathers, the Jesuit of Trent flung a volley at the heretic. All to no purpose. The man told him he did not care a straw for the fathers—in which he was quite right—and that he “stood by Calvin alone, whom he preferred to all the fathers.”‡

He stood firm in spite of impending fire. A decided failure for the Jesuit. Had he been truly anxious to rid the man of what was thought “heresy,” he would not have yielded to the impulse of vanity which suggested a grand display—a glorious confutation of the Calvinist. *Haud nihil tamen profectum*—“but it was not altogether a failure,” says his historian, “for the audience (bishops, cardinals, nobles, and

* “Haud opus gratis esse: Societati se usque ad sanguinem faturum.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 7. ¶ Early in the next year the pope increased the revenue of the same college of Coimbra, by the donation of six farms and the township of Mont-Agrasso. All these were so many spoliations from the Archbishop of Evora, whose revenues were thus diminished in behalf of the cohort. He also gave them the revenues of another parish, which were abstracted from a dignitary or official of the Cathedral. The Jesuit says that the latter “consented” to the transfer: but he does not state the same respecting the Archbishop of Evora—*Hæc omnia Pontifex separavit à reditu Eborense Archiepiscopi*—and there he leaves the spoliation.—*Franc. Synops. ad Ann. 1561*, 14.

† “Inire coactus est pugnæ viam gloriosorem Catholiceæ veritati, sed superbo here-tici ingenio minus idoneam.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 12.

‡ “Exclamat uno se stare Calvino. Quidquid contrà objiceres, hoc tenebat saxum, aliter sentire Calvinum . . . Calvinum malle: instar omnium habere Calvinum.”—ib.

the pope's relatives), admired the wisdom of the Catholic doctor, and detested the blind stubbornness of the heretic.”* Verily he had his reward, this “Catholic doctor”—and when the soul of this poor heretic took flight, sped to our merciful good God for judgment—whilst the hard hearts, the cruel men of Rome were howling and exulting around their judgment, his body roasting in the flames—at that dreadful moment, oh, say, ye men of orthodoxy—did his God send his suppliant soul to Hell? . . . And yet you call his constancy “the blind stubbornness of a heretic!” In the midst of these events truly so disgusting, but so glorious for the Jesuits, their historian, with the usual modesty, coolly observes: “I know not how it was, but really, at Rome especially, and far and wide over the north, this opinion increased, namely, that there was no other more available remedy for the reformation of morals and the restoration of religion, than to employ, to the utmost extent, the men of the Company.”†

Firm, established in papal favor at Rome, the Company of Jesus flapped her spreading wings over all Europe besides. The sons of Calvin in Savoy shuddered as the sound boomed athwart their mountains. “Coming! Coming!” it seemed to mutter, “Coming!” and she came. A young man—a mere novice—Antonius Possevinus was her angel. He had been a student at Padua, destined for the priesthood, with a benefice *in commendam*. The Jesuit Palmio, so powerful with the nuns at Venice, *mesmerised* him into the Company; for we can apply no other term to the method as described by the Jesuit, Sacchinus.‡ He was admitted by Lainez in 1559, in the month of September. At the end of the month he began his novitiate. In the beginning of November he was sent to resume his studies at the Roman College.§ Thus the important two years of probation, as appointed by the Constitutions, were dispensed with by the general. A single month was sufficient to insure such an accession to the Company, and he took the vows accordingly. He was in his twenty-seventh year, and not in orders. He had “private business” to transact in Savoy: Lainez invested him with a commission to Emmanuel Philibert, the Duke of Savoy, and Prince of Piedmont. He left Rome with the dress and title of a beneficiary *in commendam*—*dissimulatā Societate*—pretending not to be a Jesuit, says Sacchinus, in order the

* “Qui disputationi interfuerant, non sapientiam magis Catholici Doctoris admirati, quam cœcam detestati heretici pertinaciam, læti, &c., recessere.”—*Ut anteā.*

† “Ac nescio quo pacto Romæ hoc potissimum anno, latèque per Septentrionis oras, hæc opinio percrebuit, ad corrigidos mores, restituendamque religionem, haud aliud presentius esse remedium quam hominum Societatis quam plurimum operâ uti.”—*Sacchin. lib. iv. 7.*

‡ Sacchinus states that he was meditating to join the company. “With these thoughts in his mind,” continues the Jesuit, “with which Palmio was *not* acquainted, the Father held forth the host to Possevinus [at the Sacrament], and said, in a whisper, ‘O Lord, give to this man thy Spirit!’ . . . Suddenly Possevinus was excited and scarcely able to contain himself . . . falling on his knees before the Father, he cried out, ‘Father, be my witness in the presence of God—I vow and promise to the Divine Majesty, knowingly and willingly, to enter the Company, and never to accept any benefice or dignity.’”—*Sacchin. lib. iii. 43.*

§ Biblio. Script. Soc. Jesu. Ant. Poss.

more freely to transact his private business. On his departure, Lainez summed up all his instructions to the emissary in these words: "In your actions and deliberations think you see *me* before you."* This was in 1560. It proved an eventful—a bitter year for the Calvinists of Savoy. And dread prognostics seemed to predict the monstrous births of the pregnant future. Lights in the skies, troops of horsemen in the clouds, mysterious sounds of invisible chariots, earthquakes, a comet, a conflagration in the firmament, a shower of blood, were among the supernatural terrors which agitated poor humanity in those days of "religious" warfare.† Where was the God of Christians? Where was his Christ?

Emmanuel Philibert gave Possevinus an audience. We have the Jesuit's speech in Sacchinus. It is a portrait. He began with telling the duke that as God had given him the country, so ought he to give the souls in the country to God. Eternal happiness in Heaven, and a steady reign on earth, would be the result. Those who had fallen off from the Roman Church, that is from God,—*hoc est à Deo*, were also continually unsteady in their allegiance to human potentates. What was to be done? eagerly asked Philibert, according to the Jesuits. Look to the monks, replied Possevin—see how miserably they have gone astray—unworthy of their holy families, unworthy of the holy garb whereby they are concealed and recommended; hurrying the people down a precipice with their corrupt morals and doctrine. Write to the generals of orders, and the cardinals who are their patrons, and ask for proper leaders of the multitude unto good action and right feeling. Proper and zealous priests are required. King Philip is convinced of this, and has acted on the conviction. The consequence is, that Spain is in a fine condition, because the clergy are not diseased with ignorance—*inscitiā non laboret*, says the classic Sacchinus. "Your advice is good," replied Emmanuel, with a sigh, "but in the midst of such darkness, and so barren an age, whence can I get the proper supply of virtuous and learned priests?" That was the point of the nail which the Jesuit wanted to see, and he clinched it at once. "The Emperor Ferdinand," said Possevin, "has two methods for producing such proper men. First, he sends from Germany youths of good hope to the *German college at Rome* to be educated, where they have the best masters in morals and learning, from whose training they come forth imbued with hatred against the heretics—*concepto in hæreses odio*—and having thoroughly seen the majesty and holiness of the Roman Church, and being, moreover, armed with learning, defended by innocence of life, when they return to their country they are a great safeguard. Secondly, knowing the virtue of the Company of Jesus—under whose training the German youths are educated—the emperor confesses that he can find no aid more seasonable in these most

* "Cui discedenti, post alia, hoc instar omnium præcepti dedit. In rebus agendis consiliisque capiendis, præsentem adesse sibi ipsum existimaret."—Sacchin. iv. 61.

† "Calamitatem tam quæ huic Sub-Alpinæ regioni incubuerunt, quam quæ Galliam nostram postea per tot annos ad religionis causam divexarant, multa tunc cœli signa præ-sagierunt: nam et Clarasci et Travillæ ignis in aëre," &c. &c.—Thuan. xxvii. Ann. 1560.

wretched times, than to get as many men as he can of this family into his dominions. Accordingly he is constantly founding colleges for them. By these colleges the young are religiously educated, and the Catholics are made steadfast in the faith ; nor is the poison of the heresies only prevented from spreading, but many of them are converted from error, so that this result alone, or for the most part, preserves Germany from utter ruin.” Then he alluded to King John III., Xavier, Rodriguez, and the mighty results of the Jesuit-proceedings in Portugal, all in the same strain as above. “ I think your highness has heard of the college at Coimbra,” continued Possevin. “ More than a thousand pupils are there educated with equal ardor in learning and piety ; for the seeds of piety are sown together with learning. They have appointed times to confess their sins ; they all attend mass together every day ; they often go to communion. Noble youths frequent the hospitals, and perform with alacrity all the functions and services of the lowest domestics for the sick. Far from those youths are impious and lustful actions and expressions. Far from them are disturbances and quarrels. Seeing these things and others—of which, next to God, the fathers of the Society are the authors—the people of Portugal call them by no other name than that of Apostles.”* It is difficult to say whether falsehood or effrontery most predominates in these assertions. The result, however, was, that Philibert wrote to Lainéz for men to take the charge of two colleges. Meanwhile, Possevinus scoured the country, insinuated himself amongst the unsuspecting Calvinists, and when he had satisfied himself on all the points suggested by his villainous zeal, he sent in his report to the Duke of Savoy : the result will soon be apparent.†

Calvinism was extensively prevalent in Savoy. Its chief strongholds were the valleys of Mont-Cenis, Luzerne, Angrogne, Perouse, and Fressinières. As long as this country belonged to France after its conquest, the people enjoyed religious toleration ; but after its restoration to the duke, and the visit of the Jesuit Possevinus, the fiend of religious persecution was let loose upon the wretched Calvinists. A great number perished by fire and torture ; many were condemned to the galleys ; and those who were spared seemed to owe their pardon to a dread in the mind of its ruler, lest the country should become a desert. But long before the fangs of persecution were blunted, dreadful deeds were perpetrated by its cruel ministers. Philibert fell ill, and the bloody executions languished ; but no sooner had he recovered, than, urged by the pope, advising the trial of arms, since tortures had failed with the heretics, he promptly raised an army, resolved on war.‡ The Calvinists held a consultation, and it was determined not to take arms against their prince, however unjust the war might be : they would retire to their mountains with all they could transport of their goods and chattels. Some retired to the Grisons, others took refuge among the Swiss, and some clung to their huts, resolving to defend their lives, but not

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 62, *et seq.*

‡ Quesnel, ii. 14. Sarpi, v. 51.

† Id. lib. iv. 66.

before declaring by manifesto that war was enforced upon them by despair, and that they would lay down their arms if the Duke of Savoy would permit them to live in peace. But that was not the maxim of kings in those days. It seemed that some infernal Fury had sent them to scourge mankind. The reply to the manifesto was an army of two thousand men, under the Count of the Trinity and the Jesuit Possevin. The fortune of war favored both sides alternately: then followed negotiations towards reconciliation, and demands for indemnities and war expenses far beyond the means of the miserable children of the mountains. Poor as virtue can possibly be, the mountaineers in their dilemma borrowed money to pay their oppressors, and were forced to sell their flocks to meet their engagements, with ruinous interest. They paid, and still were persecuted. They were disarmed: more money was demanded. Their ministers were banished: their houses were searched and pillaged: their wives and daughters were outraged; and, by way of a bonfire to celebrate the achievements of orthodoxy, their village was set on fire.* In the midst of these horrors, the intriguing, crafty, mendacious Possevinus—if Sacchinus has not belied him in the speech—was seen rushing from place to place, posting preachers of the true faith everywhere, searching for the books of the heretics and handing them to be burnt by the pope's inquisitor, whom he had by his side, scattering pious tracts, and recommending the catechism of the Jesuit Canisius† to the persecuted, pillaged, maltreated men of the mountains, and their outraged wives and daughters. It is very ridiculous, but, at the same time, bitterly humiliating. And Sacchinus tells us that, in reward for all the dexterity of Possevin in bringing about these very sad proceedings, which he calls “an immense good of the Catholic religion,” some “principal men—*principes viri*”—thought of getting the pope to make Possevin a bishop.‡

But this Jesuit-expedition into Savoy, clever as Sacchinus represents the scheme, was a total failure; and after entailing misery on the Calvinists, it was followed by one of those *beautiful* retributions recorded in history, which compels us to believe in a superintending Providence. Beautiful in the abstract, however painful in the concrete, as all the woes of humanity must be, whether in the calamities of Catholics or Protestants, fellow-citizens or strangers, private foes or public enemies—the tyrants of earth. No sooner had the Count of the Trinity retired from the scene of the war, than the people made alliance with the Valdenses or Vaudois, their neighbors, who promised them assistance. Emboldened by support, and goaded by the memory of the past, they resolved on revenge. They sacked the churches of the Catholics, overturned their altars, and broke their images. War blazed forth on all sides, and various were its fortunes: but the Valdenses gained a signal victory over the Count of the Trinity, and their victory suggested a better line of policy to Emmanuel Philibert, notwithstanding his “head of iron”—*Tête de Fer*, as was his surname. In spite of the pope's gold and exhortations for the continuance of the war and utter exter-

* Quesnel, ii. p. 15, *et seq.*

† Sacchin. iv. 71.

‡ Ibid.

mination of the poor heretics, Philibert, who was not so stupid as the Jesuit represents him, proposed an accommodation—when he saw that his troops had been often routed, and, in the last battle, completely defeated by the heretics, who, nevertheless, and notwithstanding their vantage-ground, were inclined to peace with their sovereign—and of this he was persuaded. Complete toleration ensued—their pastors returned—restorations and restitutions were made to the heretics—the prisons gave up their confessors of the faith, and the galleys surrendered their martyrs. Was it not glorious? And why did Christian charity, human kindness, refuse these blessings which the hideous sword of war so lavishly bestowed? I have answered and shall answer the question in every page of this history:—but a reflection of Quesnel is much to the purpose. “With all deference to the popes of these times, and our Christian princes, but really it was not very necessary to sacrifice to their pious fury, as they did in those days, so many thousands of men, only to be subsequently compelled to accept *such accommodations* as these sons of the mountains achieved. And such has been invariably the issue of ‘religious’ wars, which the inordinate zeal of popes, the imbecility of kings, the fanaticism of the people have occasioned, and into which the interests of the true God in no wise entered.”* In utter contradiction of the numerous conversions so mendaciously boasted of by Sacchinus as resulting from the terrors of warfare and the roguery of the Jesuit Possevinus†—in testimony of the futility of persecution, the Cardinal de Lorraine, one of the religious spittfires of those days, found the heretics swarming in Savoy: in the very court of the duke many openly professed their heresy; and although it was only a month since the duke had published an edict commanding all the sectarians to leave his dominions within eight days, he now prohibited its execution—and even pardoned many who had been condemned by the Inquisition, stopped and rescinded all proceedings in hand, and permitted all who had fled from persecution to return to the arms of toleration. Nor was it difficult for the duke to convince the cardinal that the interest of the Catholics themselves required him to adopt that line of conduct.‡

* Hist. ii. 18.

† Lib. iv. 71, whose title is, “*Multi hereticorum sectam ejurant*”—“Many of the heretics abjure their sect.”

‡ Sarpi, l. viii. 6. The events which I have described, and the representations of the Jesuits, are calculated to give an incorrect character to Emmanuel Philibert. The characteristic facts of his career are as follows:—In the armies of Charles V. he acquired great military renown; and he continued to serve his son, Philip II., for whom he won the battle of St. Quentin, so disastrous to the French, in 1557. He had accompanied Philip, in 1553, to England, where he received the Garter. After the declaration of peace, in 1559, he married the daughter of the King of France, by which alliance he recovered all the dominions which his father had lost, and subsequently enlarged them by his valor and prudence. He fixed his residence at Turin, and applied himself to restore order in every branch of the administration, and may be considered the real founder of the House of Savoy. He died in 1580, leaving only one legitimate son, but six natural children; for his mistresses were numberless, notwithstanding his “piety,” which is commended by his biographer. He was surnamed *Tête de Fer*, Ironhead; and was succeeded by his son, Charles Emmanuel, surnamed *the Great*, of course on account of his military operations, for it is impossible to discover any other claim in him to the title. All Philibert’s natural children had glorious fortunes in church and state, and seem to have deserved the oblivion of their

This treaty—so favorable to the Protestants, and honorable to the sensible duke, profiting by experience—utterly disappointed the Jesuits, and the pope, who denounced it in full consistory. The disappointment was natural. The Jesuits counted on solid foundations, establishments, colleges, all the peculiar *things* of the Company—*res Societatis Jesu*, as likely to result from an expedition suggested, promoted, and belabored by their Father Possevin, whom Pope Pius IV. had sent express to the Court of Savoy. In effect, the duke, as I have stated, had written to the general, begging a large consignment of the apostles according to the samples described by Possevin, as truly miraculous in touching for mental ignorance and moral depravity—to say nothing of orthodox allegiance. Two colleges were ready to make them comfortable. You doubtless expect to hear that the Jesuit Lainez gladly seized the opportunity. But then, I must state that the duke, whose head had sense as well as iron in it, wisely resolved to have some control over establishments which, by the late treaty, would be likely to infringe on the rights of his heretic subjects. The colleges were not to be endowed: but the stipends were to be paid to the Jesuits, just as to the other masters of the people. Lainez threw up the thing at once—as not adapted to the Company—the operations of his men would be hampered by these “half-and-half” colleges—*quod in mutilis hisce dimidiatisque collegiis fieri non sit.** So, after giving occasion to vast annoyance, great suffering, confusion, bloodshed, torture, rape and rapine among the poor Savoyards,—the Jesuits decamped, Possevin was not made a bishop, no colleges were founded, the *res Societatis* was at a discount—and all was quiet as before. Thanks, however, to the Jesuit-expedition for teaching Philibert a lesson, by which he profited for the good of his subjects. Would to Heaven that it were my pen’s sweet office to state the same result of all Jesuit-visitations. Nothing is so pleasant as to see good coming out of evil—particularly when the parturition promised a monster.

A more disastrous consequence to themselves attended a scheme of the Jesuits in India, during the same year, 1560. The southern coast of India, inhabited by the Paravas, or the pearl fishermen, had long been the scene of rapine and extortion by the Portuguese against the natives. King John of Portugal had received complaints on the subject, during Xavier’s apostolate. The Portuguese oppressed the pearl fishers in every possible way. They insisted upon having all the pearls sold to themselves only, and on the most disadvantageous terms for the natives. The “converts” were treated as the very worst of men—expelled from their houses by their friends, relatives, and parents, for thus losing caste; and the Portuguese aggravated their calamities by rapine, cruelty, and extortion.† The Jesuits had retained possession of the residences founded by Xavier. The Viceroy Con-

stain—if royal blood be not the hyssop to sprinkle and cleanse all such defilement. Pope Clement VII. is said to have appealed to the birth of the Redeemer, when people talked of his illegitimacy! See Guichenon, *Hist. de Savoie*; and Bruslé de Montplainchamp, *Vie d’Emanuel Philibert*; and all the Biographical Dictionaries.

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 74. Quesnel, ii. 19.

† Maff. Indic. f. 249.

stantine planned a scheme to transport the inhabitants of the pearl coast to an island opposite to Jafnapatam, in the island of Ceylon. The alleged motive was to protect them from certain pirates who annoyed and plundered them,—at least, so say the Jesuits: but as they add that Xavier himself had suggested the enterprise, this apparent anxiety to exhibit a motive for the transaction, does not prevent us from believing that it was not the object of the scheme. But Jafnapatam did not belong to Portugal. It was still a free kingdom. It was, therefore, necessary to invade and conquer the country before the pearl fishers could be transported. The Jesuits lent themselves to the scheme, and its preliminary wickedness. They had at their college a child of eight years, who they say had been a fugitive, expelled from his paternal kingdom by the king of Jafnapatam. This boy was to be re-established in his kingdom by the expedition—with Jesuits for his regents and prime ministers, or the Portuguese for his masters, undoubtedly.—“The expedition,” says Sacchinus, “was altogether of great importance for the Christian name, of great importance for increasing the wealth of Portugal. Therefore Constantine equips a strong fleet for the purpose; and in the meantime he commands the fathers of the Company, to whose care the neophytes of the Paravas were committed, to prepare them for the transportation.”* It seems to me that the true motive is now declared—the expedition was of great importance for increasing the wealth of Portugal—*magni ad Lusitanas quoque augendas opes momenti expeditio erat*. In effect, the kingdom of Jafnapatam, which was the real object of the Portuguese viceroy, is, or was, one of the richest countries in the world,—abounding in most delicious fruits and aromatic gums, precious stones of all kinds—rubies, hyacinths, sapphires, emeralds, pearls, and the purest gold: in fine, all that the imagination of man pictures for his desires, has there been placed, with a profusion worthy of the Creator alone. Accordingly, it is the Ophir of Solomon,—in the interpretations of certain commentators;† nay, men of that class have even affirmed it likely to be the Paradise of Adam—which might serve to account for the existence of Jews or something like them, amongst the pagans of India, as was duly discovered by the Jesuits, according to one of their “Curious and Edifying Letters.”‡ To the Portuguese viceroy, however, Jafnapatam

* “Interim Patres Societatis, quorum Commorinenses neophyti curæ commissi erant præparare eos ad trajectionem jubet.”—*Sacchin.* lib. iv. 260, 261.

† Bochart, Quesnel, &c.

‡ Ceylon is almost joined to India by the island of Manaar, here destined for the Paravas, and their new fishing operations for their masters, the Portuguese. There is a ridge of sandbanks connecting that island to another, and called *Adam's bridge*, and there is a mountain in the island, called *Adam's Peak*, where he was said to have been created, and under which he is said to be buried. All these absurdities are attributed to the natives; but it is evident that they originated with their “Christian” invaders. As early as 1520, the Portuguese had gained a footing in the island, and had fortified themselves in Colombo. The Dutch expelled them finally in 1656. The French gained a settlement subsequently; but it now belongs to Great Britain. It is 270 miles long, by 145 broad, with an area of 24,664 square miles, with a population of only 1,127,000—not fifty inhabitants to the square mile. Talk of a surplus population in Europe with such a field open for a truly Christian and industrious colony.

was Eden,—and no flaming angel withheld his entrance:—it was Ophir,—and he might reach it with his ships. First, however, he sent some barques to transport the Paravas. The pirates came down upon them on a sudden, in the midst of the embarkation. They put to sea: the enemy attacked and sunk their barques—few escaped by swimming—and among them was the Jesuit Henriquez. His brother-Jesuit Mesquita was captured by the barbarians, and retained as a hostage. Meanwhile the viceroy sailed with all his fleet against Jafnapatam, and stormed the royal city. The king had fled to the mountains: the viceroy had it all his own way: the “conquest” was made; ■ tribute was imposed, and he returned, with disease in his fleet, to Goa, to attend to other matters of “great importance.”* The young fugitive king was forgotten, if he was ever thought of; and a guard was placed over the few pearl fishers who escaped by swimming, in the island of Manaar: but few as they were, they were useful to fish the waters of Jafnapatam in order “to increase the wealth of Portugal,” which seems to have been the true object of their removal: for is it not absurd to suppose that the Portuguese would transport a tribe in order to enable them to live in peace? Besides, why not more effectually defend them by a strong garrison? But, in the face of the alleged motive, we may ask, How these Paravas were really more protected from the pirates at Manaar than on their original coast? In truth, their masters wanted their services elsewhere: the season was advancing: that fishery promised to be more lucrative: the resolution was taken; and the Jesuits lent their assistance, as in duty bound, to *their* masters. They disgustingly deceived the poor fishermen, with their usual “Ad majorem,” but were most sincere in “lending a hand” to increase the wealth of Portugal, and thus promote—*res Societatis*—the wealth or thing—for the word means anything and everything—of the Company. And yet, how quietly the Jesuit narrates the transaction—as if no reader would know enough of the Portuguese in India, to see through the thing—as if all would bend in admiration of the Company’s *motto*, totally oblivious of their *aim*.

The various occupations of the Jesuits in any given year, month, day, at any hour of their career, if represented in miniature by their artist Tollenarius, would be the most curious sight imaginable—a veritable “phantasmagoria of fun”—to themselves and the thoughtless or careless: but “no joke” to the victims. A case of spoliation of nuns, cajoling a rich old gentleman, frightening the Venetian senators and husbands, under punishment at Monte Pulciano, stirring up persecution in Savoy, apostles after the manner of Judas, amongst the wretched Paravas, and a thousand other avocations pursued at the same time in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. And now we must accompany a Jesuit-expedition into Ireland and Scotland.

Mary died in 1558, “to the inestimable damage of religion,” says Sacchinus, on the same day that Cardinal Pole breathed his last, “which clearly showed that God was angry with Britain,”† says the same

* Sacchin. lib. iv. 269.

† “Quo eodem die, ut plane videretur Britanniae Deus iratus,” &c.—ii. 134.

oracular Jesuit, alluding to the *exitialia dogmata*, the “pernicious doctrines” which were about to reascend after violent depression, like a pole hurled into the depths of the sea, to remount with the force of the reacting waters. Consequently, the death of Mary and the cardinal seemed, to the party depressed, a certain sign that God was becoming pleased with Britain ;—and it is curious to note the different opinions on the subject, the various interpretations of an event by which nothing at all was shown, except that they *were dead*, or, in the beautiful words of the ancient sufferer, “Man that is born of woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down : he fleeth also as a shadow, and continueth not.” Elizabeth mounted the throne of Britain. To the Protestant sovereigns of Europe she declared her attachment to the reformed faith, and her wish to cement a union amongst all its professors. To the Pope of Rome, by the “ambassador” Carne, she protested that she had determined to offer no violence to the consciences of her subjects, whatever might be their religious creed.* Paul IV. received the announcement with contempt. He raved at the queen as though she had been a Spaniard, or he was “in his cups.” He said “she was a bastard, and therefore had no right to the crown.” He added that he could not revoke the Bulls of his predecessors, who had invalidated Henry’s marriage with Anne Boleyn, the queen’s mother. This was little to the purpose : for he told the Jesuits what he thought of his predecessors’ Bulls and mandates. He said the queen was “very bold and insolent in daring to mount the throne without asking *his* consent : this audacity alone made her unworthy of favor :—but, however, if she would renounce her pretensions, and submit the decision to him and the Holy See, he would try to give her proofs of his affection ; but he could not permit any attack on the authority of Christ’s vicar, who alone is authorised to regulate the rights of those who pretend to regal crowns.”† According to the Jesuit Pallavicino, he also said, that Mary Queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.‡ There is nothing to wonder at in this insolent resistance to the voice of a nation. The “Church of Rome” had not as yet been “taught to forget” her unreasonable, inconsistent prerogatives. Three hundred years of *Protestant* inculcation have been required to teach her the lesson, which she learnt at last, that all her prerogatives were founded on the superstitions of the people, and that in the present stage of this eventful planet’s progress, her very existence depends on her strict neutrality in the politics of men. So delightfully has she imbibed so expedient and necessary a lesson, that she has even enthusiastically fraternised with the Republicans of France, consigning royalty, with its “rights,” to the tombs of its ancestors, to which, as far as “the Church” is concerned, it may take its departure as soon as possible, the voice of the people being the voice of God, whose very *existence* was proved, in the estimation

* Lingard, vi. Camden, i. 28.

† Quesnel, Leti, i. 315; Camden, Rapin, &c. Lingard ascribes these sentiments to the suggestion of the French ambassador, vi. 253.

‡ Lingard, ib.

of the famous Parisian preacher, Lacordaire, *by the late Revolution!** A more stinging sarcasm could never have been uttered against prostrate royalty: but it rebounds on "the Church;" *History* snatches and pins it on the back of "the church," as a moral, an axiom, a principle for universal edification.

The pope's insulting notification to Elizabeth produced such an effect as would have followed the same conduct at the present day in the Church of France. Setting aside the queen's natural resentment on the occasion, it became evident at once to the queen's ministers and supporters that it was only by strengthening her "party" that she could hope for security on the throne; and they resolved, by all means in their power, to promote Protestantism and suppress Catholicism. It was the selfish suggestion of party—a line of policy at all times, and even now as much as possible, prevalent in all "parties," whether "religious," political, social, or literary. The better part to be chosen by Elizabeth and her "party" would have been to conciliate her Catholic people by keeping her original resolution, and following it up with perfect equality to the complete exclusion of "religious" tests and declarations: but, of what avail would so *Christian*, and, therefore, most expedient, a resolve have been, whilst the pope had his monks, and his priests, and his Jesuits, to "stir" the people to dissatisfaction and rebellion? What a blessed thing for humanity, had there been either no pope, priests, monks, and Jesuits at all, or that these leaders of the multitude had merged their selfishness in the divine cause of human happiness, peace, and prosperity. Elizabeth was angered: her party was anxious: the pope and his party were equally angered and anxious—and we shall soon see the consequence. Meanwhile Pius IV. had succeeded to the papal throne, and sent a nuncio to Elizabeth, requesting her to send her bishops to the Council of Trent. Her reply was, that she had been treated just

* "In the cathedral of Notre Dame, the Abbé Lacordaire commenced his series of sermons. An immense crowd was present. The rev. gentleman first read the archbishop's letter. On the demand of the government, the archbishop gave orders to have the 'Domine, salvum fac Populum' henceforward sung in all the churches. The abbé, addressing the archbishop, said, 'Monseigneur, the country, by my voice, thanks you for the courageous example which you have given; it thanks you for having known how to conciliate the *immutability of the Church* and the sanctity of oaths with the changes which God effects in the world by the hands of men.' The preacher, as if to give proofs of this immutability, wished to continue the development of the doctrine which he had set forth so eloquently for several years. He appeared to desire to entrench himself behind divine tradition, and to preserve it from the invasion of *history*; but the fire burst out, and the Dominican of the people, arriving at the proofs of the existence of God, cried out, 'Prove to you God! Were I to attempt to do so, you would have a right to call me parricide and sacrilegious. If I dared to undertake to demonstrate to you God, the gates of this cathedral would open of themselves, and show you this PEOPLE, *superb in its anger, carrying God to his altar in the midst of respect and adoration.*' The whole auditory were so much moved, that they testified loud applause, which the sanctity of the place could not restrain. The *Débats*, alluding to the scene, says, 'It is well: let the Church take its place like us all. Let it show itself, the people will recognise it. Let it not have any dread of the Revolution, in order that the Revolution may not be afraid of it. God has delivered the world to discussion: *Tradidit mundum disputationi*. Let the Church use its arms, the Word and charity, instruction and action. Let it aid itself, God will aid it.' "—*Daily News*, March 1, 1848.

as if she was not a Christian ; that she did not think the Council a free and holy assembly, but only a conventicle gathered at the solicitation of certain princes, for their particular interests : and, lastly, she was convinced that the intention of the Court of Rome, in sending the nuncio, was less to invite the English bishops than to inspire the Catholics of her kingdom with still more aversion than they already exhibited towards the Protestants.* The whole reign of Elizabeth proved that her sagacity was not at fault in this last surmise. Pius IV., perceiving by this reply the error of his predecessor's conduct towards Elizabeth, did not at once acknowledge the queen, as he ought to have done for the welfare and peace and happiness of his Catholic children, but resolved to send into Ireland one of his "roaring bellows of sedition,"— "incendiary pharisees" — to spring a mine, destined ere long to explode, with fearful damage to the wretched people, who, without the priests to blight their generous hearts, would have been the admirers of a queen who knew so well how to reward and promote gallant loyalty, when once convinced of its existence in her subjects. Long had the Jesuits panted for a settlement in Britain. Ignatius and his troop had thought much of the matter, and it was even said they made proposals to Cardinal Pole on the subject ; but *they were declined*. Their proposal was similar to the spoliation of the nuns at Rome ; for they coveted the monasteries of the Benedictines, to convert them into colleges, promising, in return, to promote the restoration of *Church property*—on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief.† Perhaps the cardinal saw through the "cohort," though he is said to have complimented its founder, and answered his letters, as well as those of Lainez.

Glad of the present opportunity, as on a former occasion, the Jesuits at once offered a man for the Irish expedition. He was an Irishman—

* Quesnel, Leti, &c.

† "One remarkable thing of him was, his not listening to the proposition the Jesuits made him, of bringing them into England They suggested to Pole, that whereas the Queen [Mary] was restoring the goods of the Church that were in her hands, it was but to little purpose to raise up the old foundations ; for the Benedictine order was become rather a clog than a help to the Church. They therefore desired that those houses might be assigned to them, for maintaining schools and seminaries, which they should set on quickly : and they did not doubt, but, by their dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the Church. The Jesuits were out of measure offended with him for not entertaining their proposition ; which I gather from an Italian manuscript which my most worthy friend, Mr. Crawford, found at Venice, when he was chaplain there to Sir Thomas Higgins, his majesty's envoy to that republic : but how it came that this motion was laid aside, I am not able to judge."—*Burnet, Reform.* ii. 509. Bartoli states the offer by Ignatius to Pole, of the German College for the education of English youth : but says no more respecting the application to the cardinal. By his account Philip II., the husband of Queen Mary, was solicited on the subject by the Jesuit Araos, a particular favorite of the king, by Borgia and Leonora Mascareynos, a "tender mother" of the Company. "But it is true," says Bartoli, "for various reasons, on which it is useless to enlarge at all, the result did not correspond with the desire." This *Che non relieva punto il fermarvisi intorno* is somewhat remarkable in so very diffuse a writer as the Jesuit Bartoli. I should state that Ribadeneyra was sent by Philip II. to console and assist Mary in her dropsy—a *consolare ed assistere in suo nome alla Reina Maria, inferma dell' idropisia.*—*Dell' Inghil.* f. 72. But even his presence in England availed nothing, adds Bartoli. After all, it does seem that Cardinal Pole was no patron of the Jesuits.

David Woulfe by name. The pope, says the Jesuit-historian, wished to make a bishop of him, and despatch him with the title and display of an apostolic nuncio: but to credit this proud anecdote, we must give the pope credit for extreme imprudence, or exceeding ignorance of Ireland's position at that time, respecting the Catholic cause. He would never have been admitted. Lainez thought a more inconspicuous method more applicable to "religious humility," and "the freedom of action—*ut liberius ipse agere posset*,"—less calculated to offend the heretics, and hinder him from doing his work covertly and quietly—*quo tectius ac quietius ageret*—and the pope yielded to the Jesuit, according to Sacchinus. Invested with his powers of apostolic nuncio, without the attendant paraphernalia, this Woulfe departed, carrying with him a great quantity of expiatory chaplets and such like Roman amulets for Ireland.* Passing through France, he was arrested and imprisoned at Nantes, being suspected for a Lutheran. He was probably *disguised*, and went along swaggering: otherwise it is difficult to account for such an error, supposing he said and did nothing to excite suspicion. After four days' confinement, he reached St. Malo, embarked his luggage for Bordeaux, but preferred to walk to that place, which, says Sacchinus, was a Divine instinct,—*divinus instinctus*,—because the vessel foundered on her passage; but this depends, perhaps, upon what he did in his journey, and, in the uncertainty, the instinct might just as well have been from Beelzebub. But surely the large collection of expiatory chaplets, Agnus Deis, and miraculous medals, *ought* to have saved the ship from foundering. After spending five months on the journey, he reached Cork; and his description of the state of Catholic matters, in 1561, is both curious in itself and curiously worded. He states that he was engaged, amidst the snares of the heretics, in consoling and inspiring confidence to the Catholics, and in regulating the affairs of the Irish Church; that he was received with wonderful joy by the Catholics of Cork, where he spent a few days. With the greatest secrecy he got the Catholics informed of his presence and its object, and describes that he saw, throughout the space of sixty miles from Cork, crowds of men and women, with naked feet, and covered with a shirt only, coming to confess their sins and beg absolution for their incestuous marriages, more than a thousand of which he ratified by apostolic authority, in the space of a few months. He further states, that the Irish were very much entangled in this vice: but free from *heresy*, which corresponds with another Catholic's remark, that "they sin like devils, but believe like saints," as I have elsewhere quoted. He goes on to say:—"That *all* the priests and monks everywhere kept mistresses."* "The people," says he, "wonder that I don't charge them anything, and receive no pre-

* "Bonoque piaculariam sertorum, aliarumque his similium rerum numero instructus."—*Sacchin.* iv. 46.

† "Nudis pedibus, uno tantum indusio tectus, peccata confessuros, et absolucionem super incestis matrimonii rogaturos. Plus mille conjugum paria non multis mensibus ex injustis nuptiis, auctoritate Apostolicâ legitimis ab se juncta. Hoc maximè impli- catum vitio populum: cæterum ab hæresi purum esse: Clericos cœnobitasque passim omnes cum mulierculis suis."—*Sacchin.* lib. v. 148.

sents ;" which seems a sort of reflection on the old inveterate "begging box" of Ireland, and the wages of the sanctuary.

" Man's food in Earth's bosom is rotting—
But Charity's dole is allotting—
To whom ? At God's door, the pampered once more
To plunder the Pauper is plotting."*

The Jesuit David, however, would do nothing of the kind, as he assures us, "although," he adds, "I lost all my baggage by the wreck of the French vessel from St. Malo, and I am desperately pinched—*vehementer inopia conflictari*." It was then he probably felt the loss of his chaplets, Agnus Deis and miraculous medals: for he *might* have sold these for the good of the apostolic treasury, and supplied his pinching want without scruple, after posting the amount to the pope's credit with *Res Societatis* at the top of the folio. David says that "he eschewed all their convivialities—declined their invitations,—*ne locum gratiae aperiret*, lest he should put himself under any obligation," if that be the meaning of the strange expression. "I find it by no means easy to beg," he continues, "for here you can scarcely find bread in any house during the day, because the people seldom eat dinner, and at their supper eat new bread, which, for the most part, they do not bake before evening. Some of the priests, taking offence at my abstinence, make a jest of my poverty : but continuing my practice of abstinence, I abound in the fruits of holy poverty, and I joyfully endure their mockery, accounting it an increase of my gains." So far David Woulfe, Jesuit, and Apostolic Nuncio in Ireland. His account of himself is very flattering : but by no means so to the priests and monks, and people of Ireland—excepting their orthodoxy. Meanwhile, however, temptation overpowered him: the man who went to reform, added himself to the number of the fallen. "Happy would he have been," exclaims Sacchinus, at the conclusion of his letter, "Happy, if he had continued such good beginnings ! For, at length, from being left to himself, and without a check, he became gradually remiss, more useful to others than to himself, and the man behaved in such a manner that it was necessary to expel him from the Company.† Such was the second Irish expedition of the Jesuits. It scarcely corresponded with the pope's expectations. About three years after, three more Jesuits were dispatched to Ireland with an archbishop to erect colleges, and academies, having been invested with papal power to transfer ecclesiastical revenues to the purpose. Into England also a Jesuit was sent at the same time—an Englishman, Thomas Chinge by name

* *Lay of Lazarus*, in "Facts and Figures from Italy," p. 17.

† "Felicem si talibus exordiis convenientia attexisset. Nam demum per solitudinem et impunitatem, remissâ paulatim curâ sui, utilior multis quam sibi, itâ se homo gessit, ut segregandus ab Societate fuerit."—Lib. v. 149. This Jesuit has been confounded by Cretineau with a *Father David*, mentioned by Sacchinus, lib. viii. 98; and Dr. Oliver, in his excessively partial and meagre "Collections," says just nothing of David Woulfe, except that "he had been chaplain to James Maurice *Desmond de Geraldinis*, as I find from that nobleman's letter, dated, &c. The earl expresses himself most grateful to the Society for having admitted him to a participation of its prayers and good works at the request and recommendation of the Rev. Father William Good" —which is a curious application of the Company's merits.—*Collect.* p. 270.

—“for the good of his health,” says Sacchinus, “and for the consolation and aid of the Catholics.” He is said to have made some “conversions” among the nobility, and the year after, “changed his earthly country for the celestial.”* In 1562, Pius IV. sent the Jesuit Nicholas Gaudan to Mary Queen of Scots to console and exhort—to no purpose, as events declared.

It is admitted by all parties that excessive abuses prevailed in the Scottish Church before the Reformation was introduced into Scotland; and Dr. Lingard expressly says that of all European Churches that of Scotland was amongst those which were best “prepared to receive the seed of the *new gospel*,” as he slyly calls the Reformation. The highest dignities of the Church were, with few exceptions, lavished on the illegitimate or the younger sons of the most powerful families.† Merely as such they certainly had as good a right to these dignities as to any other—provided they were competent by nature and by grace. But whatever might have been their other qualifications, they failed in the essential characteristics of honest and competent churchmen. Ignorant and immoral themselves, they cared little for the instruction or moral conduct of their inferiors.‡ As everywhere else, the clergy were proud. They consulted their ease. They neglected their duties without scruple: but exacted their “dues” with rigor. And the people lashed them accordingly with their tongues,§—which they will always do—until a rod is put into their hands, and they are taught how to use it. The new preachers appeared. They preached to willing ears respecting those doctrines which promoted existing abuses; and if to suit the times, to season their discourses, they bitterly inveighed against the vices of the churchmen, they only took a natural and infallible course to the favor of the neglected, despised, and oppressed people. In order to be felt, things must be made tangible; and so when Possevinus would recommend his Company to Philibert, he inveighed, as we have read, against the vices of the monks in Savoy. In the matter of the Scottish clergy, as elsewhere, the obvious course to be followed by the churchmen was *reform*:—an awful, day-of-judgment-contemplation, doubtless: but that was the necessity upon them. What was done? The usual thing. A “convocation” enacted “canons”—to regulate the morals of the clergy—to enforce the duty of public instruction—to repress abuses in the collection of clerical dues.|| It was too late, as usual: and besides, the enactments of “convocations” are not the things to produce the results so desirable. Meanwhile, the preachers were not neglected. Old statutes were revived against them as teachers of heretical doctrines, and new penalties were superadded to show how the churchmen thought they could “put down” the spirit of transition.¶ It was a mistake as well as a crime; and they suffered the penalty for both. Earls, barons, gentlemen, honest burgesses, and craftsmen, plighted hearts and hands in the congregation—and finally John Knox fell as a thunderbolt on “the Church” of Scotland. This terrible

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 98.

§ Ibid.

† Lingard, vi. 269.

|| Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

¶ Ibid.

reformer was the son of obscure parents : Haddington and Gifford in East Lothian dispute the honor of his birth : the University of St. Andrews made him a Master of Arts. In his thirtieth year he renounced the religion of Rome : and seven years afterwards, in 1542, he declared himself a Protestant. The heart of a Scot—firm, tenacious, immovable from its purpose—qualified him for his appointed work : the enthusiasm of a Scot—which is infinitely more thoughtful, more calculating, more to the purpose than that of any other nation—made him terrible in his denunciations of what he abominated ; and the philosophy of Aristotle, scholastic theology, civil and canon law, built in his mind that rampart of controversy, so indispensable at a time when, to confute a heretic, was only second in glory and merit to roasting him on the spits of the Inquisition. This man was condemned as a heretic for denouncing the prevalent corruptions of the churchmen : he was degraded from the priesthood—for he had been ordained—and was compelled to fly from the presence of the fierce, cruel, and vengeful Cardinal Beaton, who, it is said, employed assassins, thus to “get rid” of a determined opponent. Persecution envenomed his heart—nerved his enthusiasm—and of his mind made a deadly dart to transfix his constituted foes—who were the foes of his cause—and thus a sacred impulse, “with solemn protestation,” urged him “to attempt the extremity.” Events checked his efforts for a time. A party of Reformers, led by Norman Leslie, a personal enemy of the Cardinal, murdered Beaton in 1546, to the utter consternation of the Catholic cause, which the relentless Cardinal had labored to promote by imprisoning, banishing, hanging and drowning the heretics. Open war followed the murder. The conspirators were besieged in St. Andrews’ : French troops aided the besiegers : the place was surrendered, and amongst the prisoners was Knox. Nineteen months’ close imprisonment was his fate ; he was then liberated with his health greatly impaired by the rigor he endured—biting his lips and biding his time. He came forth to “attempt the extremity.” Indefatigably he proclaimed his peculiar doctrines—intemperate in words—obstinate in mind—austere, stern, vehement—a hero fashioned by persecution and the requirements of the age, and his country. Against the exaltation of women to the government of men he bitterly inveighed. The key-note of his trumpet was undoubtedly given by the specimens he found in power—the Queen-dowager Mary of Guise, in Scotland—and Queen Mary in England. All his doctrines were more or less tinged with Calvinism. All sacrifices for sin he deemed blasphemous ; all idolatry, superstition—all that was not authorised by Scripture he denounced—he was altogether opposed to episcopacy or the government of bishops. If in strictness, in austerity, Scotland’s Protestants exceed those of England, John Knox lays claim to the initiative—the solid foundation. In 1556 he went to Geneva to minister to the English congregation who appointed him their preacher.* In 1559 he returned to Scotland, where he remained

* Dr. Lingard is somewhat merry on this fact, which he describes as follows : “Preferring the duty of watching over the infant church to the glory of martyrdom, he

till his death in 1572. Intrepidity, independence, elevation of mind, indefatigable activity and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the post which he occupied : and whilst he was a terror to every opponent—an uncompromising inflicter of castigation on all without exception of rank or sex, when he thought they deserved it—still, in private life, he was loved and revered by his friends and domestics. Persecution and tyranny had roused him to his enterprise : throughout his life he inflicted vengeance on the principles of their supporters—and unhesitatingly directed the indignation of his followers against the oppressors of the “brethren,” whom they were “bound to defend from persecution and tyranny, be it against princes or emperors, to the uttermost of their power.”*

At the height of this agitation the Jesuit Nicholas Gaudan wormed his way into Scotland. It was a hazardous undertaking. The Catholic religion was proscribed : its public worship was prohibited. Puritans, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians were beginning those terrible contests amongst each other, whose remembrance gives maxims to the wise and a pang to the Christian. Human passions made religion their pretence or excuse—like Rome’s infernal Inquisition—and men slaughtered each other with swords consecrated by a text perverted. Was it not in prophetic vision that it was said: “Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth ? I tell you nay ; but rather division.” Sad and gloomy was that foreknowledge to Him who piteously said: “Come to me all ye who labor and are heavily burthened.” He foresaw how the passions of men would abuse His coming—and turn his peace into cruel division, and call it “orthodoxy”—with fire burning and sword unsheathed.

The Jesuit Gaudan entered Scotland disguised as a *hawker*.† It was a clever device—since it admitted him to the homes of Scotland without reserve—into places where he might observe without being noticed—sound the nation’s heart throughout the land of contention—find numberless opportunities to blow the “fire” and spread the “division” so mournfully predicted—these things might he do—and yet seem an honest pedler withal. But how many falsehoods must not that disguise have compelled him to tell, for the sake of his mission ?

Access to the Queen of Scots was most difficult to the Jesuit. Who could envy the lot of Mary ? A widow in her eighteenth year,—torn from the gorgeous gaiety of the French court, where she was educated—with a dread presentiment on her mind, she had reached the throne of her ancestors, and saw herself surrounded by advisers in whom she could not confide,—whilst without, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the Scottish Reformer’s trumpet roused conge-

hastened back to Geneva, whence by letters he supplied the neophytes with ghostly counsel, resolving their doubts, chastising their timidity, and inflaming their zeal,” vi. 270.

* See M’Crie’s Life of Knox. Review of the same in British Critic of 1813; Edinburgh Review, xx. 1; Quarterly Review, ix. 418; Robertson, Hist. of Scotland; Bayle, Dict.; and Penny Cyclopædia, xiii.; Ling. vi. 270.

† Cretineau, i. p. 463.

nial hearts and minds unto deeds and desires which neither by nature, nor by grace, could she be induced to relish or approve. The Jesuit managed to notify his arriyal and mission. The queen contrived a secret interview. She dismissed her attendants and her guards to the “congregation of their brawler,” says Sacchinus, and admitted the Jesuit by a postern.* Gaudan met the Queen thrice. His steps were traced by the enemies of his cause: he was pursued: a price was set on his head: death impends—but his orders were stringent—he may not depart until his end is gained. He was to impart to the Queen the pope’s advice in her predicament—as if her doom was not pronounced by the character of Mary Stuart. What was the pope’s advice? We are not told, excepting that she protested to the pope her determination to defend the holy faith to the utmost of her power, and was ready to endure for it every calamity.† But this was an act of faith that every Catholic should fervently make, without any advice. Whatever was the pope’s advice, however, we are told that “the queen’s *voluptuous* imprudences will not permit her to follow it in the hour of revolutions.”‡

The Jesuit left Scotland and her queen to their troubles, bearing away with him several youths of Scotland’s best families to be educated in Flanders—“hostages whom he delivers to the Church, subsequently to return to their country, as Apostles of the Faith.”§ An anecdote curiously illustrative of Jesuitism is told respecting this expedition. Gaudan’s disguise as a hawker brought a French pedler into trouble. They seized him for the disguised nuncio, and gave him a severe whipping, though he protested that he was no nuncio, and they would have dispatched him had he not been recognised by some acquaintance. “And then,” observes Sacchinus, “he was dismissed, richer for the strokes he had received,—wares indeed not a little more useful than those which he carried *si uti novisset*,—if he had only known how to use them”—which is a rare consolation, and applicable to all the calamities which the Jesuits have directly or indirectly brought on humanity, themselves included.

Proscribed in Scotland, the Jesuits had the misfortune to be under the displeasure of Philip II. in the Catholic dominions of Spain: but here the mandate was that they should not leave the country. An express order was sent to the Spanish Company enjoining them to keep the *laws of the land*; forbidding them to *export money* to other kingdoms, and prohibiting them from leaving Spain, either for the purpose of giving or receiving instruction. It was also intimated to them that they had given offence at court in many ways; and an official visitation of their houses was ordered by the king.|| The facts on which this royal displeasure was based, are not stated by Sacchinus.

* “Per posticum admissum, cum ea suum fratrem reliquosque custodes de industriâ summovisset ad concionem rabulæ ipsorum dimisso.”—*Lib. vi. 107.*

† *Sacchin. lib. vi. 108.*

‡ “Des conseils que ses voluptueuses imprudences ne lui permettent pas de suivre à l’heure des révolutions.”—*Cretineau, i. 463.*

|| *Sacchin. lib. v. 36.*

§ *Ibid.*

We are therefore left to imagine in what ways the Company of Jesus infringed the laws of Spain, and condescended to export money from the Spanish dominions. The historian of the Jesuits dismisses the subject with a few words only, and strives to impute motives or suspicions as the causes of the calamity—among the rest, the sudden and secret departure of Borgia from Spain, the frequent remittances of money to Rome—*ex pecuniis s̄epe Roman translati*, and the king's displeasure with Lainez on account of his intimacy with his majesty's enemy, the Cardinal Ferrara, whom he accompanied into France.* This peculiar Jesuit-method of dismissing grave charges is by no means satisfactory : particularly when we find that, even in the most frivolous cases, their historians enter into tedious details, when they believe thay can confute an accusation, or extenuate the fault of a member.

Whilst the court of Madrid was striving to repress the cupidity and pious avarice of the Jesuits, the latter were making determined efforts to achieve an establishment in France—a legal establishment—for there were Jesuits in France at all times. The *Province of France* existed by fact, if not by legal fiction. We remember the first attempt, and its disgraceful consequences on both sides of the battle. This was the tenth. Nine times had the indefatigable Jesuits scaled the walls, and were repulsed; but defeat to the will of Ignatius within them, only redoubled their resolve to achieve victory at last. They had patrons at the court of France ; they were befriended by the Guises—that restless family of ambitious leaders, now more powerful and active than ever. Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was sleeping with his fathers, neither too good nor too bad for this world ; and Charles IX., his younger brother, had succeeded, with Catherine de' Medici as queen-regent of the kingdom: both are destined to become famous for the general massacre of the French Protestants—a religious ceremonial dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Times of trouble were at hand: the fearful “religious” wars were about to break out: and the “lights and ramparts of the Gallican Church, the Cardinals de Lorraine and Tournon,” gladly patronised the foxes to whose tails they could append flaming firebrands to “set all on fire,” as they listed. And so the Jesuits said that the cardinals thus addressed them when they craved their co-operation, “Oh how fortunate is mankind to whom the Divine Majesty has vouchsafed to give such men in these times ! Would that by His mercy every province in this kingdom might receive so great a good ! Ye who have it, keep it. Embrace this sodality of Jesus Christ—walk in their footsteps—cling to their advice. In your name, and in duty bound, we will strive so that France may not be deprived, in any way, of so great a gift of God.”† This was the opinion which the Jesuits wished mankind to entertain—the *fama So-*

* Sacchin. lib. v. 37.

† “O vos beatos, quos divina Majestas temporibus his horum virorum dono dignata est ! Utinam ejus misericordia fieret ut singulæ hujus regni provinciæ tanto potirentur bono ! Tenete vos, quibus concessum est. Amplexamini Sodalitatem hanc Jesu Christi, et vestigiis ejus ac monitis inhærete. Nos ex vestro nomine, et pro officio nostro dabimus operam, ut Gallia tanto Dei munere nequaquam privetur.”—Sacchin. lib. v. 195.

cietatis—the good name of the Company—their “credit;” but, on the present occasion, in spite of all I have said respecting their unflinching pertinacity, perseverance, and resolution to *get* into France legally—in spite of those noble energies, I must unfortunately declare that the *res Societatis*—the purse of the Company, was a stirring motive for the present penetration. William Du Prat, we remember, left them a legacy of 120,000 livres.* The executors of the bishop’s will, seeing that the Jesuits could not make use of the donation, since their order was not legally acknowledged in France, proposed to rescind the bequest. The grant specified the building and maintenance of a college;† so, as this was impossible without legal admission in France, the money, though inactive itself, was actually stirring desires in ■ variety of hearts. The benevolent bishop had given all his property to the poor, the monks, and the Jesuits: the latter had not forgotten their share, and the former were not, as usual, satisfied with theirs; and coveted *la part du diable*—the Jesuit-slice as well,—the poor, the monks, the mendicant friars, even the directors of the hospitals, begged that the money might be distributed to the poor, alleging that it would be much more usefully employed than by the Jesuits; an opinion which the latter by no means entertained. The chance or the danger of losing the bequest goaded the fathers to redoubled efforts for legal admission into France. On the occasions of their former disappointment, one of the motives against their admission was their abuse of their excessive “privileges,” which trenched on the “liberties of the Gallican Church.” The objection still remained. The parliament was inexorable. In vain the Jesuits induced their friends the Cardinals de Bourbon, Lorraine, and Tournon—even the queen-regent, to write in their favor: the parliament cared no more for these soft impeachments, than it had cared for those of Francis II. Desolated by the hideous fact, the Jesuits compromised the matter, and consented to sacrifice somewhat of their “privileges,” which, as it chanced, happened to be nicely balanced by just 35,000 livres. They kicked the beam, and the money came down; but it was a hard struggle on both sides, and the presence of General Lainez was required. The fiend of controversy beckoned him to France, as well as Mammon.

In 1561, when the quarrels of “religion” began to run high, the colloquy or conference of Poissy was opened, like all the other diets on religious matters, without offering anything palatable or digestible to the barking stomachs, into which they would force hard stones, *on both sides*. Conciliation was the object of this conference. It met with great opposition from Rome: Pius IV., in his papal pride, thought it an infringement on his authority, and sent Lainez to put a stop to it,‡ or, to make bad worse, as the Jesuit’s violent orthodoxy was sure to do. The Cardinal de Ferrara was also sent by his Holiness to watch over the interests of the Holy See;—since Catherine held to the resolution,

* “Or 150,000, with nine or ten thousand livres revenue besides, an immense sum in those days.”—*Coudrette*, i. 156.

† *Ibid.*, iv. 91.

‡ *Sacchin.* lib. v. 193; *Quesnel*, ii. 33; *Vie de Coligny*, 235; *Browning*, p. 28; *Maimbourg*, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, livre iii.

alleging her desire to show some favor to the Calvinists and to reconcile the "parties," which was simply impossible. Catholic bishops and Protestant ministers were assembled. The king and his court, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, were there—nor was the queen-regent absent. Five cardinals, forty bishops, a vast number of doctors, were arrayed against a microscopical knot of twelve reformers. But Theodore Beza, and Peter Martyr, were each a host, and they failed not on that occasion. Lainez would put in a word—a very elaborate speech, the original of which, we are told, is still preserved in the archives of the Gesa at Rome. He began with saying that, "all his constant reading had convinced him how very dangerous it was to treat, or even to listen, to the heretics. For," said he, "as it is written in Ecclesiasticus, 'Who will pity the charmer wounded by his serpent, and all who go nigh unto the beast?' Those who desert the Church are called wolves in sheep's clothing and foxes, by Scripture, so that we may know we should be greatly on our guard against them on account of their hypocrisy and deceit, which are the characteristics of the heretics of all ages."* He boldly turned to the queen, and told her that "she must understand that neither she, nor any human prince, had a right to treat of matters of the faith Every man to his trade," said the Jesuit—"fabrilia fabri tractent. This is the trade of the priests—*sacerdotum est hoc negotium.*"† Peter Martyr had said that "the mass being an image and representation of the bloody sacrifice on the cross, Christ himself could not be present, because the image of a thing must cease to be where the thing itself is present;" which is a fair specimen of the controversial acumen displayed in the discussion. Lainez was a match for him. "Suppose," said he, "a king has won a glorious victory over the enemy; and suppose he wishes to celebrate the event by a yearly commemoration. Three methods present themselves for the purpose. He may simply order the narrative of the exploit to be repeated. Secondly, he may have the war represented by actors. Thirdly, he may enact a part himself—may perform in person the part he took in the war. This is what takes place in the most divine and unbloody sacrifice of the mass."‡ "Without examining whether this comparison be apposite," observes Quesnel, "it evidently smells very much of the *colleges*, on which, it seemed, that the fancy of the general and his brethren was running, full to overflowing." The conference was agitated beyond endurance by an exclamation of Beza. Concerning the Lord's Supper, he cried out: "As far as the highest heaven is distant from the lowest earth, so far is the body of Christ distant from the bread and wine of the Eucharist."§

* Sacchin. lib. v. 201.

† Id. lib. v. 203.

‡ Beza bantered Lainez for this comparison, remarking that the Jesuit had made a comedy of the Sacrament, and a comedian of Jesus Christ. "Que ce Pere avait fait de ce Sacrement une comédie, et Jesus Christ un comédien."—*Du Pin, Hist. du Concile, i. 489.*

§ Melchoir Adam. Vitæ German. Theol. 644; Bayle, i. 689; De la Place, Comment. lib. vi. Ann. 1561. By this authority, we learn that Beza wrote to the queen next day, assuring her that "by reason of the outcry that arose, his conclusion was not under-

The Parliament had referred the Jesuits to the conference, on the subject of their admission. Cardinal de Tournon, their friend, presided at the sittings. To him Lainez, covered with his controversial glory, applied in behalf of his Company—presenting their bulls, statutes, and privileges—and protesting that the Jesuits would submit to every restriction and proviso deemed necessary by the Bishop of Paris, in their admission. These conditions were nevertheless very onerous—if complied with,—which was decidedly not the intention of the Jesuits. They were to take some other name than that of Jesus or Jesuits. The diocesan bishop was to have an entire jurisdiction, superintendence, and a right of correction over the said Society and their college—all malefactors and bad livers (these are the very terms of the act) he might expel, even from the Company:—the Jesuits were to undertake nothing, either in spiritual or temporal matters, to the prejudice of the bishops, curés, chapters, parishes, universities, and other religious orders—but all were held to observe the common law, without possessing any jurisdiction whatever—and, finally, the Jesuits were to renounce, previously and expressly, all the privileges granted them by their bulls, and must promise for the future neither to solicit nor obtain any others contrary to “these presents”—in which case the present approbation and admission would be null and void.* Sacchinus is struck dumb on this transaction. He ignores the whole of it—giving merely the result in these words:—“Lainez reached Paris to complete the joy of the brethren and his hosts, being the glad messenger of the Company’s admissions at the Conference of Poissy.”† Doubtless their joy was not diminished by the knowledge of the hard conditions. Lainez would easily grant a dispensation to his “most sweet children” —*dulcissimos filios*—as Sacchinus calls them:—he who had swallowed the pope’s camel of a mandate touching the choir, would certainly not strain at the gnat of a bishop. To the glorious Jesuits who feared no man, the restrictions, supervisions, and jurisdictions, were mere cobwebs which hold together until they are *broken*,—which is an easy matter to anything, flies only excepted.

stood as he wished and had proposed.” After a long and tedious explanation, he says: “Here are the words which I pronounced, and which have given offence to the bishops. ‘If any one thereupon asks us if we make Jesus Christ absent from the Lord’s Supper, we answer no. But if we look at the distance of places (as we must do when there is a question as to his corporeal presence, and his humanity distinctly considered), we say that his body is as far from the bread and wine, as the highest heaven is from the earth, considering that, as for ourselves, we are on the earth and the sacraments also; and as for Him, his flesh is in heaven so glorified, that his glory, as St. Augustine says, has not deprived him of a true body, but only of the infirmities of the latter.’” He then goes on affirming the “spiritual presence” of Christ in *la sainte cène*. In this old chronicler, La Place, there is a full account of the affair; as also in the Jesuit Fleury (not the Church-historian), *Histoire du Cardinal de Tournon*. As Browning observes, this Jesuit appears unable to restrain his indignation in describing this conference. He is lavish with abuse and calumnious insinuation, p. 367. The Jesuit Maimbourg is, as usual with him, more temperate and sensible, *Hist. du Calvinisme*, livre iii.

* Quesnel, ii. 38; Felib. Hist. de Paris, livre xxi.; Pasquier, Plaid Mercure Jesuit, p. 321; Hist. Partic. des Jesuits; Coudrette, i. 74, et seq.

† Sacchin. lib. v. 198.

Certainly the reader is surprised at this silence of the Jesuit-historian on this transaction—so elaborate and diffuse on the most trifling occurrences in the Indies and other lands unknown. One would think that the determination with which the Jesuits urged their admission into France—the grand occasion—the pregnant hopes of the fact—should have merited some little minuteness of detail—but you have read all that Sacchinus says on the subject. The fact is, the circumstances were by no means honorable to the Company; and secondly, it was impossible to tell Indian or Arabian tales to the French, on that subject. This is another warning to put us on our guard against the “facts” of the Jesuit-historians, when they are interested in the circumstances.

Nothing could exceed the glorification which General Lainez received for his achievements at the conference of Poissy. The pope was lavish with his holy laudation: he compared Lainez to the ancient saints, because, said his Holiness, he had maintained the cause of God without caring either for the king or the princes, and had resisted the queen to her face.* In effect, he had deeply wounded the lady by his severe animadversion and bitter advice: he had brought tears to the eyes of humiliated royalty. Two days afterwards, the Prince de Condé observed to Lainez: “Do you know, *mon père*, that the queen is very much incensed against you, and that she shed tears?” Lainez smiled and replied: “I know Catherine de’ Medici of old. She’s a great actress: but, Prince, fear nothing—she won’t deceive me.”† Admirable words—brave words for a long-headed Jesuit—but scarcely to be called the pious aspirations of an ancient saint, by favor of his Holiness.

Troubles balanced this apparent glorification of General Lainez. His vicar at Rome, Salmeron, was accused at Naples, where he had been working—the foulest charges were confidently uttered against him: priest, nobles, gentry, talked the scandal over, and children sang his infamy in the streets of Naples. Extorting money for absolution from a rich lady was the least of the charges—the greatest being, of course, *heresy*—for they even said that he had turned Lutheran! Whatever foundation there may have been for these charges—and there was probably very little—the pope, who seemed inclined to canonise Lainez, defended Salmeron, and the “infamy” was at rest.‡ The pontifical murder of Pope Paul IV.’s nephews followed apace, and in the midst of that “legal” iniquity a Jesuit figured as the minister of consolation to the unfortunate convict. I have described the scene elsewhere, as a tail-piece to the death of Paul IV.

The inexhaustible activity of the Jesuits had tempted them to try another field for their labors. The pope was anxious to compensate in “other worlds” for the kingdoms which he had lost in Europe.—Egypt took his fancy in 1561. Two Jesuits were despatched to the Copts, with the view of reducing *their* church to that of Rome. The

* “Gli piacque molto il zelo del Gesuita; diceva, potersi comparare a gli antichi Santi, avendo senza rispetto del Re e Prencipi sostenuta la causa di Dio, e rinfacciata la Regina in propria presenza.”—*Sarpi*, ii. 113.

† *Cretineau*, i. 421.

‡ *Sacchin*, lib. v. 166.

Cophs are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians; but the race can boast little of the blood that flowed in the veins of the Pharaohs. Greeks, Abyssinians, and Nubians, in the earliest days of Christianity, grafted their pedigree and their religion on the children of the Nile, the worshippers of dogs, cats, onions, crocodiles, and an extraordinary fine bull, as sacred to the Egyptians as the cow is to the Hindoos. The Christianity of the Cophs is, and was at the time in question, very similar to that of Rome—only it did not acknowledge the pope of Rome:—it had its own patriarch and hierarchy; and was very comfortable on all points of faith—never giving a thought to Rome—nor would Rome have thought of this stray Christianity, had not so many of her own Christians strayed from her pale, and diminished the map of her dominions. By a list of the Coptic peculiarities in the matter of religion, you will perceive that there was very little necessity for a “mission”—except the last named consideration. They held the real presence;—only they gave the sacrament, as of old, under both forms—but only to the men. Women received only the “body,” moistened with the “blood,” and it was carried to them out of the sanctuary, which they were not allowed to enter. They practised confession. They differed respecting the succession of the Holy Ghost, like the Greek Christians; and admitted but one will, one nature, one operation, in Christ. They baptised by immersion, and practised circumcision; marriage, confirmation, extreme unction, were not recognised as sacraments. They were not forbidden to marry after a divorce and during the life-time of the wife put away. Their patriarchs traced their line of succession up to the apostle *St. Mark.**

The pope sent presents with the Jesuits, to the patriarch. They were both very civilly received. The Jesuits set to work with argument; and after a very short discussion coolly required the Coptic patriarch to write a letter to the pope in testimony of his “obedience.” This was positively refused, to the horror of the Jesuit, who was thoroughly deceived in all his expectations: in fact, it turned out that both the pope and the Jesuits had been tricked by an impostor, pretending to be an envoy from the patriarch to the pope, offering a union of the churches! Thus the expedition failed: the Jesuits remained, making fruitless efforts towards the point at issue: but apparently to very little purpose; and they returned ingloriously—one of them being compelled to disguise himself as a merchant, and to keep his handkerchief to his face, pretending to blow his nose, in order to get safely on board a ship sailing for Europe. A dreadful storm at sea completed his horror and disgust at the expedition; but Sacchinus consoles his memory by comparing the Jesuit to St. Paul in the same predicament.†

A very unpleasant disappointment for the pope and the Jesuits it was: but they could console themselves with publishing to the world their success in India. Imagine the sum total of conversions for the

* Sacchin. lib. vi. 122, and others.

† “Mercatoris sumpto habitu, cùm insuper ad obtegendam faciem, emungendæ naris applicito sudariolo necessitatem simularet, in navim . . . imponitur.”—Sacchin. lib. vi. 149.

preceding year: "In the space of one year," says Sacchinus, "ten thousand men were baptised—*anni spatio ad decem hominum millia sacro baptismate expiarunt!*"* The Jesuits also pretend that the water of baptism, when swallowed with faith, cured various diseases—such is the piety of the people, he adds; and then quietly tells us of a case of fever brought on two neophytes by the craft and envy of the *devil*, but cured by holy water. "Give holy water," said the missioner, "and when they had done so, in the same moment the fever left both of them."† But terror still continued the grand precursor to the Jesuit-baptism. In the expedition of the Portuguese governor Henriquez against the Celebes, the Jesuit Magallanez baptised one thousand five hundred natives in a fortnight. Thus it was that—to quote the words of Sacchinus—"the salutary ray of the Christian religion penetrated into the kingdom of the Celebes."‡ The modern missionaries cannot propagate the faith by gunpowder; but they are not less inventive in devising the expedients of craft, so as to be able to contribute their thousand and ten thousand "converts" to the Annals of the Propagation. To read their trumpery letters, one must believe that all India ought to have been made Christian within the last ten years. But only fancy the cool "religious" rouguery of the following resolution, penned only *five* years ago by one Dr. Besy, "Vicar-Apostolic of Xan-tong," in China: "We have amongst our resolutions taken that of opening schools in all the villages, and of selecting in each locality a certain number of pious widows, somewhat acquainted with medicine, who, *under the pretext of administering remedies* to the dying infants of the pagans, will be able to confer on them *baptism*."§ What do you think of that for the nineteenth century? We denounce the tricks of "trade," but those of "religion" deserve approbation!!

* Sacchin. lib. vi. 172.

† "Aquam inquit sacram potum dare; quod cum fecissent eodem momento febris utrumque deseruit."—Sacchin. lib. vi. 174. I was told by a Jesuit, in the novitiate at Hodder, the following curious fact, illustrative of the superstitions still prevalent in England. One of the fathers, on the mission in Lancashire, was applied to by a peasant for some holy water. The father happened to be out of the usual supply; so he proceeded to bless some there and then, in the presence of the peasant. During the rehearsal of the prayers appointed in the ritual, the peasant exclaimed, twice or thrice, "Make it strong, Meg is *fearful ill*—make it strong!" When the holy water was given to the man, the Jesuit asked him what he wanted it for, and he replied, "to give it to the *cow*!" His cow was "*fearful ill*." This is no Protestant "*concocation*," observe, but a veritable fact related to me by a Jesuit in the English novitiate. Truly, this land is still benighted, and a few thousand pounds of Foreign mission funds might be usefully spent in bettering the minds and bodies of the ignorant poor at *home*, where we can insure *duty* without requiring the usual clap-trap of missionary letters, Annals of the Propagation, &c.

‡ Sacchin. lib. vii. 122.

§ Annals of the Propagation, &c., v. 328. Each of these dying infants, so numerous in China, will be one of the thousands "converted."

|| This bishop shows himself scarcely honest by the following addition to his method borrowed from the Brazilian Jesuits. He says, "As to the *expenses* occasioned by this good work, I have willingly charged myself with them; I have engaged to cover all the costs, like those poor people who have not a penny to pay their debts, and who generously offer to their friends lands and money, although they are clothed in rags." And then follows the horse behind the cart. "After God my hope is in you, members of the Association. Let not my hope be disappointed! Be my security, and your alms will people heaven with new legions of angels." I suppress the remark which this word "legions" suggests.

In Japan the success of the Jesuits continued to surpass their expectations, if that was possible. As these new apostles always went in the rear of the Portuguese fleets, the kings of the country, desirous of promoting commerce in their dominions, and therefore anxious to attract the Europeans, vied with each other in receiving baptism, and permitted their subjects to do as they pleased in the matter. The king of Omura not only permitted the Jesuits to preach, but even gave to "the Church," that is, to the Jesuits, a maritime city, by name Vocoxiura; and to entice the Portuguese into his kingdom, he promised them that not only their merchandise, but even that of the Japanese who should trade with them, would be exempt from all imposts for the space of six years.*

It was precisely the same tune, with a few more flourishing variations, in the theme of the Brazilian mission. One Jesuit began his march by baptising one hundred and twenty idolaters in a single village; in another, five hundred and forty-nine; in a third, four hundred and over; in a fourth, two hundred and forty—all these in a single year "with magnificent pomp and display, as usual, he generated to the Church by the vital waters," says the Jesuit Sacchinus.† This professional Baptist's name is Louis Grana: it were a pity to consign it to oblivion. One thousand three hundred and nine Christians made in one year by one Jesuit! But his companion, Father Antonio Rodriguez, utterly left him behind in his evangelical expeditions. On one single occasion—*una lustratione*—he baptised eleven hundred and fifty Christians—*Mille centum quinquaginta duæ anime ad ecclesiam appositorum eam lustratione sunt.* At another place he baptised one hundred and eight Indians; at a third, eight hundred and seventeen; in a fourth, one thousand and ninety. On his return, at one time, he baptised one hundred and seventy; then one hundred and thirty-eight; then one hundred and fifty-three; then two hundred and two; and, finally, three hundred and twelve; making in all (errors excepted) five thousand five hundred and thirty-nine Christians in one year.‡ The idea is frightful. But the Jesuits must have belied themselves. It is, may I not say, impossible for men of common respectful deference to the religious sentiment, thus to trample under foot the sacred rite which they believed to have made themselves brothers of Christ and heirs of salvation. Heavens! was it but to send glorious accounts of the missions that these Jesuits actually did this wickedness? Nay, let us rather believe that they were infatuated with the idea of "conversion," and in their blindness of mind and heart, considered mere baptism its exponent and its guarantee. For, alas! what was the hideous consequence?—the consequence that makes us, even at this distance of time, gnash the teeth in unavailing indignation, or wring the hands in the bitter memory of the past, asking, Why was light given to the wretched, and life to them who were in bitterness of heart? Sacchinus tells us

* Sacchin. lib. vii. 133; Quesnel, ii. 61.

† "Celebrite apparatuque, ut solebat, magnifico, vitalibus aquis Ecclesiæ genuit."—Sacchin. lib. vi. 197.

‡ Sacchin. lib. vi. 197, et seq.

that consequence—in *his* infatuation he *does* tell all—and here it is in its horrible monstrosity:—the title of the section is “The virtue of a Man of Brazil—a convert Chieftain.” “By this man’s persuasion and example, the Christians and Brazilian catechumens dared to join the Europeans, and fought against their own countrymen, which, before that day, had scarcely ever occurred. So that not only acquaintances fought against acquaintances, friends against friends, but even children against their parents, brothers against brothers—all ties were broken. *Thus may you recognise the salutary division which the Prince of Peace confessed He was bringing to the earth.* A piteous sight, truly, unless the defence of the holy faith made the former as worthy of praise as the barbarous cruelty of the latter was worthy of hatred, rather than commiseration.”* Need I add a single reflection on these dreadful facts, and as dreadful a sentiment? What a disappointment—what a falling off, was that! When the Jesuits arrived in Brazil, they found the savages maltreated, persecuted by the Europeans. The “men of God” came with the men of the devil, hand in hand, apparently heart in heart. They strove to conciliate the savage. He mistrusted them. What good could possibly come with such infernal evil as that of Portugal? Yet the Jesuits, by dint of perseverance, contrived to fascinate the simple people, lived with them, seemed to take their part, seemed resolved to do so for ever. Thus they befriended the savages: thus the Jesuits at first were, in some sort, a blessing to the persecuted, oppressed, deceived Indians. And what was the result? The Indians flocked around them, listened to them, submitted to their ceremonial aspersion—in a word, joined those who seemed to be their friends. And then, again, what was the result? They were induced to become the enemies of their country: to take a part in its subjection to the stranger, in its utter ruin. Their Christian teachers sowed divisions amongst them, and thus made them an easier conquest to their enemies. They separated fathers from their children, sons from their parents, friends from friends—all who had been united by any tie whatever—and they put arms into the hands of those whom they thus depraved, to slaughter their own kindred, and thus to display their “virtue!” A thing that had never happened before, or scarcely ever, as the Jesuits admit—*quod ante eam diem nunquam ferè evenerat.* So the savages were better men, infinitely more moral before they became “Christians,” or, rather, before they were fooled, deceived, decoyed by the Jesuits into the service of the Portuguese, under pretence of making them “heirs to salvation.” Jesuit-Christians and despicable traitors—nay, rather, miserably fooled children of nature—perverted, debased by those who should have enlightened them unto righteousness, and cursed with the name of “Christian,” which they thought they honored

* “Hujus et suasu et exemplo ausi sunt Christiani et catechumeni Brasili, quod antè eam diem nunquam ferè evenerat, consociati Europæis, ferre contra suos arma. Itaque non solum noti prius amicique inter se, sed etiam filiorum quidam contra parentes, fratresque adversus fratres (ut agnosceres salubre dissidium quod Princeps Pacis profitebatur se terris inferre) alii contra alios variis conjunctos necessitudinibus dimicarunt, miserando sane spectaculo, nisi quam hos sanctæ fidei propugnatio laude, tam illos barbara crudelitas odio faceret, quam miseratione digniores.”—*Sacchin.* lib. vi. 203.

by the foulest infamy that clings to the name of man. And how they were punished by the very men for whom they turned traitors! Very soon afterwards, in 1564, pestilence and famine reduced the poor Indians to the last extremity. The Portuguese seized the opportunity, took advantage of their wretched condition, laid hands on some as their own property, bought others from those who had no right to sell them: the rest took flight, in a panic, back to their woods once more, leaving the Jesuits to devise plans for "converting" and "reducing" them again.*

From the Conference of Poissy Lainez had proceeded to the Council of Trent, which resumed its sittings in 1562. Doubtless he was well remembered at his reappearance; and he was not to be forgotten or be made inconspicuous, after achieving such deeds as imperatively gave renown amongst the men of orthodoxy—not without stirring envy, however. Already were the achievements of the Jesuits in all their "missions" blazed to the world by oral tradition, at least; and if there were afloat on that matter some "solid falsehoods," as Pallavicino should call them—still they made the Company famous—and the end justified the means:—all would be made to promote the exaltation of the church and the downfall of the heretics. A dispute arose as to the place that the general should occupy in the Christian council. Lainez evidently thought himself entitled to a place above the generals of the monastic orders—for to the master of the ceremonies he announced himself as general of a *clerical* order, well knowing that etiquette placed the clergy above the monks. The result gave mortal offence to the monkish generals, and they protested against his exaltation. Lainez bowed to the pride of the monks with the prouder pride of the Jesuit, and proceeded to the rear. *Hæc minima nostra Societas*, this our least Company—did not insist on the privilege. *Esse quam videri*—to be the first rather than to *seem* so—is all that is necessary for the present. Thus, doubtless, argued the Jesuit to himself, biting his nether lip. His friends supported him, the cardinals backed his idea: but the monkish generals were in a ferment—declaring that they would instantly vacate their seats altogether should Lainez be placed above them. Lainez was requested to absent himself for a day or two, until the matter could be adjusted:—and then he was assigned an *extraordinary* place among the *bishops*.† Already had the seeds of jealousy or envy been sown in the hearts of the monks against the Jesuits:—this flattering gale of favor to the Society did not blight the crop now vigorously rising with the promise of luxuriant poison. A pulpit was assigned the general of the Company of Jesus—conspicuous to all—that the prelates and doc-

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 198.

† Pallav. p. 42, t. iii.; Sacchin. l. vi. 77, *et seq.* See also Sarpi and Courayer's note, p. 269, t. ii.; Ital. ed. p. 287, t. ii. French trans. Some say that Lainez himself retired indignantly, by way of mortifying the council by his absence for some days. It must be remembered he was the *Pope's legate*.—See Quesnel, ii. 69, and his authorities. Of course the Jesuits make Lainez the very pattern of Christian humility on this occasion; but surely all the altercation would have been obviated by his going at once to the *last* place, without telling his papal rank, as *General of Clercs*, had he been an humble man. Not that I blame the *Jesuit*; it is only the conduct pursued by a *companion of Jesus* that seems as extraordinary as the place assigned to the *Jesuit*.

tors might lose nothing of his harangues; for, according to the Jesuits, there was a *mira cupidus*, a devouring desire—"to hear the man himself." His high forehead, brilliant eyes, sweet look, and smiling lips, were his captivating exordium, if we may believe the Jesuits, though Father Ignatius positively slurred his personal appearance—*no tenga persona*. His placid countenance, they continue, his pale complexion, delicate appearance, and remarkably aquiline nose, lent to his person an air of suffering which his multitudinous labors of every description, his watchings, his journeys, could attest.* On the other hand, the presence of the Jesuit at the Council of Trent was precisely the same as elsewhere—the cause of strife or unrest, if we may believe an enemy's account. The Jesuits—for Salmeron and others were with Lainez—opposed every opinion that seemed likely to gain a majority. They could not be silenced: they encroached on the time allotted for each speaker; and boldly insisted on their "privilege" as pontifical legates. Nevertheless, the Jesuits call them the oracles of the Council of Trent:—"so that this most august assembly of holy dignitaries, which, with the most insatiate ears, drank in the golden stream of eloquence rushing from his eloquent lips like a torrent, could not believe it was a mortal who addressed them from his pulpit, but a *Seer descended from heaven, pouring forth oracles from his tripod*, speaking mysteries, pronouncing decrees . . . O Lainez, how vast and unparalleled was thy reputation throughout the universe!" Thus boast the Jesuits in their famous *Imago*.† Certain it is that Lainez and Salmeron took a conspicuous part in every discussion—not without broaching what were deemed heretical opinions concerning grace and free will; and Lainez was accused of *Pelagianism*—one of the bugbears which, from time to time, the proud, luxurious, and useless Church singled out to set people by the ears, and uphold authority. It is not worth the while to explain the nature of Pelagianism, or any other *ism*, excepting *Jesuitism*—which deserves the deepest inquiry in every department. It blazed forth intensely on the occasion, that celebrated occasion, when the power of the pope and of the bishops was discussed. Who had been more hampered, harassed, tormented, than the Jesuits—by the bishops? It was therefore a question peculiarly their own. Now we remember on how many occasions the papal Bulls and privileges exhibited by the Jesuits in their own defence, were positively slighted and made nothing of, by various bishops—in France particularly—and even in Spain, where it was certainly a curious demonstration. But it was a vital necessity for the pope to have his unlimited authority declared in a council of all Christendom—as represented—at a time when so many thousands and millions had utterly cast away the authority of Rome. All doctrine, all discipline, depended upon the decision. The mo-

* Cretineau, i. 269.

† Ut Augustissima illa sacrorum Procerum corona, quæ aureum eloquentiæ flumen, quod ex facundo ore, velut è torrente, fundebatur, avidissimis auribus imbibebat, putaret non hominem aliquem è pulpito verba proferre, sed Vatem cælo delapsum è tripode oracula fundere, mysteria eloqui, decreta pronontiare . . . O eximiam illam et inauditam de te, Laini, orbis universi existimationem!—*Imago*, p. 139, et 438.

narchy—the absolutism of Christendom was to be ratified or annulled. See you not herein that antagonism to the democratic opinions beginning to be prevalent? A time when, as always, the misdeeds of governors do not escape punishment, merely by their shrewdness, and craft, and power: but, on the contrary, only until the governed are enlightened to a knowledge of their rights, and the God of justice decrees a stunning retribution.

At the time in question there were three dominant “religious” sections in the Roman Church—the monks—the Jesuits—the bishops. The monks were essentially democratic in their institutions. Their generals, the rectors of convents, their provincials, were appointed by election. Thus each province, each convent had, so to speak, a set of interests peculiar to itself: in wealth and comfort overflowing—where the Lutherans made no incursion—these monks slept their lives away without caring much for aught but the continuance of their blessings. On the other hand, the Jesuits were strictly, essentially, monarchical. The masses amongst them had no voice whatever—except to denounce what they could “spy” amiss in a brother as debased as themselves. Every house, every province, however distant, was under the eye of the general, elected by an aristocracy, and aided, if necessary, by the same. The general was as absolute in his Company as the pope wished to be in his Church. Now, the men who proposed to practise obedience to such authority among themselves were just the teachers required to enable the pope to enjoy that high eminence, by their inculcations, over the nations:—and the Jesuits certainly, on every occasion, strove to propagate the theory of pontifical absoluteness. It is this reasoning which may induce us to think that the wily Paul III. had a larger hand in the Institute of Ignatius than the Jesuits will admit. I suspect that “the finger of God” which they say he discovered in the affair, was only his own, seen through the microscope of conceit. The bishops, lastly, were so many popes in their sees,—differing more or less in their powers and “privileges”—but, very little obnoxious to papal revision, and not vitally dependent on papal existence. Hence the pope could not depend upon them: they were even anxious to achieve more freedom than they enjoyed, in an age when all were striving to be free—to the detriment of the papal autocrat—and of the Jesuits whom he caressed, defended, and supported, in order to be himself supported in return.* Lainez dashed into the battle with desperate energy—as though his very salvation was at stake.† There was a fixed, determined purpose in the opinion which he was resolved to deliver. He spoke *last*, as usual with the man who is determined to measure his argument with that of every opponent—and to triumph in debate by demolishing all that is arrayed against him—having dissected all, and vigorously created the new portent of whelming confutation or defence. The question was, whether the power of bishops was immediately from God. The French bishops, as a matter of

* The reader will find some very apposite matter on this subject in *Botta, Storia d'Italia, ii. 25, et seq.*

† Sarpi, viii. 15.

course, with their high *Gallican* notions, held the proposition as almost an article of faith:—but Lainez knew that he need not try to deprecate *their* indignation. The Spanish bishops, also,—even King Philip II., upheld the independent doctrine:—but the king had averted his royal countenance from the Company, and there *seemed* no probability of his turning it again. The *universal* monarchy was the Jesuit's fortified port, his embattled rampart: there he planted his spear and flung defiance to all the world beside. “I expect neither a red hat from the pope, nor a green one from Philip”—was his significant exordium, and then he advanced, affirming boldly the paramount authority of the pope over all bishops—deducing the authority of bishops from the pope, and not directly from heaven, as was contended.* The effect of these opinions, and many others touching the immunities of the papedom, was a sensation. According to the Jesuit, the Court of Rome had a right to reform all the churches of Christendom—but none had a right to reform the pope's particular church at Rome, simply because “the disciple is not above the master, nor the slave above his lord.” Hence it was evident that the Court of Rome was not to be obnoxious to the reforming energies of the Christian council. He said that those who pretended that the Church ought to be reduced to the same footing on which she stood at the time of the apostles, did not distinguish the difference of times, and what was befitting according to their mutation—alluding of course to the wealth of the Church, which he called God's providence and bounty, and termed it impertinent to say that God gave her riches without permitting her to use them—as if it is incontestably evident that God *did* give her the riches she enjoyed. The Jesuit flung Right Divine over every corner of the pope's prerogatives: tithes, annates, from the people—similar dues from the clergy, all were appointed by Right Divine—which was quite true if he equivocated, meaning the Divine right of Mammon, whose blessings to the popedom turned curses to Christendom.† Of this Jesuit's speech on this glorious occasion, the Cardinal de Lorraine said: “It is the finest shot fired in favor of the popes;” and the legates in full council exclaimed: “The Holy See owes much to *one* man for all he has done in *one* day.”‡ This was a bold stroke of the Jesuit—even if he was only the exponent of the pope's party in the council. He exposed himself to the aggravated enmity of the bishops, and consequently endangered the extension of the Society: but the pope was his friend, and indebted to him on that occasion, as well as on many others, and we shall soon see that the Jesuits were made, by papal privilege, independent of bishops in their rights and pride. Great was the Jesuit's glory—an enviable lot in the midst of the congregation where vanity, pride, selfishness, sycophancy, and bigotry swayed the destinies of faith, raised the phantoms of hope, and always pointed to the golden objects of their charity. Lainez had all he could desire.

* Cretineau, i. 274. “Lainius inde exorsus: nec à Pontifice se rubrum, nec viridem à Philippo galerae expectare.”—Sacchin, lib. vi. 85.

† Sarpi, viii. 15. Quesnel enters largely into the whole discussion, ii. 71, *et seq.*

‡ Cretineau, i. 274.

No honor was denied him by the pope's party. Others must stand to speak: he, in his conspicuous pulpit, might sit on his tripod, *divinoque afflante spiritu**—and under the inspirations aforesaid, deliver his oracles. He was the arbiter of the council's time—spoke as long as he liked—was listened to with applause; whilst his antagonists, however concise, were always too prolix for his “party”—the legates.† Vain was the indignation of the Spanish and French bishops, who were convinced of the collusion whereof the Jesuit was the mouth-piece. His insolence and presumption cut deep into their pride and vanity. Lainez resolved to keep the wound open, and printed his speech, which he distributed. It was one of the copies, doubtless, which, reaching the Cardinal de Lorraine, suggested his exclamation so boastfully recorded by the Jesuits,—for the cardinal was absent from that session. In a subsequent address, when the episcopal party was strengthened by the arrival of the cardinal in debate, Lainez moderated his opinions on papal authority; but in the Roman College of the Company, public theses were maintained that year, at the opening of the classes, and papal authority was the all-absorbing proposition: his absolute dominion over all—councils included—his infallibility in matters of faith and morality—every prerogative was mooted, and, as a matter of course, triumphantly established on the Scriptures, on the fathers, and—on *reason*—these being the three everlasting highways of controversial freebooters.‡ The secret of this papal exaltation was the simple fact that the cry for reform in the Roman Court was universal in Catholic Christendom, and the abuses—the pecuniary abuses which the Jesuits defended—were amongst the most prominent. Pius IV. was as intractable in the matter as any of his predecessors. To the reformation of abuses in the universal Church he was happy to consent: but as for those of his Roman department and his Roman Court—these were his own affair. Deformities there might be in that queen of all Churches—but she pleased him notwithstanding—like the mistress of the ancient Roman, with her nose so unsightly, and yet, for some reason or other, most dear to her lord. Pius IV. was of opinion that if they wished so ardently for reform, they had only to begin with the courts of the other Christian princes, which, he thought, required it quite as much as his own, and the opinion is worth knowing to the reader of his history—but as for himself, as his authority was superior to that of the council, and as inferiors had no right to reform their superiors, he would, if he thought proper, labor to reform whatever he found amiss in his Church and his court. Thus the successor of a poor fisherman raised himself to an equality with the kings of the earth, in pomp and magnificence, and pretended to justify by their example that luxury and extravagance which his title as Peter's successor, and Christ's vicar on earth, should alone have induced him to condemn.§

The Jesuits—the self-appointed reformers of sinners—the evangelis-

* A phrase applied by Sacchinus to Lajnez, vi. 82.
† Quesnel, ii. 84.

‡ Sarpi, *ut anteā*.
§ Ibid. 78.

ing Jesuits—the apostles in Portugal—the thaumaturgs in the East and in the West—the last hope of the sinking Church—the pure, the *honest* Jesuits lent their tough consciences to the pope—for a consideration. What Pius IV. said at Rome was repeated in Germany, to the Emperor Ferdinand, one of the princes who desired and ardently demanded the reform of the Roman Court. Representations were being expedited, ringing that awful peal to the holy city. The Jesuit Canisius was sent to expostulate with the Emperor. We have the Jesuit-speech in Sacchinus. After an appropriate exordium, he proceeds to observe:—

“It does not become your majesty to deal severely with the vicar of Christ, a pope most devoted to you. You may offend him, and check his inclination to proceed with the reform. As he has promised to apply himself to the business, you must not mistrust the promises of the Supreme Bishop and of such a man: but you ought rather to cheer and assist him in his endeavors. Besides, can there be a doubt that this book [of representations] will fall into the hands of learned men, and will create new altercations and disturbances, and will rather aggravate than alleviate the matter in the council, which is, in *other respects*, sufficiently afflicted—*satis alioqui afflictam*. According as the dispositions and desires of each party are constituted, these will snatch at motives for new contention. Who will then hinder the minds and tongues of men from thinking and saying that the emperor is afflicted with the prevalent epidemic of those who oppose the Church, who continually declaim against the depravity of morals, who prefer to impose laws rather than receive them; and whilst they pretend not to see their own great vices, speak against ecclesiastical rulers without measure and modesty. Moreover, there is danger lest this anxiety, the result of immoderate zeal, should not only be unsuccessful and useless, but may rather exasperate to a worse degree the diseased minds in the Roman Court, which you wish to cure—as soon as they perceive that they and the morals of their court are so roughly handled, that laws are prescribed to cardinals, that the pope is submitted to the council for correction, the authority of the legates diminished; demanding the formation of private cliques and the separation of the debates into conventicles of the different nations there represented:/* rendering the secretary of the council an object of suspicion; in fine, furnishing arms to turbulent men for raising greater outrages and disturbance in the council. Therefore, again and again, there is every reason to fear, lest, whilst we wish to heal the diseases of Rome or Trent, we produce worse distempers, especially in this, as it were, rage of the nations

* This was what the Court of Rome and the pope's legates dreaded above all, and so we see in the council all the intrigues and cabals set on foot to obviate that result. The reason why they so strongly opposed it was, that almost all the bishops of Christendom, if we except the Italians, loudly called for a reform, with which the pope was unwilling that they should meddle, and which would have been carried in the council if the decisions had been made according to the nations there represented. But the legates refusing their consent to the regulation, the Italian bishops whom Pius IV. had sent to Trent in great numbers, prevailed over that “article,” as well as some others, by their multitude. Hence the Protestants said that the council was the council of the pope, and not that of the Church.—See *Quesnel*, ii. 90, *et seq.*

rushing into impious schism. You see what times we have fallen on: how low the majesty of the most holy Apostolic See is reduced: how in every direction they rush to secession, to contumacy, to defection, from the obedience due to the supreme pastor and vicar of Christ. If good men do not oppose this disastrous onslaught, as it were, of a hellish torrent—*tartarei torrentis*—if those who possess power and supreme authority do not bring their wealth to the rescue, but rather if they seem to incline in the same direction [as the ‘hellish torrent’] then it is all over with religion—*actum de religione*—all over with probity; all over with peace; all over with the empire itself.* In these circumstances, the easiest and most advantageous measures you can adopt are those which will result from your firm and intimate connection with the pope himself. Such is the present uncertain, doubtful, troubled state of affairs, that we can scarcely hope for the continuance of the council! When matters are inclined to move in a certain direction I would not drive them headlong. We must, therefore, consider the circumstances of the time. To conclude, if we desire the good of the Church, if we wish the welfare of the empire, O most excellent prince, and if to that end it be of use to listen to the opinions of all wise men who are exempt from national prejudices, free from private considerations, not one will be found who will not exclaim that we are not to care so much for the conduct of strangers at Rome, as for that of our own folks here at Rome—whom we behold daily more and more rolling in a headlong course of all impiety.”†

This wisest of men—a Daniel—a Solomon-Jesuit, was nothing less than a spy at the German court, to report to his general, Lainez, all the emperor’s measures and resolves on the subject of papal reformation.‡ His speech, which is a very curious specimen of Jesuitism, had no effect on the emperor: he continued to press for reform; whereupon Lainez, in another session, advanced with the pope’s legates, as determined as ever in upholding his Holiness in his bad eminence and inveterate perversity. His address gave great offence, and the Spanish and French bishops very naturally, if not truly, pronounced him a sycophant retained by the court of Rome, very worthy of the title which was already generally given to the Jesuit, styling him the advocate and apologist of all that is bad.§ No man can quarrel with the Jesuit, however, for upholding the pope in his prerogatives, however liable to corruption, since the most distinctive operations of the Jesuits depended upon certain “privileges”—hereinafter to be given—which were the

* Quesnel, a Roman Catholic, appends a note to this passage in his version of the Jesuit’s speech to Ferdinand:—“One must be as blind and as unreasonable as a Jesuit in his sentiments, to proscribe, as an hostile assault, the right which General Councils have always had to reform abuses, even those of the Roman Church. We cannot say as much of what Canisius here says, that it was all over with faith and religion if men wished to reform the excessive abuses of the Roman Court. On the contrary, every one knows that it was those very abuses which chiefly occasioned the two last heresies, which,” says the orthodox Quesnel, “have effectually annihilated the faith and the Catholic religion in two-thirds of Europe. See Father Faber’s *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, which serves as a continuation to that of M. l’Abbé Fleuri.”—Ib. 93.

† Sacchin. lib. vii. 46.

‡ Sarpi, vii. 65.

§ Quesnel, v. Pallavicino also mentions their suspicions, lib. xxi. c. vi. 15.

immediate application of these prerogatives. But if we permit Lainez to be thus far consistent, a curious document, inconsiderately given to their historian, by the Jesuits, for publication, compels us to think that somewhat less energy in fighting for the pope and his immunity from reform would have been advisable. The Jesuit Pallavicino admits that Lainez contended for leaving the reformation of the pope to the pope himself—that he placed the pope above all councils—and that he lashed the opponents of that doctrine without reserve—*nec sibi temperavit quin illos perstringeret qui eam negabant.** Sarpi further reproduces those remarkable words, which Pallavicino, who strives to demolish all that Sarpi advances, does not deny to have been uttered by Lainez : “Many have attributed matters to abuses: but when these matters are well examined and sifted to the bottom, they will be found either necessary, or at least useful.”† The analysis of the whole speech which I have given, leaves no doubt on the mind that Lainez was no advocate for papal reform. Now, in the face of this, we find a letter written by him to the Prince de Condé—the leader of the Huguenots—only a very few months before, when in France, at the Conference of Poissy. It must be premised, as we are assured by the Jesuits, that Lainez was very intimate with Condé, with whom he frequently corresponded. The letter replies to the difficulties which Condé had raised against the reunion of the two Churches; and proceeds to say :—

“The principal cause of this separation is the conduct of the ecclesiastics who, to begin with the supreme head [the pope] and the prelates, down to the inferior members of the clergy, are in great need of reform as to *morals* and the *exercise of their functions*. Their *bad example* has produced so many scandals that their doctrine has become an object of contempt as well as their life.”

Nothing can be truer than this sentiment: but at the same time, nothing can be more opposed to the sentiments of the Jesuit as expressed in the council, in the capacity of papal legate. The letter concludes with another sentiment, and with a curious substitute for the writer’s signature :

“In order to see this union so much desired, I would sacrifice a hundred lives, if I had as many to offer. Thus, from the misfortune of these divisions, the Divine bounty would bring forth, besides union, the blessing of the reform of the Church in her *Head* and her members.

“Your Excellency’s very humble servant, in Jesus Christ.—The person who spoke to your Excellency in the King of Navarre’s chamber, and whom you commanded to address you in writing what he had spoken.”‡

This substitute for his name is not so remarkable as the opinion that the Divine bounty might bring forth the blessing of reform in the Catholic Church, and all the hierarchy, by means of the Reformation or the Protestant movement—which is an opinion I have advanced, doubtless not without hurting the pride of Catholics. On the other hand, the conclusion to be drawn from these contradictory sentiments

* Pallav. ib.

† Ubi supra.

‡ Cretineau-Joly, i. 423.

of Lainez on different occasions, is, that *policy* was the rule of his conduct; and he soon gave another instance of his calculation. To serve the pope was a general rule of prudence, but policy made exceptions to it in particulars, as appeared on the occasion when the topic of *Clandestine Marriage* was discussed in the council.

By clandestine marriage is meant a secret union contracted without any other formality than the mutual consent of the parties. The Court of Rome declared its illegality, insisting on priestly intervention. We would give that Court full credit for moral motives in this prohibition if we never heard or read of costly "dispensations" and other celestial devices for rendering the passions lucrative, if they could not be made moral. If interest—and the topic of Marriage involved very many profitable investments—induced the Court of Rome to cry against clandestine marriage, the Courts of France and Spain supported the pope on this occasion, in order to counteract the misalliances of their royal families and nobility. Lainez opposed the pope and the bishops;* and he was perhaps wiser in his generation than either the pope or the bishops in that determination. The love of women had often made wise men mad, and robbed the Church of an important son or two. The royal, the noble, the rich penitent, might and would again hesitate between priestly power and love's fierce clamor. In fact, there was much to be said on both sides of the question—as in all matters where private interests get hold of a religious question. Can we imagine that the Jesuits were ignorant of the tendencies of the age? The licentiousness which characterised the preceding century was not so threatening to "religious" influence as that of the sixteenth,—since the latter was accompanied by a powerful reaction against all ecclesiastical authority. Now, when the mountain would not go to Mohammed, he wisely said, "Then let us go to the mountain"—so the precarious tenure of priestly power depended on its levelling, and smoothing, and beflowering the path of orthodoxy. Hence this matter of love-marriage was important in a licentious and rebellious generation, and very likely to give some trouble to the *confessors* of kings, and nobles, and the great in general, who, it is evident, were the principal objects of the contemplated enactment. The "masses"—the poor—the "people" could always be managed by a burly priest or Jesuit: but kings, and nobles, the rich and the great, must always be managed by a gentle consideration directed to "the rank of the individual," and so forth—which is at least very ridiculous in the minister of Him who is "no respecter of persons." On the other hand, if "clandestine marriage" were legalised, it was impossible to say how many abuses might not be safely tolerated under the wings of expedience. Nevertheless Lainez espoused the thing, and generated argument accordingly. He alleged the marriages of the patriarchal times. He pointed to the abuses of parental authority in prohibiting marriage, and thus promoting licentiousness in their children, whilst clandestine marriages were declared illegal. He went further: he asserted that the regulation would not be adopted

* Cretineau, i. 272.

by heretics, and might be rejected even in many Catholic countries. Hence, he concluded, rather significantly, that "an infinite number of adulteries, and a deplorable confusion in the order of inheritance, would result."

"It seems to me very doubtful," he exclaimed, "that the Church can enact such a law, and this for a reason which others have declared, namely, that the Church shall never have the power to alter the Divine right, nor prohibit what the Gospel allows. Marriage is offered as a remedy against incontinence to those who cannot otherwise live chastely: therefore, as all are bound to take the means to insure their salvation, the Church has not the power to hinder marriage, either as far as a certain age, or in fixing certain solemn formalities."

In conclusion, he admitted the dangers of "clandestine marriages:" but he thought them more than overbalanced by "the return to the principles of the Gospel, and consequently to *social equality*."^{*} If these were his real sentiments, Lainez would have been a philosopher, had he not been a Jesuit. It was decided against him, though he again printed and dispersed his argument. The "formalities" were enjoined: but the decree began with the following words: "Although it is not to be doubted that clandestine marriages, with the free consent of the contracting parties, are ratified and true marriages—as long as the Holy Church has not annulled them," &c.[†] Thus Lainez lost the point, but gained the handle:—clandestine marriages were declared ratified and true marriages. It must, however, be admitted that his arguments were more specious than valid. Marriage, without attested formalities implying a bond of union, must presuppose more constancy in the human heart than has hitherto become proverbial.[‡]

The sagacity of General Lainez was not less conspicuous in the last, or twenty-fifth, session of the famous Council. Amongst the various abuses which had crept into the Church, was monkish vagrancy, mendicity, or beggary. Under pretence of their pious intentions, the mendicant or vagrant monks were a pest to communities, and a shame to

* Cretineau, i. 270, *et seq.*

† "Tametsi dubitandum non est, clandestina matrimonia, libero contrahentium consensu facta, rata et vera esse matrimonia, quamdiu Ecclesia ea irrita non fecit," &c.—*Dec. de Ref. Matrim. Sess. xxiv. c. 1.* It was in the Council of Trent (Sess. xxiv. c. 1) that the publication of banns for three Sundays was first enjoined—and it is one of the least objectionable of the many things of Rome which the Church of England has retained—to the grief and regret of all who sigh for the purification of Christianity, in doctrine and in discipline.

‡ The proposed intention was good, and similar to that of his brother-Jesuit Salmeron, who permitted a still more objectionable abuse: "Quær. 2. An permitti possint meretrices? Prima sententia *probabilis* affirmat, eamque tenent *Salm. de ö. præcept.* c. 2. punct. 4. n. 84, cum *S. Thom. Cov. Trull. Led.*, &c.: huicque clarè adhæret *S. Aug. 1. 2. de ord. c. 4.* Ratio, quia demptis meretricibus, *pejora peccata evenirent* (!) præter prævaricationem mulierum honestarum (!) Ideò, *S. Aug. loc. c. ait: Aufér meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaveris omnia libidinibus.* (!) On the other hand, Ligouri quotes a contrary opinion of other divines, but concludes with a favorable opinion distinguishing as to the *locality*: "Licit in *vastis urbibus* meretrices *permittuntur*, nullo tamen modo in *aliis locis* *permittendæ sint*."—*Ligorio, Theol. Moral. t. iii. lib. 4; Tract. 4. 434, p. 165; Ed. Mechl. 1845.* Such is the Catholic theory, which evidently would suppress the *Society for the Suppression of Vice*. But such a decision published in the year of our Lord 1845!

religion, from the practices to which they were compelled, as they argued, to resort for their livelihood. The pope willingly consented to reform every abuse in which he was not himself interested: so a reforming remedy was applied to this monkish ulcer, by permitting most of the Orders to possess funded property. The permission gave general satisfaction to the monks themselves; for, though they had been always individually poor and collectively rich, it was absolutely necessary to grant the present statute, at a time when the monks were become so despicable, on account of their clamorous poverty, and the practices to which their alleged necessities compelled them to resort. Zamora, the General of the Minor Observantines, begged, in the name of St. Francis, whose rule his people followed, to be excluded from the privilege: the General of the Capuchins followed his example: the exemption was duly granted. Why did the General of the Jesuits—those men of transcendental poverty—not put in a claim in the name of Father Ignatius? He did: nor could he consistently do otherwise on so trying an occasion; and his demand was granted. But behold, next day, he requested to have his Company excluded from the exemption, saying, doubtless, with one of his boldest faces, that “the Company was indeed inclined always to practise mendicity in the houses of the professed; but, she did not care to have that *honor* in the eyes of men, and that it was enough to have the merit before God—a merit which would be greater in proportion to the fact of being able to avail herself of the Council’s permission, and yet never proceeding to the practice.”* His object was to be free to use the permission or not, according to circumstances;† and, like a true Jesuit, he expressed his mind in that neat metaphorical fashion, which never leaves the Almighty or His glory exempt from the assaults of Jesuit-profanation.

It was in the same session that the Company was called a “pious Institute.” That little word “pious” has been amplified into mountains of approbation, turned and twisted into every possible sort of laudation by the Jesuits. Nobody will gainsay them the fullest use of the word, when it is known that, in the same sentence, the Council of Trent—with all its admitted cabals and contentions, not to say brow-beating, sycophancy, and corruption—is called the *holy synod*—*sancta synodus*. The simple fact is, that having made some regulations respecting the novices of the monks, the decree proceeds to say, that, “By these regulations, however, the holy Synod does not intend to innovate or prohibit the clerical Order of the Company of Jesus to serve the Lord and his Church according to their pious Institute, approved by the Holy See.”‡ It was only quoting the words of Paul III., when he accepted the Order.§ Such is the frivolous circumstance on which the Jesuits have rung incessant and interminably varied changes in all their apologies for the Company of Jesus; but it is excusable in com-

* Sarpi, viii. 72.

† Id. ib.

‡ “Per hæc tamen sancta Synodus non intendit aliquid innovare, aut prohibere, quin religio Clericorum Societatis Jesu juxta plium eorum Institutum, à sanctâ Sede Apostolicâ approbatum, Domino et ejus Ecclesiæ inservire possint.”—Sess. xxv. c. 16.

§ “In eorum pio viven di proposito.”—*Confirm. Instit. Lit. Apost.*

parison to the fact, that they have not scrupled to appeal to the so-called, self-boasting "enemies of the Christian religion" for what they think an approbation. More anon on the subject. But surely the Jesuits, who boast of this little word pronounced in the "holy Synod" of Trent, could never have read or considered the extravagant epithets applied to the members of the Council on the day of its closing—the day of "Acclamations."

It is one of the most ridiculous documents that Rome has bequeathed to a posterity which will at last shake off all the cobwebs she has heaped upon humanity. I will endeavor to give you an idea of that glorious day. Eighteen long years had the Babel-Council battled with confusion worse confounded. Infatuated—all the world knows how—there were calls for mortar, and bricks were presented—calls for water, and sand was given—calls for a plummet, and a brickbat was brought. And then they "gave it up." As nothing *could* be done, all *was* done. Every old dogma remained exactly as it was before—only with additional anathemas. Certain reforms respecting the discipline of the hierarchy were certainly "decreed;" but—and the fact must be well impressed on our minds—these would never have changed the old order of things, had it not been for the world's enlightenment, mainly promoted by the Protestant movement. Similar regulations had been made in other "holy Synods," or Councils, many a time before, and to what purpose, during the undisputed reign of proud Orthodoxy, bastioned by her bristling prerogative?* I repeat it—if the Roman Catholic be now gratified with the pleasant sight of a more moral clergy, he has to thank Luther's "Heresy" for this most desirable consummation, and he may grant the fact without sacrificing his orthodoxy, though his religious pride may be somewhat humbled.

And now for the "acclamations of the fathers at the end of the Council—*acclamationes patrum in fine Concilii*"—such being the title of the chapter. It was the 4th of December, 1563. A voice exclaimed, "Most reverend fathers, depart in peace." All cried, "Amen." And then followed the "acclamations." It was a succession of *toasts*, without wine to moisten their parched tongues withal. The Cardinal de Lorraine proposed the *toasts*. I shall give them literally. "To the *most blessed* Pope Pius our lord, pontiff of the Holy Universal Church, many years and eternal memory." The fathers responded: "O Lord God, preserve for many years, and a very long time, the *most Holy Father* for thy Church." The "Peace of the Lord, eternal glory, and

* The general reader will find enough to convince him of this, in a French work entitled "Dictionnaire portatif des Conciles," Paris, 1764. The book should be translated into English for the enlightenment of our Catholics, who really know little of these matters. The work was compiled by the *Catholic Alletz*—author of many useful and religious publications. By reference to that work, p. 701, it will be found that one of the commonest infamous crimes during the time of Popes Julius, Alexander VI., Leo X., and the rest, was declared punishable by total sequestration from the rest of the Christians during the life of the sinner, after receiving one hundred strokes of a whip, being shaved and banished for ever, without receiving the sacrament excepting on his death-bed.—See *Council of Toledo*, in the year of our Lord 693—eight or nine hundred years before. I have before alluded to the decisions of councils in the matter of discipline—Book I.

felicity in the light of the saints," were cried to Paul III. and Julius III., who began the Council. "To the memory of Charles V., and of the *most serene* kings who promoted the Council." Benediction was shouted, waking the unnatural echo, "Amen, Amen." "To the *most serene* Emperor Ferdinand, always august, *orthodox* and peaceful, and to all our kings, republics, and princes, many years." And the holy synod shouted: "Preserve, O Lord, the *pious* and Christian emperor: O celestial Emperor—*Imperator celestis*—guard the kings of the earth, the preservers of the right faith." To the legates of the apostolic see, and the presidents of the Council, "Many thanks with many years," were impetrated: to the cardinals and "*illustrious*" orators, the same: to the "*most holy*" bishops, "life and a happy return to their sees:" to the heralds of truth, "perpetual memory:" to the orthodox Senate, "Many years." "The most holy Council of Trent, may we confess her faith, may we always observe her decrees." And they lifted up their voices, crying "May we always confess—may we always observe." Confess what? Observe what? I do not know, for it is not stated, and cannot possibly be imagined—*semper confitemur, semper servemus*. "Thus we all believe; all feel alike; all subscribe, consenting and embracing. This is the faith of Saint Peter and the Apostles: this is the faith of the fathers: this is the faith of the orthodox." "So we believe, so we feel, so we subscribe," was the roar of the confessors in congregation. "Adhering to these decrees, may we be made worthy of the mercies and grace of the first, great, and supreme priest, Jesus Christ of God, with the intercession of our inviolate mistress, the holy God-bearer, and of all the saints." "So be it, so be it; Amen, Amen,"—and at last, there was one final toast. And here let me ask, have you not often with horror imagined the dreadful sound of that howl, when the cruel Jews cried, "Crucify him—Crucify him?" Then you may fancy the sound, when the cardinal cried: "Anathema to all *Heretics*"—and their parched tongues gasped the final acclamation: "Anathema, anathema!"* I trust that we have

* At the conclusion of the acclamations, "the legates and presidents enjoined all the fathers, under penalty of excommunication, to subscribe with their own hands, before they left Trent, the decrees of the Council, or to approve them by a public instrument." There were 255 in all, composed of 4 pontifical legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, procurators lawfully absent 39, generals of orders 7. For the whole of the affair, see *Il Sacro Concilio di Trento* (Latin and Italian), Venezia, 1822, p. 389, *et seq.*, end of 25th Session. The pope made a batch of nineteen cardinals, all selected from his partisans in the Council, and he admitted and confirmed the decrees by a bull dated 26th January, 1564. They were immediately published and received in the churches of Italy as at Rome. Spain and Poland also received them: but the Germans and the Protestant princes would not hear of the Council, and stuck to the Confession of Augsburg. The Emperor Ferdinand, who had such fine epithets in the acclamations, the Duke of Bavaria, and the other Catholic princes demanded communion in both kinds for the laity, and the marriage of priests. In France the *doctrine* of the Council was received "because it was the *ancient doctrine* of the Church of Rome," says Dupin, a doctor of the Sorbonne. But the decrees about discipline, which are not according to the common-law, were never received there, either by the king's or the clergy's authority, whatever efforts were made to get them received and published in that country.—*Dupin, Hist. of the Church*, iv., p. 116. Such was the very doubtful *settlement* of the faith by the universal Council of the Christian Church—the most holy synod of Trent. Its immediate effect

found more than mere *epithets* to interest us in this astonishing affair. It is, however, most curious for the Jesuits (with their “pious” picking) to observe, that the names least provided with laudatory adjectives, are those of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints.

From Trent to Rome the progress of General Lainez was a triumph, minutely described by his historians, as the result of his exploits in France and in the Council, his sustained credit, the celestial mission for which he was appointed, and the immense authority of his fewest words—*dicta ejus vel pauca vim ingentem habebant*—but, unfortunately, in the midst of his triumph, his mule took fright, dashed him to the ground, and ran over him. He escaped unhurt, which deliverance all confidently ascribed, says Sacchinus, to the special patronage of God and the God-bearer Mary—*singulari Dei ac Deiparæ patrocinio haud dubie factum*. One of his first official acts was the appointment of Francis Borgia to the post of assistant, in the place of another, who was discharged; and one of the first hopes and expectations of the Jesuits was the quiet possession of a seminary in contemplation by the pope; but the result was not as agreeable as the hours of hope. Admitting the grasping spirit of the Jesuits, we must still take into account the selfish passions of their opponents: immense opposition was made to the proposed appointment, by the Roman clergy.* The Roman professors, like all other professors, hated all monopoly, excepting their own; and they accordingly sent to the pope their protestation, showing—“that it was neither for the honor nor the interest of the Church to confide the education of young ecclesiastics to *strangers*; mothers who nurse their own children are most esteemed on that account, and the children are better brought up. Rome was not deficient of men of very great merit, more capable than the Jesuits to fashion young clergymen in science and piety. The instruction which these Jesuits give to their pupils is not solid; and they will carry off the best pupils of the seminary to turn them into Jesuits; all they want is to add revenues to their colleges; in fine, the rights of the clergy of Rome are threatened.”†

About the same time, Father Ribera and all the Jesuits of the colleges of Milan were attainted of foul crimes and misdemeanors. This Ribera was father-confessor to Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan; a famous saint in the calendar. His uncle, Pope Pius IV., made him an archbishop in his twenty-second year, which was, perhaps, rather worse than Paul III.’s creation of a cardinal out of a boy, not yet out of his teens. However, both were papal relatives, in the time of papal abuses; and Charles was intended for a saint; and thus the fact must

was redoubled rancor against the “heretics,” giving all the selfish feelings fierce motives for persecution, ending in the horrible “religious” wars of France. One thing may be said in favor of the Council; it enriched the city of Trent, by the concourse of so many wealthy and sumptuous bishops, ambassadors, and others; and made it “illustrious” on the map of Northern Italy—illustrious to the devotee, the fanatic, and the calculating Pharisee; but to the right-minded, to him who thinks as he reads, to the *Christian*, that city is a monument of human infatuation, a true comedy of “Much Ado about Nothing.”

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 4, 10.

† Cretineau, i. 470; Sacchin. lib. viii. 13.

be passed over, if it cannot be excused.* The young archbishop suddenly assumed a life of great rigidity, and, with most commendable zeal, looked after the conduct of his clergymen, the monks, and professors of his see. All this was attributed by the Jesuits to the unction of Father Ribera, and the "Spiritual Exercises" of Loyola, and the harassments consequent to the reforms set on foot by the zealous archbishop, suggested, according to the Jesuits, one of the foulest charges imaginable against the confessor Ribera.† Frankly, there is some probability that the charge was false. It is easy to concoct charges and to utter imputations against any man, and the world is but too eager to spread and believe them: in the present case, as in many others, relating to other men, the accusation *proves* nothing excepting the *asper-sion* on the reputation of the Jesuits. I need not say that the hostile histories of the Jesuits broadly and boldly assert the charges, as though they were facts,‡ though Charles Borromeo himself is stated to have recognised Ribera's innocence, and continued to honor him with his confidence.§ Meanwhile the fate of this Jesuit tended to bewilder the judgment which men might form in his favor. Lainez sent him off to the *foreign missions*. The proximate occasion was as follows:—The excessive fervor of his nephew, Charles Borromeo, induced Pope Pius IV. to believe other rumors, which affirmed that the Jesuits were striving to get him into the Society. The pope had large ecclesiastical views respecting his nephew, and this announcement roused him from the indifference in which the fouler charges against the Jesuits had left his Holiness. He frowned on the aspiring Society. Lainez was ill. The brethren resorted to propitiation. They scourged themselves five times, fasted three times; the priests offered ten masses, and the laity prayed ten times, whilst all joined together in the evening to rehearse the litany.|| Scarcely recovered, he proceeded to the Vatican, and protested that he had always advised the archbishop to *moderate* his fervor. Still the pope feared Ribera's influence on his penitent's mind. Lainez cut the Gordian knot at once, promising to despatch Ribera to the Indies.¶ The pope was satisfied, for his Holiness had insisted on

* Charles Borromeo is represented as the model of churchmen in general, and bishops in particular. "All the favor he enjoyed, and all the papal authority he could command, all the enticements of the pleasures which surrounded him, and which might have corrupted men of a more advanced age, only served to give this young cardinal the occasion for practising virtue and edifying the Church. In effect, he was so exempt from luxury, avarice, and all kinds of intemperance, that he always passed for a model of innocence, modesty, and religion. As a bishop, he gloriously acquitted himself of all the duties of a holy shepherd. He animated the faithful by the holiness of his life, and the admirable purity with which he daily applied himself to the practices of piety. He restored the ruined churches; he built new ones. He corrected irregularities; he abolished the profane customs which the corruption of the age had introduced, and which the negligence of the bishops had encouraged. He labored to reduce the morals of the time to the rules of primitive discipline; and by his vigilance and example, he reformed the great city of Milan, which was before so debauched, so little used to the practices of religion, and so abandoned to luxury, lust, and all sorts of vices."—*Gra-tiani, La Vie de Commendon*, t. ii. 9.

† Sacchin. lib. viii. 13; Joly, i. 465.

‡ Quesnel, ii.

§ Guissano, a contemporary; De Vitâ S. Car. Borrom., and others.

|| Sacchin. lib. viii. 15.

¶ Cretineau, ii. 468.

that condition—*enixe contenderat*;*—but it still remains uncertain whether the restoration of papal favor was owing to the proof of innocence on both heads of accusation respecting the Jesuits, or to the ready compromise tendered by Lainez, who sacrificed the Jesuit-confessor. Ribera's reputation was likely to suffer by the sort of banishment, as the world would deem the Jesuit's disappearance; but the good of the Society was paramount to the interests of the member: every Jesuit surrenders his reputation, as well as his life, into the hands of his superior. He is “indifferent” to his reputation. We might pause here to inquire how such indifference reacts on his conscience—making it as soft wax that takes every form, as an old man's stick used at pleasure, as a corpse that has no voluntary motion, according to the letter of the Jesuit-law—the dying words of Ignatius. Self-respect is the ministering angel of God vouchsafed to console us for every loss, excepting that of reputation. Succeed in depriving a man of that, and make him *feel* the fact, and you will have made him desperate in heart, though imperative circumstances may compel him to be and remain in your hands, as plastic wax, an old man's stick, melting carrion. The imputations cast on the Jesuit-colleges and Ribera were not satisfactorily shaken off. They remain positively affirmed, and have an air of probability, enhanced by the consideration forced upon us, as often as we think of Roman celibacy, and test it with the principles of physiology. And certain facts, too, which we may have heard positively asserted—not by strangers, not by Protestants,—with names and places well known—such facts throw a hideous discredit on Roman celibacy. *Vigilum canum tristes excubiaz*—the drowsy watch-dogs of the “rules” would nod at last: *nec munierant satis*—they fell asleep. To throw this consideration into the question bewilders the case still more; and we would willingly cling to the defence put forth by the Jesuits in the motive they allege for Ribera's exile, namely, to appease the pope in the matter of his nephew; and we would even believe that the pope honestly and heartily exonerated them from the charges, by his subsequent conduct towards them; but, to explain this, it were sufficient to consider that he had no reason to believe *all* the Jesuits guilty; and, moreover, that a general and thorough reformation in this matter would have been a labor similar to that of Hercules in the stables of Augeas. The Jesuits were useful to him and his cause. With all their faults he loved them still. If it may be said that the charges were not proved, it may also be added that the defence and concomitants were suspicious. There we will leave the matter. As a further proof of the pope's goodwill and gratitude for finding himself so obsequiously humored, the Roman Seminary was imperatively put into the hands of the Jesuits, in spite of the Roman professors.† Thus, by the dexterous management of Lainez in humoring the pope by sacrificing his subject, Ribera, the tables were turned against the enemies of the Company, and the very charge which was thought surest to penetrate the worldly-minded pope,

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 28.

† “Deliberatum pontifici omnino esse Seminarii procurationem Patribus demandare.”—Sacchin. lib. viii. 16.

to the injury of the Jesuits, actually opened the speediest outlet to their deliverance, with honor and profit in addition. On the other hand, there can be no doubt nor wonder that the simple, uninitiated ones amongst the Jesuits, trembling in the growl of Vatican thunder, ascribed the thing to their scourgings, fastings, masses, prayers, and litanies—their “propitiations to God—*placamina Dei*,”—just as the “cures” by vegetable pill, jalap, rhubarb, and calomel, are the trophies of quacks and the faculty.

So complete was the return of the pope’s fostering angel to the Company, that he announced his intention to pay the Jesuit-houses a visit on the following day, in order to assure General Lainez of his regards in particular, and the whole Company of his esteem in general. Surrounded by six cardinals and a mob of minor dignitaries, the holy father commenced his atoning progress. In the church of the professed he said prayers—*post fusas preces*, then their house he explored, which he praised for its cleanliness and appropriate convenience; and then he went to the college, to be struck with wonder and admiration. On entering the great hall of the students he beheld the walls all covered on one side, with written poems. “What means that?” asked the pope. “Extemporaneous poems on the advent of your Holiness, in the sixteen languages spoken by our pupils from as many different nations,” said the Jesuits. The pope expressed his gratification, and the Jesuits proceeded with their adulation. A seat—call it a throne—was placed for his Holiness, and one of their orators addressed him in the name of his “cohort,” “in that oration, which was published, and gave universal satisfaction,” says Sacchinus. At the conclusion of the oration, there issued forth a procession of select boys, in appropriate costumes emblematical of the various languages, arts and sciences professed in the college; and besides their emblems and decorations, each had on his breast a label inscribed with the name of the art or science, and its professor, whose representative he was—a considerate precaution in the Jesuits, for the enlightenment of the ignorant in the mystery of the emblems—*rudioribus loquebatur*—which was scarcely a compliment to the pope and his company, though probably very necessary—for the emblems were devised to typify Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Rhetoric, Dialectics, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Geometry, *Music*, Astronomy, Moral Philosophy, Natural Philosophy, and lastly, the king and queen of all, Theology—*princeps ac regina omnium, Theologia*. Each typical boy advanced to the pope, and dedicated his respective science to the pontiff, in a short and graceful poem. So pleased was the pope with this last contrivance, that he said he would do much more for the College and for the Company than he had hitherto done—*dicens multo se plura pro Collegio, proque Societate, quam fecisset adhuc facturum*. Thence Pope Pius IV. proceeded round the inclosures of the college, expressing a particular wish to see the house which had belonged to Paul IV., his implacable foeman: it is to be hoped that he said nothing bitter, after murdering his nephews, and contented himself with a *De Profundis*, in the bottomless gulf of his vengeance. Thence the pope advanced to the German College of the Jesuits: but as it was getting

late, he declined hearing the verses they had manufactured for his reception—*versus ad excipiendum paratos*: but he took a glance at the company awaiting his arrival, and the supper-table all laid and ready; and after the usual questions and answers in similar visitations, respecting the organisation and professional course of the college, the holy father went home. Sacchinus says the pope's domestics reported that the Company entirely engrossed his attention on that day—which we need not be told—that he greatly praised her institutions and labors, and “severely lashed those who had blamed her so unjustly,”—and the reader must decide whether the pope had seen enough on that occasion, to justify his judgment. Sacchinus, wiser than the uninitiated simple ones before alluded to, propounds the true cause of the pope's pacification, as he calls it—namely, the banishment of Ribera to the Indian mission—the Constitutional sink of offensive Jesuits;* and the pope was solicitous, or solicited, to make amends for that admitted disgrace of the Jesuit, by *the visit of patronage*, as Ribera's departure might cast a slur on the innocence of the other fathers.† So that whilst this writer lays it down that God and St. Ignatius were the authors of the pope's pacification—he fails not wisely to exhibit the human means employed for the purpose—means which he may be permitted to couple with the name of Ignatius, but which scarcely comport with that of God—though the Jesuit quotes Scripture for the fact, saying: “Since the ways of the Lord are ways of pleasantness, I will add the means whereby I think the result was accomplished.”‡ All things considered, the whole affair of pacification was a sort of “dust in the eyes” of the public in behalf of a set of men whom the public believed somewhat infamous, but who were useful servants to the pope notwithstanding, and therefore to be accredited by a display of pontifical approbation.

We must not forget the display, however. It is remarkable in many respects. Already it appears that the Jesuits were directing their wits to the contrivance of *emblematic illustrations*, which, by the middle of the next century, they exhibited in perfection. If Alciati gave them the idea, their own inventive faculties carried it out with admirable spirit and effect. Nothing can exceed the aptness, point, and in many cases, most exquisite delicacy of some of their emblems in their illustrated works. Their *Imago*, of which specimens have been given in this history, is not the best of their productions in this department, though decidedly the most extravagant, simply because the vanity of the Company made her members mad on the subject of their “ex-

* Const. p. ii., c. ii., D. “Quando non tam propter rationem vel magnitudinem peccati, quam ob removendum offendiculum, quod aliis præbuit, demitti aliquem esset; si alioqui aptus esset, expendet prudentia superioris an expediat facultatem ei dare, ut ad locum alium Societatis valde remotum, eandem non egrediendo, proficiatur.” This has been quoted before in its proper place when treating of the Constitutions.

† “Hæc igitur profectio pontificis sollicitudine liberatum haud mediocriter affecit, ut Patrum cæterorum animadvertere innocentiam posset.”—Sacchin. lib. viii. 19.

‡ “Evidem placati pontificis, tametsi auctorem Deum, ac B. Ignatium haud pro dubio pono, quia tamen molles viæ Domini sunt, quibus id effectum adminiculis putem, adjiciam, &c.”—Id. ib.

ploys.”* We must also remark, in this display, the admirable method of their adulation. How difficult but splendid in its power in the art of flattery! Even to administer merited praise requires some tact to make it pleasant: but to flatter grossly, and yet to seem honest withal, requires some training, considerable taste, great judgment—and a deep knowledge of the human heart, resulting from mental dissection, which few have the patience to pursue, either with regard to others or themselves—and a knowledge of both is indispensable. On this occasion the *modus operandi* of the Jesuits is a model of flattery, delicate in its grossness. And in that dedication of all the arts and sciences to the pope, they reached the climax of flattery—and perhaps the fact reminds you of that metaphorical description I gave of Loyola’s interview with Pope Paul III., about to establish the Company.† Lastly, I would draw attention to the rapidity of Jesuit-execution on that occasion:—all was planned and achieved in one day and night‡—and yet they could devise and exhibit fourteen emblematic costumes to represent the shape of that which had no shape “distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,”—in concrete solidifying abstract “vain wisdom all and false philosophy”—and lastly composing sixteen poems in sixteen languages, singing flattery to the pope—flattery whose greatest fulsomeness was but “a pleasing sorcery” to charm the sense and captivate the soul.§

This “memorable day” of the Company of Jesus might “charm pain for awhile, or anguish, and excite fallacious hope;”—its glorious sun was destined however to suffer horrible eclipse. It was by no means clear to the men at Rome that the papal visit to the Jesuits was not a *visitation*—one of those uncomfortable things which ought always to be notified in advance, as is considerately done amongst those who stand on prerogatives. But if the pope really intended a searching visitation, the Jesuits took right good care to keep him intent on the most pleasing sounds imaginable, and after tiring him out with their sights and flattery, sent him home with the right impression on his heart. Let it therefore be *pro benignitatis argumento*, a token of his love and its “considerations.” The pope seemed pacified with the Jesuits: these retained the Roman seminary—and yet, after his visit or visitation, the pope did not think proper to justify the Jesuits respecting the late most hideous accusations. Out of the smothered cinders the conflagration burst forth anew and with tenfold energy. The foes of the Jesuits advanced with ruinous assault. A *bishop* led them on. This looks imposing: but whatever impression that majestic name should make, the Jesuits totally erase it by handing down to posterity,

* The subject will be further developed when the literature of the Jesuits is discussed.
† See Vol. I. p. 91.

‡ “Eo die subortis impedimentis non venit, insequenti autem,” &c.—*Sacchin.* ib. 16.

§ What a contrast is the Jesuit method of complimentary exhibitions to our modern affairs of the kind! In these the *dejeûner à la fourchette*, or the dinner with many “covers,” is the only remarkable invention to please the sense and captivate the soul. It is curious here to note three different methods by three different sections of humanity, each “paying respect” by three different sections of the human body, the head, the stomach, and the feet: thus the savage Indians dance honor to the brave; the Jesuits administer the same in emblems and in verse; the English eat and drink it a main—which smacks somewhat of the savage.

that this Catholic bishop was a bastard, a blinkard—one of those who had no See—of cracked reputation—a disappointed man.* Here you have a specimen of the sort of “characters” the Jesuits give their opponents—even in their own church and religion, thus indirectly dishonored;—but all through a natural instinct, similar to that which would make a drowning man grip and drag down to the depths below, even the mother that bore him.

This feature is one of the most objectionable in the Jesuits. Their rancorous, crushing, revengeful hatred has been frightful. Whoever once offended them was visited in a thousand ways during life, and their books exhibit the same fury lashing the dead. This is scarcely consistent with the conduct expected from the Companions of Jesus; but it reconciles us to the disappointing fact, that Jesuitism was only a section of humanity, with all the passions, as usual, directed into different channels; but not a whit the better for that, since, with the best possible intentions proposed in theory, they imitated the worst possible men in practice. And they managed this bishop, so unfortunate in his birth, his person, and fortunes. He seems to have set to work in right good earnest notwithstanding. He wrote two small books—*libellos, utrumque famosum et impudentium refertum probrorum*—both of them touching “the immediate jewel of their souls,” as Iago would say, and full of “uncleanly apprehensions.” He distributed copies amongst the cardinals in Rome, and far and wide, out of Italy, amongst the noble and the great; but, according to Sacchinus, he proved *too much*, and this seems to have ruined his case. “As a certain poet tells,” observes Sacchinus, “of a certain woman, who gave a cup of poison to her hated husband, and, not content with that, mixed up another, but which turned out to be the antidote and cure of the former,—so this bishop, carried away by a too great desire to do harm, and heaping up many things so enormous and contrary to fact, the whole mass destroyed itself, and one poison was made harmless by the other,”†—a comparison which shows that the Jesuits consider moderate charges poisons, and immoderate ones antidotes of the former. The philosophic Bayle said the same thing, and I have had very often to regret, in ploughing through the materials of this history, that neither the Jesuits nor their opponents have profited by the warning. But the bishop, with the utmost confidence, said he had written nothing which he was not prepared to prove before a just tribunal, with proper witnesses. A cardinal, the *patron of their Seminary*, was appointed to investigate the case between the Jesuits and the bishop. The latter brought his witnesses: they were ex-stu-

* “Ducem se Episcopus præbuit ex iis, quibus nulla diocesis est, spurius ipse ortu, et luscus, nec optimâ famâ Venetii diu versatus; quem proprius etiam urebat dolor, quod cum operâ ejus Cardinalis Sabellus ad visendas uteretur Urbis ecclesias jam post-habito illo,” &c.—*Sacchin.* ib. 20. As a specimen of Jesuit-variations on the same theme, take Bartoli’s account of the bishop. “Per dignitâ Vescovo, ma in partibus; per nascimento, basti dirne che di nobil famiglia, ma non curato da’ suoi piu che se loro non si attenesse, atteao la non legitima condizione del nascere: preso dal Cardinale Savelli in aiuto a riformar le paroche riuscitosi più bisognoso di riformation ne’ costumi egli, che quegli cui riformava.”—*Dell’ Ital.* f. 489.

† *Sacchin.* lib. viii. 21.

dents of the German College, and ex-Jesuits. That was enough to damage the case; their testimony was pronounced defective on that account at once, and their statements were rejected.* These are the simple facts of the case and the judgment. The alleged proofs of great private disorders were unsatisfactory, by an error in form, such as any lawyer would turn to account. The accused were acquitted. The accuser was imprisoned. And he would have been more severely dealt with, had the Jesuits not interceded for him, as they tell us. This is all that history has to do with. To say that it was easy and prudent, by way of precaution, to expel those who might give evidence against them, would, perhaps, be an injustice to the Jesuits, similar to their own usual disparagement of those who have ventured to question their method, unfold their real motives, and dissect their exploits.† As an additional favor, the popé, who from the first had promised to be their patron and protector,‡ wrote a letter to the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand's successor, and other princes, exonerating the Jesuits, as they assure us, from the late aspersions, which, it seems, had penetrated into Germany, to the great scandal of the Catholics and contempt of the heretics.§ It was certainly kind of his Holiness fully to reward so perfect a concurrence as he found in the general of his cohort; and it would have been scarcely fair to continue to acquiesce in the outrages visited on "those whom, in a *moment of weakness*," we are actually told by the Jesuit historian, "he abandoned to the studied injustice of the enemies of religion."||

Their public agitations interfered but little with the educational arrangements of the Jesuits. Having men for all work, their public athletes wrestled with the foe whilst their patient teachers were engaged in a scarcely less arduous undertaking—the battle with ignorance in the young and the old. To stimulate the love of praise or approbation so natural to all, the Jesuits now began to distribute rewards of merit to their pupils. The first distribution, in 1564, was attended with great pomp and circumstance, and graced by a concourse of Rome's nobles and cardinals. A tragedy was performed; and at its conclusion a table covered with the prizes was deposited:—the prizes were select works of the ancients, elegantly and sumptuously printed and bound. When the judges who had awarded the prizes were seated, a boy, acting as herald, proclaimed *quod bonum ac felix eveniret*,—a good and happy issue to the proceedings. He then announced the names of the successful competitors. As each was called he proceeded to the stage, where he was received by two other boys: one gave him the prize, repeating a distich of congratulation, the other bestowing in like

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 27; Bartoli, f. 492.

† Quesnel says: "In fine, by dint of falsehood and friends they succeeded so well in imposing on their judges, that they got out of the terrible scrape, which was a source of such grief to St. Charles Borromeo, that he left the court of Rome and retired to his archbishopric of Milan."—T. ii. 129, referring to an Italian Life of the Saint.

‡ Sacchin. lib. viii. 7.

§ Sacchinus gives two letters as the originals on the subject.

|| "Ceux que, dans un moment de faiblesse, il abandonnés aux injustices calculées des ennemis de la Religion."—Cretineau, p. 468.

manner upon him a solemn axiom against vain glory. Most of the prizes were won by the students of the German College, which was in a flourishing condition. There were two hundred and fifteen students from various nations—many of them nobles, and intimately acquainted with the cardinals and nobility of Rome. Few were Germans, but there were two Turks, and one Armenian, of excellent wit; all of whom were maintained by the pope, and civilised by the Jesuits.* At the same time the Jesuits were engaged on a translation of the Council of Trent into Arabic. They erected an Arabic press, at the pope's expense, and the Jesuit of the unfortunate expedition to Egypt, John Baptist Elian, executed the translation. It is difficult to discover the object of this extraordinary translation, unless the Jesuits were preparing for another expedition. The measure proposed and carried by Canisius was more immediately to the purpose. To prevent Protestants from furtively sharing the advantages of Catholic education, he proposed a religious test or formula of faith which the candidates for academic honors and professorships should accept—and the pope sanctioned and ratified the measure;† a measure excusable, and consistent with the aims, means, and ends of the “religious” people in those times:—but perhaps—in the absence of more sensible, religious, consistent and honorable motives—the very fact of this test being a Jesuit-invention should induce our modern “religious” people to abolish the oath of mockery devised to defend Protestantism, which needs no human defence but perfect freedom of discussion, and real, determined efforts on the part of God's paid servants, to promote education among the people. In addition to their test we shall constantly find that the Jesuits made every effort to educate the people: if the same could be said of our moderns, who cling most fiercely to their test, they would at least merit some small portion of the praise which is due to the Jesuits—for *earning* their bread in their vocation.

And now, as the vegetable world, what time the spring sets free the sap, bursts the seeds, puts forth her opening buds, soon with leafy energies to usurp the plains, the valleys, and the mountain-sides—thus the Company of Jesus, under the first suns of apparent favor, rushed into life, and showed how she had been gathering sap, during her seeming winter-sleep in France, the Gallic province of the Company, as yet only in her Catalogue. In the year 1564 the Jesuits entered into the lists with the University of Paris. Following up the very peculiar “reception” which had been granted them at the Conference of Poissy, provided with the wealth of Claremont, the strong veterans of the Company resolved boldly to throw themselves upon Paris and astonish the natives. In the rue St. Jaques they bought a huge mansion called the *Cour de Langres*, and turned it into a college. Over the portals they clapped an inscription, *Collegium Societatis nominis Jesu, the College of the Company of the name of Jesus.* They had been expressly forbidden to use their former title; they had agreed to the terms; and now “by this subtlety they hoped to neutralise the op-

* *Sacchin.* lib. viii. 38, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* 41.

position of the parliament and the university: but they were disappointed."* A reflection on this trick is forced from their modern historian.† He admits that "such an assault of quirks was as little worthy of the great bodies which sustained it, as of the religious Company against which it was directed. It is not with wretched arms that those who govern others should be attacked or defended. The parliament and the university began the war, the Jesuits followed their example. They were placed on the ground of *chicanery*, they showed themselves as clever as they exhibited themselves eloquent in the church and professorships"—an extraordinary combination of qualities, decidedly. As the new teachers of Paris, the Company resolved to be represented by men whose science even her rivals were the first to admire. Father Maldonat, the most celebrated interpreter of the Scriptures, expounded Aristotle's philosophy; and Michael Vanegas delivered commentaries on the "Emblems" of Andrew Alciati,—a famous professor of the sixteenth century, and one of the first, after the revival of letters, who embellished the topics which his predecessors had sunk in barbarous obscurity. In his "Emblems" he treats of morality: but according to a Jesuit,‡ he endeavors to wreath roses round about the bristling thorns; —a pleasant epicurean treat;—specious—fantastic—but comfortable as a robe of gauze in the warm days of summer.§ No better subject could possibly be selected for the times when men, being strong partisans of "religion," honestly desired that their passions should be allowed for, and indulged as much as possible. Orthodox in faith, they wished to be consistent in morals: it was necessary, in order to ensure orthodoxy, that morality should be easy and comfortable. We shall soon see that the Jesuits perfectly knew the world they had to deal with in this ticklish matter.

Other Jesuits, equally renowned, taught the Greek and Latin languages. They collected an audience of several thousands at their lectures.||

Emboldened by success, the Jesuits resolved "to penetrate into the enemy's camp:" they induced Julien de Saint-Germain, Rector of the University of Paris, in 1562, to grant them letters of induction, and all the privileges enjoyed by the members of the university. In 1564, diplomas in hand, the Jesuits began their academical course, announcing themselves as forming an "integral part" of the university. This manœuvre gave the crowning stroke.¶

The new rector, Marchand, convoked the faculties in a fright. Privilege was astounded—

for never since created man
Met such embodied force, as, named with these,
Could merit more than that small infantry
Warr'd on by cranes.

* Cretineau, i. 437; Goubauld, i. 50; Pasquier, 26; Quesnel, ii. 129; Coudrette, i. 100.

† Feller, Biog. Univ. *Alciat.*

‡ Cretineau, ib.

§ He died in 1550 (at Pavia) of plethora, says Feller, from excess, like a true philosopher—*Epicure de grege porcus*. Minoe, however, represents him in a somewhat different light. Feller is always a suspicious authority.

|| Cretineau, i. 439.

¶ Ibid. 439.

A consultation ensued. Were the Jesuits to be admitted into the bosom of the university? The proposition was scouted indignantly—negatived unanimously—away with the Jesuits!

But the Jesuits would not go. They persisted and were cited to an interrogatory.

“Who are you?” they were asked.

“*Tales quales*, such as the parliament called us,” they replied. And in vain the rector Prévot put the question in four different forms: * the Jesuits were a match for him: they were not to be caught by the trap. If they acknowledged themselves of the *Society of Jesus*, they would render themselves obnoxious to the Act of Parliament forbidding them to use the title. So they abdicated the sacred name for the nonce, and assumed *tales quales*—ridiculous enough—but in its most awful moments it is hard to avoid laughing at Jesuitism.

Then the famous “law-suit” ensued between the Jesuits and the University of Paris, destined to be rendered remarkable in the history of human nature for every extravagance and malignity on both sides of the disgraceful contest. Stephen Pasquier with his “Catechism of the Jesuits,” and the Jesuits with their “Chace of the fox Pasquin,” will soon tear charity to pieces, and make a scare-crow of her remnants, to defend their ripening fruits. We shall see them anon; the vintage is deferred.†

* *Rector.* Are you Seculars, or Regulars, or Monks?

Jesuits. We are in France such as the Parliament called us, namely, the Company of the College which is called of Claremont.

R. Are you in fact Monks or Seculars?

J. The assembly has no right to ask us that question.

R. Are you really Regular Monks, or Seculars?

J. We have already several times answered. We are such as the Parliament called us; we are not bound to answer.

R. You give no reply as to your name, and you say you do not choose to answer as to the fact. The decree of the Parliament has forbidden you to use the name of Jesuits or Society of the name of Jesus.

J. We do not hesitate touching the question of the name; you can arraign us in law if we assume any other name against the regulation of the decree.

Rector. Estisne Seculares an Regulares, an Monachi?

Jesuite. Sumus in Galliâ *tales quales* nos nominavit Suprema Curia, nempe Societas Collegii quod Claramontense appellatur.

R. An reipsâ estis Monachi, an Seculares?

J. Non est praesentis congregatiōnis illud a nobis exposcere.

R. Estisne reverâ Monachi, Regulares, an Seculares?

J. Jam pluries respondimus: *Sumus tales quales nos nominat Curia*, neque tenemur respondere.

R. De nomine nullum responsum; de re dicitis non velle respondere. Senatus-consultum prohibuit ne utamini vocabulo *Jesuitarum*, aut *Societatis nominis Jesu*.

J. Non immoramus circâ questionem de nomine; potestis nos vocare in jus si aliquid nomen assumimus contra determinationem arresti.—*Du Boulay, Hist. de l'Université*, t. vi.

† All the authorities before referred to, beginning with Cretteau and ending with Coudrette. The Jesuits presented a Memorial to the Parliament, in which there are certain admissions which deserve attention. “As the name of Religious is given only to monks who lead an extremely perfect life, we are not religious in that sense, for we do not think ourselves worthy to profess so holy and perfect a life; the occupation of the former being only to apply themselves to works of piety, whereas all ours consists in other things, and chiefly in the study of those arts which may conduce to the spiritual good of the public”—a most unlooked-for avowal—for if there be a character which they strive most to gain credit for in their histories and biographies, it is that of sanctity

D'Alembert's reflections on both parties, at the present scene of the trag-i-comedy, are apposite. "Scarcely had the Society of Jesus begun to appear in France, when it met with numberless difficulties in gaining an establishment. The universities especially made the greatest efforts to expel these new comers. It is difficult to decide whether this opposition does honor or discredit to the Jesuits who experienced it. They gave themselves out for the instructors of youth gratuitously; they counted already amongst them some learned and famous men, superior, perhaps, to those whom the universities could boast: interest and vanity might therefore be sufficient motives to their adversaries, at least in these first moments, to seek to exclude them. We may recollect the like opposition which the Mendicant Orders underwent from these very universities, when they wanted to introduce themselves; opposition founded on pretty nearly the same motives, and which ceased not but by the state into which these orders are fallen, now become incapable of exciting envy.*

"On the other hand, it is very probable that the Society, proud of that support which it found amidst so many storms, furnished arms to its adversaries by braving them. It seemed to exhibit, from this time, that spirit of invasion which it has but too much displayed subse-

and moral perfection—which was an easy matter, for they said that God had granted the boon to Ignatius that no Jesuit should commit a mortal sin during the first hundred years of the Company, and that Xavier had got the privilege extended over two hundred years more—which unfortunately elapsed before the pope suppressed them, otherwise a Company of Saints would have perished. The Memorial further says: "With regard to the questions which you have put to us, we cannot reply to them in a clearer, more precise, or distinct manner than we have done. We therefore beseech you to consider all these things and to act in this affair with your usual moderation, prudence and kindness. If you will grant us the honor of admitting us among you, and permission to teach, without obliging us to resort to a law-suit, you will always find us obedient to the laws of your University in all things," &c.—*Quesnel, Du Boulay, Mercure Jesuit. 347, et alibi.*

To explain the dexterity of their ambiguous reply, *tales quales*, we must remember that no other answer could have rid them from the embarrassment. If they had called themselves Secular Priests, all their "Privileges" as Regulars would fall,—besides, their vows were well known. Secondly they would have surrendered their claim to the rich legacy of the Bishop of Claremont, given to them as Regulars. Had they called themselves Monks they would have been at once excluded from public tuition—a privilege never conceded to Monks by the University.

* I have shown my concurrence in this opinion respecting the motives of opposition; still, we must listen to the expressed motives of the universitarians. After alluding to the nondescript nature of the Company, and the consequent mystification, they proceed to say fairly enough, that "this body is not receivable, but that the members [a few are named] are receivable; for the University receives all individuals, and prepares them for places among her members, each according to his state and qualifications,—to the Secular in the Faculty of Arts, &c., to the Regular in Theology, &c. The University does not object to there being a college at Claremont, according to the decree of the court, nor to there being Jesuit-bursars in the University. The University, nay Christendom, cannot and ought not to receive and tolerate a house or college entitling itself the House or College of the Jesuits, nor calling itself the College of the Christians; for of these two names of our Saviour, Christ is common to him with the patriarchs, prophets, priests, and kings; and Jesus is his proper name, which was given to him at the Circumcision, according to the custom of his people. And let the Jesuits go and call themselves so, if they like, among the unbelieving infidels, for to preach to whom they were first instituted. *The University admits the council above the pope, wherefore it cannot receive any company or college whatever, which places the pope above the council.*"—*Du Boulay, t. vi. p. 587; Annales de la Société, i. 22.*

quently, but which it has carefully covered at all times with the mask of religion, and zeal for the salvation of souls.”*

The University of Louvain, the most celebrated after that of Paris, made the same opposition to the Jesuits. The Jesuits could win over, and won over, kings and their people; but their rivals in the public mind, their rivals in the “interests” of tuition, were inexorable. Antagonism fixed as fate was between them,—for it was the battle of two monopolies. There was another reason. The Jesuits were innovators; their system was considered a novelty; and they promised to “keep pace with the age,” accommodating themselves right cleverly to the wants of the times, like any clever artist, trader, bookseller, and author; whereas the universities librated in their apogee, for ever the same, from the beginning even until now, “quenched in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea nor good dry land,” inextricably confined in the region of “sable-vested night, eldest of things.” An university can no more change its skin than an *Æthiop*. But the Jesuits were “legion”—ready for every thing, provided it could be made useful in their vocation—glory to the Company and glory to the Church, with comfortable colleges and endowments, not excepted. No lazy drones were the Jesuits: no bibbers of wine, beyond the stomach’s comfort; no runners after women unto madness; but always on the watch—always ready for work, work, work, and no respite. “Legion” they were, and would rather be sent into swine than remain idle. If they could not walk on *two legs*, *four* would be their locomotives; and they had no particular objection to fins. Again I say that, in laboring for their hire, the Jesuits have utterly shamed all their competitors, much as it may please their rivals of the *universities*, ancient and modern, to see them ravenously “cut up,” and hear them savagely abused. Who would not prefer to join the “party” of the Jesuits, rather than condescend to appear in the ranks of those who fatten on the emoluments of “faith,” without a reasonable, honest, or honorable motive for “hope,” and confining “charity” within the precincts of their own cuirassed egotism—cool, calculating, harsh, and exclusive?

A stirring time ensued for the Jesuits. *Religious war*—what a mockery! Religious war was raging in France. Denied the preceptorate, they had still an ample field in the contusion of heresy. Their superabundant energies had a thousand outlets. Scattered over France, unrecognised by the law of the land, but sanctioned by the law of obedience, and impelled by the fury of “religion,” they danced around the boiling caldron of discord, each dropping in some infernal ingredient “for a charm of powerful trouble,” whilst their Hecate at Rome cried “Well done! I commend your pains.”† For, let us look back and scan results. Charles IX. had given the Huguenots a “pacifica-

* *Sur la Destruction des Jesuites*, p. 19, *et seq.*

† “And every one shall share i’ the gains.

And now about the cauldron sing,
Like elves and fairies in a ring,
Enchanting all that you put in.”

tion," an edict which permitted them to serve God as they pleased. This was in 1561, immediately after the conference of Poissy. It was a grant eventuated by expediency; but the principle of enlightened toleration was nobly asserted by the old Marshal St. André, and his wisdom prevailed over the blindness of the age. In truth, Providence left not the men of those times without counsel; but the inveterate selfishness of kings, nobles, and priests, and ministers, palsied every effort which God so often directs for the good of humanity. All that France could talk or think of, was the conference of Poissy and its results. The Protestants, proud of their rights, thought that all doubts were ended, and sang victory to their ministers. Edict in hand, they transgressed its boundaries, would share the churches with the priests, who yielded in ignorance or in terror, or with a secret inclination to change their skins by joining the Huguenots.* Troubles soon ensued—skirmishes, assaults, bloodshed, open hostility.

In the party of Rome there was division—estrangement—hostility amongst each other. Seven French bishops the pope excommunicated for granting toleration, or for adopting some of the new doctrines. The Queen of Navarre had embraced Calvinism: she announced her convictions by breaking down the Catholic images, seizing the churches, expelling the priests: Pope Pius IV. came down with his prerogatives and excommunicated the Queen of Navarre, if in six months she did not appear before him to give an account of herself—under penalty of being deprived of all her dignities and dominions—her marriage declared null and void—her children bastards—menacing the queen with all the penalties awarded to heretics by Christ's vicar upon earth.† The King of France interposed in behalf of his relative, and the Vatican bolt was suspended mid-heaven: but the spirit which prompted the measure was encouraged. It was encouraged by the violence of the Calvinists, and by the unequivocal resistance of the French bishops to the exorbitant prerogatives of the popes—the ultramontane pretensions decreed by the Council of Trent. Madness then dictated the conduct of the ultramontanes—and the people—scape-goats for ever—were dragged into the remorseless gulf of "civil" warfare—the warfare of a country's people fighting for its destruction. The pope's cohort fanned the flame of discord—spread the conflagration through the length and breadth of the land. When Lainez was expressly ordered by the pope to leave France for the last Sittings of the Council‡ after the conference of Poissy—where he expressed such uncompromising, insulting sentiments to the Calvinists—"he enjoined," says his own historian, "he enjoined his companions to pursue heresy in every direction. Some battled with it in Paris, others fronted it in the remotest provinces."§ Verily a nation went up upon the land, strong

* D'Aubigné, Mem. col. clvxxii.

† Davila, i. 162; Sarpi, viii. 61.

‡ "Jam dudum Pontifex Maximus Lainio mandat ut ad concilium se Tridentinum conferret."—Sacchin. lib. vi. 70. The pope's own affairs were to be discussed, as you remember, and Lainez was to uphold the very abuses which he had denounced to the Prince de Conde!

§ "Pendant ce temps, Lainez parti pour le Concile de Trente, avait enjoint à ses

and without number, whose teeth were the teeth of a lion—the cheek teeth of a great lion. Was it to do evil that they went? Was that their intention? Fanatics as culpable as themselves may say so:—but let justice be done to the infatuated organs of papal ambition, and the dread spirit of sacerdotal influence. They thought they had a good conscience. They felt confident that they were fighting as God willed them to fight: the evil that ensued was sanctioned and sanctified by a text of Scripture. Beware how you lash these Jesuits, forgetting yourselves. Look around—read—and think of all that humanity has suffered from the religious sentiment perverted. In truth, God was above and earth was beneath, with man i' the midst—but who had stuck themselves between man and his God? Popes, monks, priests, Jesuits, and all who were like them—stuck betwixt God and the souls of men, which must go through them in order to go to God. Therein was the very gulf of human ruin—the Babelmandeb of misery, wails, pangs, gnashing of teeth—or the desert whence swarms the multitude of ravening insects to prey on humanity. And in those dreadful times of religious barbarism, kingdoms and the poor man's home were made desolate by the spirit it generated—and the wretched people rushed beneath the wheels of the crushing Juggernaut, as their “religious” advisers impelled them:—what the palmer-worm left, the locust devoured—what the locust left, the canker-worm corroded, leaving remnants still for the caterpillar, whose royal wings, so beautifully decked, waved as the insect sucked the sap of a nation. You must have specimens of how they managed matters in France, in those religious times. In 1562, the Bishop of Chalons flattered himself that he could convert a congregation of Huguenots at Vasi. He tried, was baffled, and retired with shame, confusion, and mockery. Thereupon he inflamed the zeal of the Cardinal de Guise, who summoned two companies of soldiers, sounded a charge—the conventicle was furiously entered—all who did not escape by the windows were slaughtered, whilst the priests busied themselves with pointing out the wretches who were trying to escape over the roofs of the houses. The princes and ladies who witnessed the foray, are said to have displayed the same edifying zeal. On a subsequent occasion three hundred wretches were shut up in a church and starved for three days. Then they were tied together in couples, and led off to slaughter—on the sands of the river they were murdered after a variety of torments. Little children were sold for a crown. A woman of great beauty excited pity in the heart of him who was going to kill her,—another undertook the deed, and to show the firmness of his courage, he stripped her naked, and took pleasure, with others around him, “in seeing that beauty perish and fade in death—*à voir perir et faner ceste beauté par la mort!*” During the slaughter of their mothers, babes were born, to be thrown into the river by the murderous fiends; and they say that one poor babe held up its little hand as the piteous waters bore it up and swept

compagnons de poursuivre partout l'hérésie. Les uns la combattaient à Paris, les autres lui tenaient tête au fond des provinces.”—Cretteau, i. 442.

it along—and they *watched it out of sight!*—*la main droite levée en haut, autant que les veuës le peuvent conduire.** The Bishop of Orange negotiated a subsidy from Italy: seven thousand men marched under Fabrice Cerbellon to execute a butchery. Babes at the breast were pricked to death with poniards: some were impaled, others were roasted alive; and some were sawed asunder. Women were hanged at the windows and door-posts; children were torn from their breasts and dashed against the walls: girls were ravished, and still more hideous and brutal crimes were committed by the *Italians*. The slaughter was indiscriminate—for even some Catholics perished; and those who had sworn the oath required, by way of capitulation, in the castle, were hurled over the precipice. Then a fire broke out, consumed three hundred houses—among which was that of the bishop, the cause of the whole calamity—*cause de tout le mal.*†

Turn to the other side. The brutal Baron des Adrets had changed sides. From the Catholics he went over to the Huguenots. He took with him his infernal passions to disgrace the cause which he espoused, from resentment or other base motives. He inflicted a reprisal for the slaughter at Orange. At St. Marcellin he surprised three hundred Catholics, cut them to pieces or made them leap a precipice. Montbrison was besieged, and was capitulating. The baron came up, cut all to pieces, except thirty, whom he compelled to leap a precipice by way of amusing himself after dinner. One of them hung back at the brink: “What!” exclaimed the baron; “you require *two* attempts for the leap!” “Sir, I’ll give you *ten* to do it in,” was the man’s reply—and the baron pardoned him for his wit.‡

And now you would like to know the prevalent principles of human conduct in those times. The Protestant D’Aubigné will tell us this baron’s sentiments on the subject—and as he brought them from the side which he left and still imitated or surpassed in cruelty, the avowal is worth a hundred facts, however horrible. “I asked him three questions,” says D’Aubigné—“Why he had perpetrated cruelties so ill becoming his great valor? Why he had left his party by which he was so much accredited? and, Why he had succeeded in nothing after deserting his party, although he fought against them? To the first he replied: ‘That in retaliating cruelty no cruelty is perpetrated—the first is called cruelty, the second is *justice*.’ Thereupon he gave me a horrible account of more than four thousand murders in cold blood, and with torments such as I had never heard tell of—and particularly of the precipice-leaping at Mascon, where the governor made murder his pastime, to teach the women and children to see the Huguenots die, without showing them pity. ‘I have repaid them something of the kind,’ said he, ‘but in smaller quantity—having regard to the past and the future:—to the past because I cannot endure, without great cowardice, to witness the slaughter of my faithful companions:—but for the future, there are two reasons which no captain can reject: one is, that the only way to put a stop to the barbarities of the enemy is to inflict

* D’Aubigné, col. clxxxiii.

† Ibid. col. ccvi.

‡ D’Aubigné, Hist. Univ. col. cciii.

retaliation.' Thereupon he told me of three hundred horsemen whom he had sent back to the enemy on chariots, each man with a foot and a hand cut off: 'In order,' said he, 'to change a warfare without mercy, into one of courtesy, and the thing succeeded—*pour faire, comme cela fit, changer une guerre sans merci, en courtoisie* In a word,' he continued, 'you cannot teach a soldier to put his hand to his sword and his hat at the same time.' With mighty and unflinching resolutions in his heart, the idea of retreat was out of the question—'in depriving my soldiers of all hope of pardon, they were forced to see no refuge but the shadow of their flags; no life but in victory.' And lastly, touching his ill success personally, he replied with a sigh: 'My son, nothing is too hot for a captain who has no longer more interest than his soldier in victory. When I had Huguenots I had soldiers; since then I have only had traders who think only of money. The former were bound together by dread without fear—*de crainte sans peur*,—whose pay was vengeance, rage, and honor. I had not bridles enough for them. But now my spurs are used up—*ces derniers ont usé mes éperons.*'** "The horrors perpetrated by the Baron des Adrets," quotes the Jesuit Feller, with approbation, "the horrors perpetrated by the Baron des Adrets alone suffice to *justify* the severest measures which are taken in some countries against the introduction of anti-Catholic sects and dogmatisers. What horrible scenes would France have been spared had she been on the watch like Italy and Spain, to expel, or extinguish in its birth, a scourge which was destined to produce so many others, and which, in establishing the reign of errors by fire and sword, has placed the monarchy within two inches of its destruction!"† And who, may we ask, eventuated these calamities? Who roused destruction to swallow up those whom argument could not poison? Who drove the heretic to vengeance? In whose ranks was Des Adrets trained to slaughter? And to talk of Spain and Italy! It had been indeed a blessing for these countries had "heresy" been vouchsafed to them by heaven for enlightenment. They would not be now amongst the lowest, if not the most degraded of nations.

In the midst of these dreadful doings the Jesuits tramped over France, ferreting out heresy—worming for the pope. Montluc, the bishop of Valence, was no Procrustes of a bishop: he temporised a little with the heretics. This was enough for the Jesuits, who would temporise with none but the orthodox.‡ Emond Auger rushed to battle. Suddenly he appeared on the banks of the Rhone, like Châteaubriand's "ancient bison amidst the high grass of an isle in the Mississippi." The Jesuit preached, and he taught, and doubtless he converted: but in the heyday of orthodoxy—whilst he hugged that Dalilah—the Philistines were upon him! The Huguenots, under the ferocious Baron des Adrets, took him prisoner. They raised a gibbet to hang the Jesuit. A Jesuit can brave grim death better than most men: because, as he

* D'Aubigné, col. ccxv. *et seq.*

† Biog. Univ. *Adrets*.

‡ Cretineau calls this bishop "a skilful politician and still more skilful courtier, abandoning his flock to the teeth of the wolves."—t. ii. 442. The Jesuits made wolves of the mildest sheep; but then they were *orthodox* wolves, and that's the difference.

has more motives to *live* for, so has he more to *die* for—and all are condensed into two words, OUR ORDER. Emond held forth, like the swan, melodious in death: he captivated the coarse-grained Huguenots: the heretics relented: they sent him to prison. One of them actually fancied he could convert the Jesuit! And they tried—and left him in his dungeon thinking “What next?” On the following day he was set free by the interposition of the Catholics. His brother-Jesuit Pelletier underwent the same fate, but was liberated by the Parliament of Toulouse. The Jesuits left the scene of their struggles, “where their presence only exposed the Catholics to more certain perils, not having as yet the energy to *repel force by force*,” says the historian of the Jesuits.* Thence to Auvergne Auger departed; and soon the towns of Clermont, Riom, Mont-Ferrand, and Issoire experienced the effects of his zeal: “he preserved them from the invasion of heresy.”

The civil war raged fiercely on all sides—the battle of Dreux gave victory to the Catholics—the leader of the Huguenots, Condé, was a prisoner, and Beza narrowly escaped. The Duke de Guise, the royal fire-brand, had won the victory; about a month after, he was murdered by an assassin—who was arrested, implicating the leaders of the opposite party in the cowardly crime—but it was by *violent torture* that they wrung from the wretch what they wanted to hear—the names of La Rochefoucault, Soubise, Aubeterre, Beza, and Coligny—the great Huguenot leader.† A death-bed suggested merciful wisdom to the dying Guise. The horrible massacre of Vassi at which he presided, he now lamented, and strove to extenuate. He conjured the queen to make peace. Those who advised the contrary, he called the enemies of the state.‡ But it was a “religious” question. An angel from heaven would have been unable to check the restless fury—much less a dying leader—murdered in the cause—and proclaimed a French Moses—a modern Jehu—which, however, was neither comfort nor hope to the man hurrying to judgment. The loss of this great leader was a blow to the cause: spirits drooped; the “men of God” were in requisition; and the Jesuits were not wanting. Wherever zeal for “the faith” was to be reanimated, the Jesuit Auger bore through every obstacle—drove in his spike, which he clenched. Then he published his famous catechism in French, which was subsequently translated into Latin and Greek “for the use of schools.” It is said that thirty-eight thousand copies were sold or issued in eight years—every copy of which must have converted its man, for we are assured that Auger converted 40,000 heretics to the faith.§ Together with Possevin, he ac-

* Cretineau, ii. 444.

† This charge has become a point of controversy. Certainly all crimes were likely to be committed and countenanced on both sides of that “religious” warfare; but Browning makes out a good case in favor of Coligny. The assassin, when drawn and quartered, a horse pulling at each hand and leg, exonerated those whom he had accused, revoking his first deposition. He excepted the admiral; but soon after he whispered in the ear of the President De Thou, exonerating Coligny as well; and he publicly said, despite the horrors of that dreadful death, “that if the blow was again to be struck, he would strike it again;” which seems to show that the wretch needed no abettor.—D’Aubigné, t. i. col. 251. See Browning, p. 43, *et seq.* for Coligny’s exculpation.

‡ D’Aubigné, ib.

§ Biblio. Script. S. J.

cepted the challenge of the eloquent Calvinist Pierre Viret, formerly a Franciscan. It is well said that "the conference prominently exhibited the extent of their theological acquirements, and ended in nothing."

To aggravate the sufferings of humanity torn by civil war and social disunion, a pestilence broke out in France, and swept off sixty thousand persons in the city of Lyons alone. Auger exerted himself to the utmost for the relief of the patients, visiting, consoling them, distributing alms which he collected. And then he induced the magistrates to bind themselves by a vow, to propitiate the cessation of the plague: it was made: and when the plague ceased the Jesuit was commissioned to pay or perform it in the church of Our Lady du Puy. On his return the magistrates rewarded the Jesuit by presenting his Company with a college. It was a municipal building, common to all the inhabitants; and the Calvinists complained of the transfer. Auger told them, and had it stipulated in the document, that the Calvinists should have an equal right with the Catholics, to the education of the Company*—a poor consolation for the Calvinists, if the Latin and Greek catechism of the Jesuit was to teach the language of Homer and Virgil to their children; with the mythology of the popedom included, conjugated with every verb, and *not* declined with every noun. It was cleverly managed; for, of course, there was no chance of any child of Calvin remaining long in their hands without being transformed into a son of Ignatius. Thus the Jesuits had reason to bless the plague, and their veteran's devotedness to the pest-stricken, for a splendid prospect at Lyons. Charity does not always meet its reward here below—in the generality of mortals—but the Jesuits, somehow or other, seldom, if ever, failed to turn their devotedness to account. Still, what they gained, they worked for—earned by some equivalent; which cannot always be said of those whose brilliant "rewards" puzzle us when we strive to account for them, or compute their advantages.

It evidences the unscrupulous or unflinching boldness of the Jesuits, that in spite of the opposition made to their admission into France—in spite of the stringent conditions of the decree by which they were *not* tolerated in their true capacity, they pressed forward reckless of consequences. Already they divided France into two provinces of the Order,—the Province of France, and the Province of Aquitaine or Guienne.[†]

Over all parts of the country they wandered in pursuit of heresy, winning a few, but exasperating many, and stirring the fermenting mass of discord.

The active and eventful life of General Lainéz was drawing to a close: but he could afford to die, beholding the fruit of his labors in the ever enlarging bounds of his Company. In whatever direction he turned his eyes—there was ardent hope in his men, if not immediate prospect in its objects:—there was always some consolation—some tangible solace for their pangs. And nowhere were greater efforts made for the Company's supremacy, than in Germany.

In the year 1551 the Jesuits had no fixed position in Germany. In

* Cretineau, ii. 447.

[†] Ibid.

the year 1556 they had overspread Franconia, Swabia, Rhineland, Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Bavaria. The professors of the University of Dillingen—Dominican monks among the rest—were dismissed to make room for the Jesuits, who took possession in 1563. It was a sort of compact between the Cardinal Truchsess and the Company of Jesus. In the spreading novelty of their adventures—in the fame which their every movement achieved—in the minds of the orthodox sticklers for papal prerogatives, the Jesuits everywhere met with a cheer and a hand and a useful purse. They “were winning many souls and doing great service to the Holy See”—wherever they flung their shadows heresy grew pale and orthodoxy brandished the spear of defiance. They suited their method to the German mind:—what failed with the Protestant, was a nostrum, a holy dram to the Catholic; and they laid it on thickly and broadly and with infinite variety—so that every one found his peculiar taste consulted, and opened his heart accordingly. The public exhibitions of the Jesuits were the most brilliant ever witnessed, conducted with dignity and decorum, and full of matter—“patronised” by royalty and nobility and the usual concomitants.* Following out a maxim of Lainez, propounded when he ordered public thanksgiving for the Company’s increase, the Company required that all who would undertake the difficult task of tuition, should devote their whole lives to the undertaking—so that every year’s experience might be as many steps to perfection in that art which may so easily be made subservient to any given scheme—but which, for complete success, imperatively demands unflinching industry, inventive self-possession, simplicity of character, a heart of magnetism to attract, and a thorough perception of human character in all its varieties. First impressions are with difficulty erased: life’s beginnings are the prophets of its endings.† The Jesuits had a care of the foundations when European heretics were likely to be their hostile sappers. Dust and sand they threw in the eyes of the savage, because merely “conversion” or rather “baptism” was the object—inducing ruinous degradation in the loss of caste, or separation as by a contract, from father, mother, friend, and acquaintance—and consequently utter dependence on the conquerors of their country. These served—these fought willingly enough by their brutal instincts:—but principle is required in the European—a principle of some specified kind, whether it centres in gold—in partyism “political or “religious”—or in God, the unerring guide to all who heartily ask, and seek, and knock. And it was necessary for the Jesuits to sow and to water, to trim and keep vigorous the principle of antagonism—the Catholic antagonism of the sixteenth and following century. A man’s skin may be easily torn and diachylon will heal it: but tear out his heart—and you may do as you please with the carcass. A dreadful comparison:—but is it not precisely thus with those whom men have won, and bound to themselves by bonds they cannot describe—and yet cannot resist—nay, rather bless them—and would not be

* Agricol. Hist. f. 68; Ranke, 138.

† “Quæ prima inciderant animo, difficillimè aboleantur, et ut vitæ posita initia sunt, ita reliquum consequatur.”—*Sacchin.* lib. ii. 91.

free—for freedom from such bewitching tyranny would entail death in desolation? To that result the Jesuits cleverly applied. And they began with childhood,—primitive education.* The men selected for these commonly despised beginnings were such as would devote their whole existence to the training of this most important stage of human existence. Experiment and experience build up a teacher's art. A given object is to be gained:—ten thousand psychological facts must suggest the method. And so the Jesuits wisely would have a man devote his whole life to the undertaking. They were successful, as a matter of course:—for, in spite of all that is said of chance, and luck, and good fortune, rest assured that all success depends entirely upon the selection of the appropriate means of achievement. If men would but investigate, and test this fact by experience, we should not so often hear God's providence indirectly blamed by pretended submissions to "His wise decrees." God wills the accomplishment of every law He has framed for success or happiness to the intellect, the moral sentiment, and the instincts of man. Each in its department, has its rights and its laws—and in proportion to its endowments and loyalty to God, will be its success—which we call "good luck" and "good fortune." Good luck it may be called—but certainly it was found that the pupils of the Jesuits in Germany learnt more under them, in half a year, than with others in two whole years. Even Protestants recalled their children from distant schools and gave them to the Jesuits. Be not surprised:—people look to results. Results are pounds, shillings, and pence in their eloquence to the mass of mankind. Everybody can, or fancies he can count them unmistakeably. Then, Jesuit results gave "*general satisfaction.*"† Schools for the poor were opened. Methods of instruction were adapted for the youngest capacities. And then was printed a right orthodox *Catechism*, with its plain questions and unanswerable answers, composed by the "Austrian dog," Canisius, as the Protestants called him—the "scourge of the heretics" as the Catholics proclaimed him—and *unus è Societate Jesu*—one of the Company of Jesuits, as he was in reality, neither more nor less—and quite sufficient. He was the first provincial of Upper Germany—he enlarged the bounds of his province by his eloquence—held the heretics in check by his disputation—and fortified the orthodox. His protracted residence in Austria, and his incessant clamor for the faith, procured him the title of *Austrian dog*; "but he was no dumb dog," says Ribade Neyra, the glorious Jesuit: "and his bark was no whimper; his bark and his bite defended the flock in the fold from the wolves on all sides lurking."‡ Canisius was the first *author* among the Jesuits, after holy

* You remember what Virgil says: "*Adeo à teneris assuescere multum est.*" And the dictum of Terence: "*Si quis magistrum ad eam rem cäperit improbum, ipsum animum ægrotum facile ad deteriorem partem applicat.*"

† Ranke, *ut anteā.*

‡ "Sed haud canem mutum, aut non valentem latrare, sed qui latratu et morsu lupos passim grassantes ab ovili Christi arceret." ¶ Among their innumerable pious inventions, the Jesuits say that before the foundation of the Company, a certain woman, who passed for a saint, admonished the mother of Canisius to "educate him with great care, because a certain order of clerics would soon be founded, which would be of immense utility to the Church, and into which Company her son would be enrolled, and

Father Ignatius, if the Spiritual Exercises were really the products of his pen—and not a joint-stock concern, with the founder for a stalking-horse.* Thus the first book published by the Jesuit-Company, was *A Summa of Christian Doctrine—Summa Doctrinæ Christianæ*, by Canisius, but *anonymously*—a curious omen decidedly, for one of the Company of Jesus not to acknowledge *a summa of Christian Doctrine*. Subsequently enlarged and translated into Greek and Latin from the original German, it became a classic in the Jesuit-schools, so as to enable “the boys” to “take in” what the Jesuits called “piety,” together with their Latin and Greek—*ut adolescentium pietatem . . . unà cum ipsis literarum elementis . . . utiliorem redderemus.*† “Incredible,” says Ribadeneyra, “were the fruits of this Catechism in the Church of Christ—and I mention only one testimony thereof, namely, that by its perusal the most Serene Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Neuberg admits that he became a Catholic”‡—as if, to a Christian mind, the conversion of a Duke in his wealth and glory, were really more estimable than that of a peasant in his rags and degradation. And now you shall have a few specimens of the tree whose fruit was so incredible in the Church of Christ—piety to the young—and conversion to a Duke.

After establishing, in the usual way, all the defensive points of controversy, Canisius dashes headlong into the offensive, snarling to admiration. Catholic unity has been established; he proceeds to question and answer as follows :

“ Is the same unity found amongst Protestants—*acatholicos?* ”

“ Not the least in the world—*minime vero*—for this is most clearly evident from their continual schisms in the principal points of faith.”

“ Have you an example in point? ”

“ Luther himself, for instance, who, whilst in his *Catechism*, he recognises only one sacrament instituted by Christ, elsewhere propounds two, three, four, yea, and even seven sacraments.”

Imagine the “fruit” of this clinching “argument” boldly repeated by the young propagandist of the Jesuit schools, as a “fact;” and also imagine the difficulty into which he would be thrown by the question, *Where?* to that elsewhere of the catechist, who pretended not to know the “broad ground-work” for which Luther contended.§ Next as to morals.

be considered ■ most remarkable man.” “ The event,” adds the Jesuit, “ verified the prophecy or presentiment of the woman.”—*Bib. Script. S. J.* The object of these prophecies, and there are many, was probably to counteract the other prophecies, like that of Archbishop Brown already given, as a dread forewarning of the awful doings of the Jesuits.—It is quite natural.

* “ Primus omnium Societatis partus, post S. Patriarchæ nostri Exercitia Spiritualia.”—*Bib. Script. S. J.*

† From the Preface to the translations printed in the Jesuit College at Prague, in 1709, “ for the use of the Latin and Greek schools of the Company of Jesus throughout the province of Bohemia, a new edition—in usum scholarum humaniorum Societatis Jesu, per provinciam Bohemiæ, denuo recusus.”

‡ *Bib. Script. S. J. Pet. Canis.*

§ “ The sacrament itself,” writes Luther to the Moravian brothers, “ is not in itself so necessary as to render superfluous faith and charity. It is mere folly to squabble about such trifles as those which, for the most part, engage our attention, while we neglect things truly precious and salutary; wherever we find faith and charity, sin

The sanctity of "the Church" has been established in the usual way: Canisius proceeds indoctrinating the young for controversy in the social circle:—

"But are there not many wicked people amongst Catholics?"

"Alas! there are, to our shame; but only as Judas amongst the apostles, in the sacred college of Christ; only as the tares among the wheat."

"How stands the matter amongst Protestants?"

"Their doctrine is alienated from all the means of acquiring sanctity—so far are they from teaching it."

"How is this? Don't they boast that they are reformed, and evangelical, and think themselves much purer than Catholics?"

"The reason is, they teach that good works are of no avail for salvation; that these are only filth, which render us more and more hateful in the sight of God."*

"What's their ditty on good works?"

"They daily sing these verses:

"All our works are vain: they bring
Nought but bolts from Heaven's King."

"What do they say of the evangelical counsels, perpetual chastity, and the rest?"

"They say it is impossible for us to live chastely; that it is impious to vow chastity; and—*tam cuique necessarium esse carnis opus, quam edere, bibere, dormire.*"†

Very strange matter to come out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, decidedly.

"What do they say of the Ten Commandments?"

"They say that it is not in the power of man to keep them; that they no more pertain to us than the old ceremonies of the circumcision, and the like."‡

"Did Luther ever teach that sin is not anything contrary to the commandments of God?"

"Yes, he did expressly, in his *Postilla* of Wittemberg, published during his life-time, and in the sermon already quoted, the fourth Sunday after Easter."

"What follows from that doctrine of Luther?"

"That to adore idols, to blaspheme God, to rob, to commit murder, fornication, and other deeds against the Commandments, are not sins."

"Do you think that this doctrine, so detestable, is taught even by the disciples of Luther?"

cannot be, whether the sin of adoring, or the sin of not adoring. On the other hand, where charity and faith are not, there is sin, sin universal, sin eternal! If these cavaliers will not speak concomitantly [*i. e.* as we speak], let them speak otherwise, and cease all this disputation, since we are agreed as to the broad ground-work."—*Hazlitt, Life of Luther*, p. 132.

* Luth. Resol. Contr. Eck. Assert. Art. xxix. xxxi. xxxii.; Lib. de Libert. Christ. Serm. in Dom. 4 post Pasch.; Calv. l. iii. Inst. c. xii. s. 4; c. xiv. s. 9.

† Luth. de Vitâ Conjug.

‡ Luth. in c. iv. ad Gal.; in c. xl. Exod.; Calv. l. ii. Inst. c. vii. s. 5; c. viii.; l. iii. c. iv. s. 28.

"The more honest amongst them are ashamed to own it. The rest follow their master boldly—*cæteri magistrum sequuntur intrepide.*"

"How is this reconciled with what they say, namely, that all our works are mere sins?"

"Let them see to that; I certainly don't see it—*hoc ipsi viderint, ego certe non video.*"

"What do the Protestants teach respecting the sacraments?"

"Nothing for certain: what they assert in one place, they deny in another."

"How do you know this?"

"From their books, as has been already said respecting Luther."*

We will not stop to consider how strange these bold assertions sounded from the lips of children: how they were made to say that what they "knew," they knew "from the books" of the Reformers,—but we cannot fail to note, as something remarkable, that the very first Jesuit-author gave an example to all the rancorous enemies of the Company, in imputing the foulest inculcations to the body, from isolated passages of their casuists; which, however objectionable, might be justified by an appeal to the Constitutions of the Company, positively forbidding the publication of any work not approved by appointed examiners. Let the fact be remembered, with every other to which your attention is called; for the history of the Jesuits is a history of RETRIBUTION in every sense of the awful word. I offer no excuse for Luther. He committed himself by word and deed on many occasions. But this is not the question. The question is, how fearfully those imputations were adapted to embitter the social circle of Germany; to aggravate that rancor which a thousand other causes already lashed far beyond the control of Christian charity, or political wisdom. In effect, the stream was poisoned at its source. The very fountain of life, whose gushing sweet waters should remain for ever sweet and clear, were made bitter and foul by the wand of the Jesuit, to spurt and to flow on, bitter and foul for ever. For, this Jesuit-book was intended "briefly, clearly, and accurately to instruct *tender youth*—*teneræ juventuti*, and the whole *Christian people*—*universo populo Christiano*, in the *orthodox* doctrine of *salvation*—*in doctrinâ salutis orthodoxâ.*"† It may be said that it was only natural for one party to strive to build up itself on the ruin of the other. I subscribe to the explanation: truly, that was one of the most prominent methods pursued by the Jesuits, and their opponents, in general.

The method was successful in Germany. Soon the children who frequented the schools of the Jesuits at Vienna shamed their parents by their resolute orthodoxy and discipline. They refused to partake of forbidden meats on days of abstinence. In Cologne, the rosary (a string of consecrated beads) was worn with honor. At Treves, relics became in fashion where before no one had ventured to show them. At Ingoldstadt, the pupils went in procession, two and two, from the

* *Catechismus Catholicus*, p. 28—33, Leodii, 1682.

† Title-page of the book, Ed. Leodii, 1682.

Jesuit-school to Eichstadt, in order to be strengthened at their confirmation "with the dew that distilled from the tomb of St. Walpurgi."* These manifest proofs of orthodoxy attested the success of the Jesuit-method with the young: constant preaching and victorious discussions captivated the older portion of the community:—Germany was forgetting Luther and his companions, as they listened to the Syrens of Jesuitism, singing melodious measures. The dissensions among the German divines† gave additional vigor to the firm shaft of controversy as it sped and was driven home and clenched. A Lutheran nobleman challenged Bobadilla to a controversial contest. Ferdinand, the patron of the Jesuits, was to appoint the umpires. The Jesuit accepted the challenge and the terms. The Lutheran added that he would join the Catholics if the umpires pronounced him vanquished—which shows how people thought themselves justified in changing sides, during those times of religious madness. Ferdinand and his whole court were present, and the discussion began: "but," says the Jesuit, exulting and classical, "the petulant fencer soon discovered what a powerful *net-man* he encountered in the arena."‡ The Jesuit flung his net over his antagonist, "who was so tied and stretched that he could not get out," according to the same authority. "Then all the umpires, all the audience proclaimed Catholic truth triumphant, Bobadilla the victor, and the meddler defeated." The termination was tragical enough. "Though he bit the dust," says Agricola, "the foaming heretic stood up alone against the decision, and with the usual obstinacy and impudence, denied that he was vanquished, and protested that his judges were partial and knew nothing of the matter in debate." Ferdinand sent him to prison, in a monastery, for three days, although "the impudent man merited worse treatment: but the emperor, for other reasons, preferred mildness," adds the Jesuit. The poor fellow went mad; and wounded himself mortally—*ibi miser, irâ in rabiem versâ, lethale seipsi vulnus intulit*—and died. And to console humanity for the wretched affair, they tell us that he was converted at last!§ Is it not too bad? But for the Jesuits it was glorious. Children, women, and men surrendered—and then a famous leader of Protestantism, the disciple and friend of Melancthon, Stephen Agricola, fell a prey: Canisius was his hunter.

By their success, by their victories in the battle of orthodoxy, the Jesuits won patronage from all in power who were interested in the

* Ranke, p. 139.

† Ibid.

‡ This term, *Retiarius*, applied by the Jesuit Agricola to the Jesuit Bobadilla, is rather unfortunate. The figure refers to the ancient gladiators at Rome, and the *Retiarius*, or net-man, bore in his left hand a three-pointed lance, and in his right, a net, whence his name from the Latin *rete*. With this net he attempted to entangle his adversary by casting it over his head and suddenly drawing it together, and then, with his trident, he usually slew him. But if he missed his aim, by either throwing the net too short, or too far, he instantly betook himself to flight, and endeavored to prepare his net for a second cast; while his antagonist as swiftly pursued, to prevent his design, by despatching him."—Adam's *Antiq.* p. 318. A very apt representation of all controversial encounters; and the part given to Bobadilla may be deserved, but it is not very honorable notwithstanding.

§ Hist. Prov. Germ. Sup. ad Ann. 1544, D. i. n. 60, Aug. 1727.

suppression of the Protestant movement. Ferdinand, Emperor of Austria, availed himself of their services,—establishing thirteen Jesuits in Vienna, whom he housed, provided with a chapel, and a pension, in 1551. By the recommendation of the prior of the Carthusian monks and the provincial of the Carmelites, an endowed school which had been governed by a Protestant regent, was handed over to the Jesuits in 1556. In the same year eighteen Jesuits entered Ingolstadt, invited to counteract the effects of the large concessions which had been forced from the government in favor of the Protestants. Vienna, Cologne, Ingolstadt, these were the three metropolitan centres whence the Jesuits radiated over the length and breadth of Germany. From Vienna they commanded the Austrian dominions; from Cologne they overran the territory of the Rhine; from Ingolstadt they overspread Bavaria.

Befriended by the emperor and the courtiers, and by the bishops, who held to Rome without reserve, they forgot their difficulties and labors: it was a time to swarm and scour the land in quest of new hives in the midst of honeyed flowers. Smiles they found where smiles were most desirable; and whenever or wherever they were vouchsafed them, they took care that the world should know how it fared with the men whom “the king would honor.” When Cardinal Truchses returned to Dillengen after giving them the university, they went out to meet their patron. He entered Dillengen in state; and from amongst the crowds assembled around him, he singled out with marked preference the Jesuits, giving them his hand to kiss, greeting them as his brethren; visited their house, and dined at their table. These facts alone were equal to ten years’ labor for the advancement of the Company; and the Jesuits invariably dwell upon them with undisguised complacency.

Nor were they unworthy of reward for their indefatigable industry. To science they were devoted as well as to orthodoxy. They were determined to rival their Protestant competitors of the universities, if not to surpass them; and such was their success that they were awarded a place amongst the restorers of classical learning. In those days the ancient languages constituted education—as they do in the estimation of many at the present day. The Jesuits cultivated them with vigor: but they did not neglect the sciences. At Cologne the Jesuit Franz Coster, a Belgian, lectured on the book of Genesis and astronomy, to the great delight and admiration of his audience.—He was despatched to that manifestation by Ignatius himself; and his youthfulness—his age was only twenty-five—excited wonder, whilst the extent of his learning, the variety of the languages he had mastered, the elegance of his diction showed that Nature had not endowed him in vain, and proved that he labored to evince his gratitude for her endowments. And yet the man was never ill in his life, until death whispered him away in the eighty-eighth year of his age—a life passed in constant labor, but totally free from the usual effects of anxiety and care.

Theology was, of course, the prominent feature of those times: it consequently was the main concern of the Jesuits. In public lectures

they sowed the seeds of theological intelligence ; and in public disputations—which they considered indispensable—they exhibited the full-grown tree with enticing fruit on its branches.

Enthusiasm is electric to the German—it insures his admiration, and tempts his imitation. The first rector of the Jesuit college at Vienna was Vittoria, a Spaniard, who had rendered his admission into the Society memorable by running about the Corso during the Carnival, clad in sackcloth, and scourging himself till the blood ran down in streams from his lacerated shoulders. No wonder, then, in those fervid pilgrimages of which you have read, or that enthusiastic zeal of their pupils in shaming their unscrupulous parents, when their masters hid within them the volcanic elements of such flaming devotion. Princes and the great they honored with poems and emblems in infinite variety, *variis generis carminibus et emblematis salutárunt*;—and the sons of the *most distinguished noblemen*, amongst their *sodales*—for their sodalities were not less indispensable than their disputations—washed and kissed the feet of poor scholars on Maunday Thursday.* The Jesuits, by their own account, published books of piety, introduced the sacraments, catechised incessantly, and gave public exhortations. They dived into the dwellings of the people, with every possible effort and assiduity—*variâ industriâ et labore*—battled with the popular superstitions—magic amongst the rest—checked the quarrels of wives and husbands—reconciled the differences of the citizens from whatever cause resulting. The Spiritual Exercises were taught and practised. Night and day they visited the sick in the hospitals and in their dwellings. They were not deterred by the most disgusting ulcers, the filthiest cabins of the poor, nor contagious pestilence itself. They were the companions of the convicts in their cells. They consoled and cheered them on the scaffold of death. In short, says their historian, “We bestow our care on the sick and the hospitals—we give assistance to asylums for orphans, and other public dwellings of the wretched, so that we may be useful to all and every one. On holidays, when others are taking their rest, we labor more assiduously than ever in the holy undertaking.”†

Thus was the zeal of the Jesuits manifest, their learning evident, their industry beyond question, their devotedness to Catholicism reflected in their pupils and the thousands of citizens whom they garnered in their sodalities—all bound heart and soul to the Jesuits, and the Jesuits to their *patrons*, the pope and the Catholic party in Ger-

* Agricola, P. i. D. v., n. 314. *et seq.*

† “Operam impendimus valetudinariis et Xenodochiis, operam orphanotrophiis, aliquique publicis miserorum domiciliis, ut omnibus prosimus et singulis. Quodsi dies festi incideant, tamen enimverò, cùm aliis quies, nobis præ alio tempore sanctè laborandi onus advenit.”—P. i. D. iii. 2. As if conscious of the trumpeting in which he has been indulging in the preceding summary of the method, Agricola pays a vague compliment to the “venerable clergy, &c.,” for their labors, and boldly appeals to the example of St. Paul. “Who will ascribe this to ambition,” he asks, “rather than to holy emulation and imitation? Who ever dared accuse Paul of boasting in narrating what he did and endured at Corinth for the Gospel? He had no slight reasons for making the declaration: *the Company also has hers: habuit ille causas cur id exponeret non sanè leves, habet et Societas.*”—*Ibid.*

many—including emperor, dukes, princes, and all the ramifications of Germanic nobility.* Ranke shall conclude this summary: he says: “Such a combination of competent knowledge and indefatigable zeal, of study and persuasiveness, of pomp and asceticism, of world-wide influence, and of unity in the governing principle, was never beheld before or since. The Jesuits were assiduous and visionary, worldly-wise and filled with enthusiasm; well-comported men, whose society was gladly courted; devoid of personal interests—each laboring for the advancement of the rest. No wonder that they were successful.”

What had the Protestant movement to oppose to the tactics of Jesuitism? Remember that the latter was based on untiring perseverance, unity of purpose, endless expedients to meet every emergency, strict discipline in personal conduct, undeviating method in tuition, and, above all, unity of will to which no achievement seemed impossible—the will bequeathed to them by Loyola. Remember all this, and you know the secret of their success, particularly if you believe what Ranke tells you, as if he were speaking of *England* at the present moment, with respect to the world of religion. He says: “The Jesuits conquered the Germans on their own soil, in their very home, and wrested from them a part of their native land. Undoubtedly the cause of this was that the German theologians were neither agreed among themselves, nor were magnanimous enough mutually to tolerate minor differences of doctrine. Extreme points of opinion were seized upon; opponents attacked each other with reckless fierceness, so that those who were not yet fully convinced were perplexed, and a path was opened to those foreigners, who now seized on men’s minds with ■

* Amongst their most influential friends was the family of the Fuggers, a very barbaric patronymic, but all golden to the Jesuits. The family originally followed the trade in flax and linen; but its descendants cleverly embarked in speculation, opened ■ trade with America, bartering their haberdashery for the precious metals and Indian merchandise. They became so wealthy, that they purchased a great many German lordships from Charles V., were created barons and counts, invested with very ample privileges, married into the noblest families of Germany and Belgium, possessed the highest influence at court, and, finally, rose to the highest rank in church and state. Charles V. did not know the value of his American mines and slaves; his subjects worked both to immense advantage, if such it was in the end; but Philip II. soon found out the secret and filled his bags, which he emptied to “stir” all Europe, ruining his kingdom in the bargain, by way of attesting the old neglected proverb about “ill-gotten wealth.” For the account of the Fugger-family, we are indebted to the Jesuit Agricola, who says, “that he would be uncivil and ungrateful if his pen did not remember them.”—P. i. D. iii. 53. A member of this wealthy family, Ulric Fugger, was chamberlain to Paul III., but he subsequently turned Protestant. He was a great collector of manuscripts of ancient authors, and spent so much money in the mania, that his family thought proper to deprive him of the administration of his property. He retired to Heidelberg, where he died in 1584, leaving his splendid library to the elector. He was the only Protestant of the family; but, says the Jesuit Feller, “It happened against his intention that he rendered great service to our religion, by bequeathing 1000 florins to be applied to a pious purpose, requesting his relatives to make the application; for the sum, which was greatly increased, subsequently served for the foundation of the magnificent college at Augsberg, one of those which was most useful to the Catholic Church in Germany. The Jesuits occupied it even after their suppression, in 1791.”—*Blog. Univ.* In other words, the Jesuits got hold of this Protestant bequest, and their modern member approves of the roguery.

shrewdly constructed doctrine, finished to its most trivial details, and leaving not a shadow of cause for doubt.”*

Yet, let the mighty fact of the political utility of the Jesuits be borne in mind incessantly. Their patrons speculated on their influence with the masses. And the pope, so interested in the return to Catholic unity, held out succor to needy kings and princes, provided they promoted his accredited measures tending to that desirable fulfilment. Kings and princes talked of the spiritual and intellectual benefits they pretended to derive personally from Jesuit indoctrination; but kings and princes care a vast deal more for their authority and exchequer. Albert V. of Bavaria, for instance, was in a desperate struggle with his subjects. He was loaded with debt, and continually in want of money. He laid on taxes, but the nobles and the people, who are naturally entitled to some little return for sweat and blood represented by gold, demanded concessions, chiefly religious, as a set-off to the loyal inconvenience of paying royalty, without a royal equivalent in return “graciously conceded.” Well, the Jesuits came in: Albert took them by the hand: he declared himself their friend: he seemed to be impressed with their preaching—nay, he even declared, that whatever he knew of God’s law, he had learnt from Hoffäus and Canisius, two Jesuits. Such being the case, it was a matter of “principle” in Albert to patronise the Jesuits. And a nobler motive than the knowledge of God’s law can scarcely be imagined. But, unfortunately for all this very fine talk, there was another *case* brought in with the Jesuits, sent as a present by Pope Pius IV., with whom we are so well acquainted; and this case was nothing less than a *tenth of the property of the Bavarian clergy*. We must add this to his knowledge of God’s law, subtract his debts from the sum total, and pass the remainder to the credit of his independence, at one holy swoop most gloriously achieved. For he saw the advantages which would result from his intimate connexion with Rome; and now that his coffers were made heavy and his heart was made light, his conscience was prepared to adopt the pope’s warning when he sent him the grant, that “the religious concession demanded by the people would diminish the obedience of his subjects;” it was a sort of motto inscribed on the Simoniacial grant of what he had no right to give, and the king no right to use for paying his debts, and still less for making himself independent of his subjects. Then the Jesuits set to work, penetrated in every direction, insinuated themselves into every circle, and the result was that demands for religious concessions ceased a main, and the supplies rolled in without stipulations for equivalent privileges, a right royal benevolence of the wretchedly gullied poor people. This Jesuit achievement totally undermined the nobles. Their mouthpiece (the people) was lockjawed, and they had to bark for themselves. They barked, and they stirred, and they gave signs of biting. This was just the thing wanting: the king, now independent remember, came down upon them, excluded all the individuals compromised from the Bavarian diet, and, without further opposition, be-

* Ranke, p. 137; Agricola, *ubi supra*; Bibl. Script. S. J.; Sacchin. P. ii. l. i.

came complete master of his estates, which from that time forth never stirred any question of religion. So absorbing was his power, so complete his domination, so contemptuous his consciousness of independence, that when the pope granted permission for the Bavarian laity to partake of the cup in 1564,* the king disdained to effectuate the boon, he did not even divulge the fact, though he had formerly, in his difficulties, represented the concession as the very safeguard and guarantee of his throne.† Circumstances had altered this case; and now "the concession would diminish the obedience of his subjects," his present object was to show himself a right orthodox Catholic king.

To the Jesuits, and the tyranny they suggested and enabled him to practise, the king of Bavaria owed this alteration in his royal fortunes. They roused his cupidity, and he became "most anxious to possess his Bavaria entire," by the means of orthodoxy.‡ Vigilance and exhortation were the contribution of the Jesuits; if these failed, rigor and severity were forthcoming. He made the Jesuits inspectors and examiners of his books, leaving it to them to decide on their orthodoxy and morality. All the hymns and psalms of the Lutherans which his subjects used to sing in the streets and public places, he proscribed, prohibited by an edict. He compelled his bishops to submit their candidates for priest's orders to the Jesuits for examination. All public functionaries were required to swear the Catholic oath; certain senators demurred—he sent them to prison. Two members of an illustrious family he drove from their domains and banished them from Munich, for refusing or demurring to take the same oath. A third, who was wealthy, who had enjoyed great favor and authority at court, was suspected of heresy for demanding the use of the cup: Albert degraded and disgraced him. Others, whom he found were meditating resistance, he contented himself with humbling in a more pointed manner, ordering them to appear before him, and causing their gems and ancestral signet to be smashed on an anvil in their presence, to show them how he thought they had disgraced their nobility. "By this act alone," says the Jesuit Agricola, "he obtained the title of Magnanimous, for having, without arms, subdued the proud and spared the van-

* In 1561 the French bishops requested the king to demand from the pope permission for priests to marry, and communion under both kinds especially. The boon, they said, would facilitate the return of the heretics to the church. Five bishops were of opinion that the king had authority enough to establish the use of the cup without further ceremony. It was proposed and agitated, in the papal consistory, and bitterly opposed by a vast majority. The Cardinal de St. Ange said, "that he would never consent to give so great a poison to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty by way of medicine: *better let them die first.*"—See *Dupin, Hist du Concile*, i. 503, et seq. for the whole negotiation: it is worth reading.

† Ferdinand of Austria had long solicited the pope to grant this privilege to his subjects, and urged it as his last comfort in the lingering disease of which he died. It was granted at last, and the comfort was universal: "but," adds the Jesuit Agricola, "it was as scratching to the itch,—*quale fricatio est pruriginis,*" and then proceeds to show how detrimental the concession proved to the cause of orthodoxy.—P. i. D. iii. 117.

‡ "Princeps hic avidissimus totam suam Bavariam habendi, videndique Orthodoxam, non vigilis, non hortatibus parcebat, rigore etiam, si lenia non sufficerent, ac severitate usus."—P. i. D. iii. 4.

quished—*absque armis et debellare superbos et purcere subjectis.*”* In fact, as Ranke observes, the Jesuits could never sufficiently extol the king—the second *Josias*, as they said—that *Theodosius!*

Study this sample, and you will understand much of Jesuit-method, royal gratitude, and the people’s gullibility, till they are enlightened or roused to madness, and become worse than the most ruthless of tyrants. Let the rulers of earth bear the blame. They will not regulate their measures by the strict principles of justice to all, and moral rectitude. They succeed for a while notwithstanding. Then their circumstances change: they get involved somehow: events in neighboring kingdoms set their subjects in a ferment. Terror then chills their hearts; they are ready to make “concessions”—in other words, they now fear the people. And the people find that out, and the “glorious” fact makes them drunk with vanity and their evil passions. Outbreaks ensue. God only knows where they will end. And then perchance some partisan-historian will say that there was *no* excuse for the people, because the government were ready to make “concessions!”

The Bavarian Protestants in the provinces clamored for the cup, notwithstanding; and *Nostri*, Our Men, were sent to quell the rebels—*ad reducendos errantes mittuntur nostri*. A supply of Jesuits was demanded from Canisius. He offered to go himself: but the king thought him too necessary to the Church to send him on so perilous a mission, where his life would be endangered. His substitutes were provided with the most ample powers and authority, to inflict ■ visitation not only on the rustics, but even the churches, and the very monasteries themselves, if necessary. They set to work bravely and in earnest, and with greater vigor, when they found how widely and horribly the evils had increased;† for the rustics considered Luther a saint, pronounced the mass idolatry, and with great abuse and execrations celebrated the pope as Antichrist.‡ Schorich was the name of the Jesuit leader on this occasion.§ According to the method stated to have been invented by Canisius and Faber, he began with the mild measures of “charity and good works.” He was particularly modest with the ecclesiastics, very sparingly resorting to threats and authority—*nisi forte*—unless, peradventure, severity evidently promised advantage—*cum severitas evidenter speraretur profutura*. The result was, that, within seven months, 3000 rustics submitted to the king and the pope; and the few, whom neither flattery nor threats could subdue, were banished from their country—*patriā ejectis*. And moreover, lest the gathered harvest should be again scattered, their teachers were also banished, under penalty of death: their “heretical books” were taken from them: “ortho-

* P. i. D. iii. 5, *et seq.*

† “Aggressi sunt opus fortiter simul et gnaviter, idque tantò magis, quanto latiùs horridiusque mala invaluerant.”—*Agric.*, *ubi suprà*, 119.

‡ “Lutherum pro Sancto habere, Sacrificium Missæ pro idolatriâ, Papam pro Antichristo, immania inter convitū et execrationes proclamare edocti erant.”

§ This Jesuit had been originally one of the *domestics* at the Company’s establishment in Rome. Ignatius discovered signs of talent in the fellow, set him to study, and he became one of the most efficient members of the Company, to associate with bishops and shake hands with kings, princes, and nobles.—*Ib.* and *Succhinus*.

dox" works were forced into their houses: and those unfortunates whom they despised to reclaim were, by the prince and bishops, compelled to leave the country.* All this is calmly, complacently related by the Jesuit. He even calls the forcible abstraction of their books a *clever provision—solerter provisum;*—and finishes off with a prayer to God for the continuance of the harvest and prospects as they were after those acts of deception and tyranny. And yet, to the present hour, the Jesuits and their party denounce their own proscription by Queen Elizabeth; although there happened to be one shade of difference in *their* case, which was, beyond doubt, directly or indirectly, its treasonable intentions,—whilst these poor Bavarians were remaining quiet in their remote misery, and requiring to be ferreted out and hunted ere they gave an excuse to Jesuit-proscription and tyranny. Again, therefore, remember that the history of the Jesuits, more strikingly than all others, is a history of *Retribution.* And we shall find it so in Bavaria, when the whole Catholic cause, in the heyday of its exulting tyranny, shall crumble amain, and be punished, in spite of Jesuit-preaching, Jesuit-charity, Jesuit-sodalities.†

The Jesuits had cleverly contrived their means: they were therefore successful to the utmost possible extent. Numerous establishments arose in all parts of Germany. Colleges were erected and filled. Houses were founded: residences were planted: and at length, in 1564, so flourishing were the prospects, that the German legion of Loyola was divided into two provinces, enlarging in length and breadth.‡

In the same year the Plague, which decimated France, swept over Europe. It reached the Rhine. Scattering dismay, despair in every home, the exterminating angel sped apace—wailings in his rear, and shivering terror in his van. Men shunned each other: the ties of affection—the bonds of love, plighted or sworn, broke asunder: all fled from the bed of pestilence—except the Jesuits. At the call of their provincial, they came together; and at the same bidding they dispersed, and fronted the angel of death. In the pest-house kneeling—in the grave-yard digging—in the thoroughfares begging—the Jesuits con-

* "Ut ne porrò collecta messis rursum dispergeretur, solerter provisum est; ut pulsis sub pœnâ capitali, errorum seminatoribus, Parochis quorum sanandorum spes erat, subtraherentur libri hæretici, Catholicorum vero librorum supplex . . . cateri de quorum emendatione desperatum fuerat, ocyus jussu Principis ac Antistitum, totius Bavariæ fines deserere coacti sunt. 'Precari numen juvet,' " he has the heart to add—"we must pray to God that as he has hitherto given great increase to the plantation and the watering, so he may make the same more and more fruitful and everlasting."—*Agric.* 120.

† In 1576 the Sodality of the Virgin Mary in Upper Germany, and in the houses of the Jesuit-province alone, never numbered less than 30,000 of all ages, without counting the members among the people—"all fighting for her who is terrible as an army drawn up in battle array," says Agricola. He distinctly states that these Confraternities, owing to their multitudes, were divided into various classes according to the different ranks of the members; but that all acknowledged the congregation at Rome, "even as an ocean whence they flowed as rivers": a most incongruous metaphor, but very expressive notwithstanding. Subsequently Pope Gregory XIII. united all these Sodalities into one body, with the congregation at Rome for its head, and placed its entire government in the hands of the Jesuits, their General Aquaviva and his successors.—*Agric.* P. i. D. iv. 203, 204.

↓ Sacchinus.

soled the dying, buried the dead, and gathered alms for the living. Blessed be the hearts of these self-devoted men! They knew no peril but in *shunning* the awful danger. For humanity—and, through humanity, for God—be that the stirring trumpet, whose echoes are deeds too great to be estimated, too great to be rewarded by the gold of Mammon or the voice of Fame. And yet Cretineau-Joly, the last Jesuit-historian, professing to copy “unpublished and authentic documents,” bitterly tells us that “this charity of the Jesuits, by day and by night, gave to their *Order* a popular sanction, which dispensed with many others”—and that “the people, having seen the Jesuits at their work, called for them, to reward them for the present, and solicited their presence, provident of the future.”* Was it then for the *Order’s* glorification that, in obedience to the superior’s command, such self-devotion was displayed? Was it only to gain a “popular sanction?” God only knows! but the doubt once suggested, and that too by a strong partisan, troubles the heart. We would not willingly deprive these obedient visitors of the pest-stricken, buriers of the dead, and feeders of the living, of that hearty admiration which gushes forth, and scorns to think of motives when noble deeds are done. At least to the subordinate Children of Obedience be that admiration awarded, if we *must* doubt the existence of exalted motives in the Jesuit-automaton; if we *must* remember that at Lyons the Plague gave them a college, and in Germany “a popular sanction.”

Midst this mighty promise of permanent restoration to Catholicism in Germany, Lutheranism along the southern shores of the Baltic had achieved complete preponderance,—at least amongst the population which spoke the language of Luther. Prussia led the way, and was its bridge into Poland, whose great cities connected with Prussia had the exercise of the Protestant ritual confirmed to them by express charters in 1558. Even in Poland Proper, numbers of the nobility had embraced Protestant opinions, as more in accordance with their love of independence. It was a common saying: “A Polish nobleman is not subject to the king; is he to be so to the pope?” Protestants had penetrated into the episcopal sees, and even constituted the majority of the senate under Sigismund Augustus,† whose passion for women seemed at one time likely to sever Poland, like England, from obedience to the See of Rome. That craftiest of papal emissaries, Cardinal Commendone, exhausted all his wits in forefending the catastrophe. Sigismund’s clandestine marriage with the widow Radzivil, strongly opposed by the nobles and his mother, had set the kingdom in commotion: but love or passion triumphed over opposition, and the threats of deposition: Sigismund continued to reign, and death snatched away his beautiful

* Hist. t. i. p. 456. “*Cette charité du jour et de la nuit donnait à leur Ordre une sanction populaire qui dispensait de beaucoup d’autres. Le peuple venait de voir les Jesuites à l’œuvre; il en reclama pour les récompenser du présent, il en sollicita dans ses prévisions d’avenir.*” Sacchinus was not quite so explicit as M. Cretineau. “*Deus liberalitatem expositorum pericolo fratrum eā etiam mercede remuneratus est, quod Trevirenses eximiam caritatem admirati non solum pluris aestimare Societatem cœperunt, sed multi etiam eam vehementer expetere.*”—Lib. viii. 96.

† Ranke, p. 132.

Radzivil (supposed to have been poisoned by his mother), leaving him in utter anguish and ready for another alliance. His first wife, or queen, was the daughter of the Austrian Ferdinand, who had still eleven daughters disposable. Sigismund sent for another; and Ferdinand was "too glad" to accommodate his son-in-law with a second helpmate from his stock so numerous. A positive law, civil, religious, and ecclesiastical, prohibited the marriage with a wife's sister:—but "it was so important for their interests and the good of the state," that the two kings induced the pope, Julius III., to grant a "dispensation." Both kings were gratified by the fulfilment of their desires—and both were bitterly disappointed in the issue. Sigismund was disgusted with his queen very soon after marriage—hatred ensued—and separation, whilst the king elsewhere indulged his illicit passions which had rioted before. He resolved on a divorce—a new Radzivil having engaged his attentions. The pope refused to annul the marriage, whilst his reformed subjects were willing enough to support the king in his desire, which would thus burst asunder the ties that bound the realm to the See of Rome.* Then it was that the wily Commendone was sent by Pius IV. to cajole, and to browbeat the King of Poland.† Prudence and timidity withheld the king—now rendered infirm by his excesses—from the decisive plunge: but to reward his Protestant subjects for upholding their king in his desires, Sigismund showed them more favor than ever; and in revenge for the pope's inconsistent obstinacy, he opened them the way to the dignities of state—to the utter indignation of the Catholic party. He died without issue—the last of the Jaggelos.‡

Long ere that event, however, the Protestant movement had been gaining ground in Poland. The celebrated Bernardin Ochino had lent the cause his eloquence and influential name. This Italian had been Urbino's partner in reforming the Franciscans, and founding the Order of the Capuchins. Ochino's influence and popularity, as Capuchin, are described in most glowing terms by those who only do so to prepare us for their opinion that his disappointed ecclesiastical ambition made him a reformer, in the *other* sense of the word.§ Be that as it may, he became heretical, and the pope summoned him to Rome:—he set out with the intention of obeying the mandate; but certain ap-

* Hist. of Poland (Lard. Cyc.), and the authorities, p. 147.

† Gratiani, t. i. c. 17, *et seq.*—a full Catholic account of the agitation.

‡ As a proof that the zeal of the Roman church was inspired unto its boasted expansion, by the Protestant movement only, we may instance Lithuania, which remained Pagan to the beginning or middle of the fifteenth century. Even to that period did Roman zeal permit the Lithuanians to worship all manner of animals, snakes included. They were so barbarous that they considered it an honor to sacrifice the chastity of their daughters; held it dishonorable to marry a chaste woman, and respected their women in proportion to the greater number of their gallants. And yet we are assured that such a strange state of things continued after they were instructed or "converted."—*Gratiani*, t. ii. 159.

Henry of Valois, brother of Charles IX. of France, was elected to succeed Sigismund; but a few months after his arrival, Henry suddenly and secretly decamped in order to become the unfortunate Henry III. of France, at the death of Charles IX. See a comical account of his flight in *Gratiani*, i. 506. The electorate was one of the causes which prepared the final and irrevocable ruin of Poland.

§ Gratiani, i. c. 9.

pearances convinced him that he was going into the jaws of the tiger, with evident danger of being made a martyr ; he preferred to remain a heretic : so he threw off his cowl, joined the Protestants, and was the first apostate from the Order which he had founded. Commendone found him in Poland doing desperate work at the foundations of Romanism, and resolved to dislodge the sapper. He induced Sigismund's Senate to pass a decree banishing all foreign heretics. Ochino being a foreigner, was thus compelled to decamp by the wily Italian cardinal, and he retired to Moravia, where the plague carried him off at a very advanced year of his age.* But this was no eradication of the Protestant plague which infected Poland. The pope sent Canisius to the Diet at Petrikaw, to prevent any decree prejudicial to the Catholic religion. The Jesuit showed himself worthy of the mission, spoke frequently at the meeting, and, according to the Jesuits, made an impression on the Poles and their king;† but this is a mere flourish. If Sigismund had lived long enough, it is probable that Protestantism would have become the religion of Poland. His principle or policy was not to interfere with the religion of his subjects, whom he permitted to worship God as they pleased. Protestants were returned to the national Diet ; and it was even proposed to abolish clerical celibacy, to decree the use of the cup for the laity, the celebration of mass in the vulgar tongue, and the abolition of papal annates or first-fruits—which last was the probable stimulant to the pope's anxiety.‡ Two years after, however, in 1564, the Jesuits penetrated into Poland, and commenced operations at Pultowa—the beginning of some little trouble for Poland ; as if their political feuds, which began with the death of Sigismund, were not enough to agitate that restless nation, without a single element of duration in its social or moral character—as bereft of unity of design and conduct as the troops that welcomed Henry of Valois were deficient in unity of fashion as to arms and accoutrement. On that occasion all their horses were of a different color. Their riders were as motley. Some were dressed after the manner of the Hungarians, or the Turks, others after that of French or Italians. Some had bows, others lances and shields ; and some mounted the helmet and cuirass. Some wore long hair, others short, and some were shaved to the scalp. There were beards, and there were no beards. There was a blue company, and a red company, and one squadron was green.§ Since that event and that occasion the councils of the nation have partaken of the same fantastic variety, entailing the usual misery of a kingdom divided against itself.

The introduction of the Company into Poland was the last expedition set on foot by General Lainez. He expired on the 19th of January 1565, in the fifty-third year of his age. He had ailed ever since the closing of the Council of Trent ; but he continued the business of the Company notwithstanding, and dispensed with a vicar —clinging to authority to the last. He received the viaticum, extreme unction, and the pope's benediction, which last he sent for, like Ignatius,

* Gratiani, i. c. 9.
§ Gratiani, ii. 499.

† Cretineau, i. 458.

‡ Hist. of Poland, p. 145.

tius in the same circumstances, and which was granted by the pope with "a plenary indulgence." To the fathers he commended the Company—exhorting them to beware of ambition—to cherish union—to extirpate all national prejudices against each other. They requested him to name a vicar-general: but he refused. Then the heaviness of death—apparently apoplectic—came upon him—and he painfully lingered through an agony of four-and-twenty hours, when death put an end to his sufferings—seeming in his last moment to glance on Borgia, who was present, as if to designate his successor.*

It was a saying of Lainez that it was a sign of a good general if he was like Moses, who brought forth his Company out of Egypt into the wilderness, through which he led it into the land of promise :†—such was his aim, such was his ambition through life; and the means he employed eventuated complete success. The nine years of his generalate were years of incessant struggle and continual harassments:—his Company was constantly attacking or attacked. At the death of Loyola it was in danger of suppression, hampered by a pope most difficult to deal with, agitated by intestine broils and commotions. Lainez managed the pope, emerged with triumph from humiliation—after having with considerable tact, craft, and depth of design, completely palsied his spasmodic opponents, who were never heard of afterwards—quiet as lambs every man of them, not excepting the volcanic Bobadilla.

In nine years he nearly quadrupled the number of his men,—and the Company's houses,—and added six provinces to those he received from Loyola. The Company now consisted of 130 houses, 18 provinces, and upwards of 3500 men‡—which large figure—if we roundly compute the members of their sodalities of all ranks, and their pupils—must be raised to some thirty or forty thousand souls at least, under the influence of the Jesuits. Well might Melanthon exclaim on his death-bed in 1560, "Good God! what is this? I see that all the world is filled with Jesuits!"§

And how was all this effected? Simply by *unity of purpose*, whatever was the object, strict *method*, careful *selection of instruments*, during times when kings and princes were eager to enlist every talent into their service,—whilst the "religious" battle raged on all sides, involving every peril or every deliverance, as the issue of defeat or victory.

Great facility of expression, self-possession, a tenacious memory, vast boldness, perhaps effrontery, and the *unscrupulous* zeal of a partisan seem to have been the public recommendations of Lainez to those for whom he battled; and their rewards to his Company amply testified their estimation of his achievements. Vast must have been the

* Sacchin. l. viii. 200; Cretineau, i. 471.

† Sacchin. ib. 214.

‡ Sacchinus and Cretineau.

§ Florim. de Remond, Hist. de la Naissance, Progrès et Décadence de l'Hérésie, t. v. c. 3. This work is supposed to have been written by the fierce Jesuit Richeome, author of La Chasse du Renard Pasquin, a scurrilous libel against Pasquier, the famous advocate of the University of Paris.

self-gratulation of the man, in the possession of such unbounded influence over the destinies, the desires, the deeds of mankind. Meseems I hear some grovelling spirit ask—was he very rich? Was he well paid for his services? We are taught from our earliest youth upwards, we are so much accustomed to value everything by its production of *money*, that we cannot understand how infinitely that vile motive is surpassed by the consciousness of swaying man's more exalted nature—that *soul* which God himself complacently calls from its earthly integuments left behind where they lie, in the cold hard earth, with the gold he despises. On the other hand, the general of the Jesuits was the treasurer of the Company's increasing wealth, which he distributed with a sovereign will, unaccountable in his constitutional independence. All that he desired for himself, he possessed—but that was infinitely less than what the pettiest of kings or republican presidents require. It is gratifying to many who judge by cost, thus to behold a cheap ruler—a cheap government. In the Jesuit-system it was corporate avarice, corporate ambition, of which each member, in his ceaseless efforts, was the exponent. Those passions gained in intensity by this expansion; for they lost all those moral checks—those qualms of conscience which individual avarice, individual ambition must ever experience. *Our Company* and its ends easily satisfied the Jesuit that all the passions he indulged in enriching, in exalting the Company, and promoting those ends which answered both purposes—were as many virtues, and his conscience said Amen.

In private life, Lainez is represented by the Jesuits as being exceedingly fascinating and amiable; pouring forth from his treasury of knowledge his axioms of wisdom, original and selected.* He was considerate to those whom he expelled from the Company, giving them their dinner and wherewithal to return to their homes.† He used to say that any one might impose upon him;‡ but this will scarcely go down after having heard him say that *Catherine de' Medici* could not deceive him, and that he knew her of old.

His sister's husband fatigued him with solicitations to promote his advancement, since he possessed such influence amongst kings and the great. Lainez wrote him word that every man must live by his profession; a soldier by war, a merchant by trade, a monk by religion; and declined to step beyond his bounds. Some relatives wished him to procure an “opening” to the holy orders and a living for a boy—a species of corruption common in those times: Lainez sternly refused, saying, “ You know not what you ask.”§ The man was unquestionably consistent according to circumstances, and his example on this occasion is truly worthy of imitation by those to whom the highest offices in church and state, particularly the former, are made a stumbling-block by importunate and unscrupulous relatives.

He left behind numerous unfinished treatises in manuscript. Their titles will throw additional light on the man, his thoughts, and pursuits. Twelve books on *Providence*; a commentary on the whole Bible, one

* Sacchinus.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

book; three books on the Trinity; a collection of sentences selected from the "Fathers;" treatises on exchange, usury, *pluralities*, the disguises and finery of women, the kingdom of God, the use of the cup, and a tract against the concession of churches to heretics.*

Lainez was diminutive in stature, of fair complexion, somewhat pale, with a cheerful expression, but intense; wide nostrils, indicating his fiery soul; nose aquiline, large eyes, exceedingly bright and lively: so far the elements of Sacchini's portrait of the general; but Father Ignatius, you remember, daguerreotyped him in three words—*no tenga persona—he is not good looking or imposing*. His hand-writing was execrable.†

In accordance with the last glance of the dying Lainez, or on account of the rank which he had occupied in the world, Borgia was elected general, by a large majority in the congregation. It is said that the seven votes which he did not receive were given by those Jesuits who knew him most intimately; and when he took leave of the retiring congregation, he requested the fathers, all the professed aristocrats of the Company, to treat him as a beast of burden. "I am your beast of burden," said Borgia: "you have placed the load on my shoulders: treat me as a beast of burden, in order that I may say, with the Psalmist, 'I am as a beast before you, nevertheless, I am continually with you.'"‡ Under very different auspices, and in very different circumstances, had the bold, astute, determined Lainez seized the sceptre of Loyola. If he quoted Scripture on that occasion, the text must have been, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines;" for there was imminent peril from without and within the Company. Times were altered; and if a vigorous head was still necessary to govern the body, a man of influence was imperatively so at a time when the Company had penetrated into every kingdom of Europe, and only required "patronage" to insure boundless increase and endless duration. Francis Borgia was more or less connected with most of the kings and princes of Europe, then reigning. True, the bar-sinister blushed in his escutcheon: but that was no time for men to care whether a great lord was a descendant of the Vanoccia Julia Farnese on one side of his primitive ancestry, and Pope Alexander VI. on the other. Francis Borgia seemed intended to show that "good fruit" might come from a "bad tree." A lover of contemplation was Borgia. The world disgusted him: he left it with all its honors, pomps, and vanities, and gave himself to the Jesuits, at the very time when they lacked a great name amongst them, to catch the vulgar.

A man of strange notions and stranger perpetrations was Francis Borgia. He wrote a book entitled *The Spiritual Eye-salve*, and ano-

* Bib. Script. S. J. He also wrote treatises on the Doctrine of the Council of Trent, the Sacraments, Grace and Justification, Instructions for preachers, an Epistle to the Missionaries in India, which last is all that we have access to, besides his speeches in Sacchinus. A tribute of praise is deserved by this indefatigable Jesuit for his industry, his constant labor.

† Cretineau gives a *fac-simile*.

‡ Sacchin. P. iii. l. i. n. 23; Cretineau, ii. 12.

ther *On Self-Confusion* ;* and never was man (not intended for a saint) given to more flagrant atrocities against his own poor body. We are assured that he considered his body his "mortal enemy," with which he should never declare a truce: he never ceased evincing to the same unfortunate body that "holy hatred" which he bore it, tormenting and persecuting it in every way that his "ingenious cruelty" could devise. He used to say that life would have been insupportable to him, if he had passed a single day without inflicting on his body some extraordinary pang. He did not consider fasting a "mortification," but a "delight;" and, in fact, like all other abused delights, it ruined his constitution and made him a human wreck; the most hopeless and pitiable of all wrecks imaginable. Savagely he lashed his body. Some one counted 800 strokes on one occasion; and he tore his shoulders to such a degree that there was danger of real mortification or gangrene in the ulcerous imposthumes which resulted from the wounds. He would lie prostrate with his mouth glued to the ground, until he brought on fluxions in his mouth, and lost several teeth, and was in imminent danger of death from a cancer in the same organ. In a chest he kept hair-shirts, whips, and other instruments of torture, and cloths to wipe away the blood which he drew abundantly from all parts of his body.† It is said that these excessive delights produced qualms of conscience, or scruples in the man, before he died: and, doubtless, when "all was over," he must have discovered their futility, nay, their positive guilt in the sight of Him who is offended by the infringement of *all* His laws: those of health, therefore, are not excepted. One would almost fancy that *this* Borgia wished to atone, in his own person, for all the atrocities which the other Borgia, Pope Alexander VI., inflicted on mankind. His age, at his election, was sixty-five.

Important decrees were passed in the congregation, after the election of the general. They throw light on existing abuses in the Company, but show that these were met at least with legislative prohibitions. The general was required to look to the colleges of the Company. Some moderation was to be had in taking charge of them; their multiplicity was to be checked; and the general was enjoined to strengthen and improve those which existed rather than undertake others. It was expressly stipulated that no colleges were to be undertaken unless they were sufficiently endowed and well provided with the means of subsistence—a wise precaution, and it had been well if the Jesuit missionaries had brought some similar wisdom to bear on their "conversion" and baptism of the savages, when they undertook to make them "temples of the Holy Ghost." It was even resolved in the congregation to consider what colleges, so unfurnished, should be thrown overboard—dissolved by those who began to discover that *gratis*-instruction is all very well in a prospectus, but excessively inconvenient in practice—and by no means expedient in the present scope of the Company. It appears that there was another enactment on this interesting subject:

* "Collyrium Spirituale," and "De Confusione sui."

† Verjus, Vie, ii, lib. iv.

but it is omitted in the list as “ private business—*privata negotia*. ”* Complaints were made on another score. The Jesuits began to feel the inconvenience of frequent removals at the word of command. The aristocratical dignitaries liked permanency as well as their constitutional general: but it was decided against the remonstrants:—the mutations were pronounced useful to the removed member and the Company, and even absolutely necessary:—but the superiors were enjoined to exercise their prudence in the matter; and all royal mandates were to be respected, princes were not to be offended; and in case the removal was absolutely necessary, the consent and satisfaction of princes must be obtained.† We remember the trouble which Philip II. gave the Jesuits for having been accustomed to abstract money from his dominions. Borgia himself proposed the question whether the royal edicts in this matter should be obeyed, for the greater edification of princes; and the congregation approved his opinion, and declared that such edicts against the exportation of moneys should be obeyed—but we may ask why the “ edification of princes” was necessary to prevent the men who vowed poverty from meddling with the exportation of gold.‡ The difficulties which had arisen as to the distribution of the wealth given to the Company by its members, was a serious question. It appears that the Sons of Obedience sometimes wished to have their peculiar fancies and predilections consulted in its appropriation to this or that locality, notwithstanding the rule of the Constitutions and that most glorious “ indifference to all things,” which prescriptively results from the “ Spiritual Exercises.” It was now enacted that all must be left to the disposal of the general—*dispositioni præpositi generalis relinquunt*. Thus the fathers enacted, saying: We venerate the holy memory of our fathers—*veneramur enim sanctam memoriam patrum nostrorum*.§

It was positively enacted in this Second Congregation, Anno Domini 1565, that no Jesuit was to be assigned to princes or lords, secular or ecclesiastic, to follow or to live at their court, as confessor or theologian, or in any other capacity, “ except, perhaps, for a very short time, such as one or two months—*nisi forte ad per breve tempus unius vel duorum mensium*. ”||

In the same congregation difficulties were proposed as to the simple vows, particularly as to *chastity—præsertim castitatis*. The question was referred to previous enactments; and there occurs a hiatus of *two decrees* in the document;—but by way of compensation the next that follows is an enactment touching the “ *renovation* of the vows.”¶

And a prohibition was enacted against “ all manner of worldly business, such as agriculture, the sale of produce in the markets and the like, carried on by Our men”—which we should have scarcely thought necessary so soon.**

No poor-boxes were to be seen in the churches of the Jesuits—“ as

* Dec. II. Congr. Dec. viii. in MS. Dec. xi. The next decree is MS. Dec. xiii. See the present work, vol. i. p. 165, for remarks on these omissions.

† Ubi suprà, Dec. xii.

|| Dec. xl.

‡ Dec. xv.

¶ Dec. lxiii.

§ Dec. xxiii.

** Dec. lxi.

it is so necessary for us that they should not be placed, not so much to avoid the thing which is forbidden us, but all appearance of it—*sed rei illius omnem speciem.*”*

All law-suits were prohibited, particularly for temporal matters: if they could not by any means be avoided, no Jesuit should undertake them without special permission from the general or his delegate. The Jesuits were to yield with loss rather than contend with justice.†

The Spanish title, *Don*, was to be utterly banished from the Company.‡

Lastly, the Constitutions, as translated from the original Spanish into Latin, were to be once more collated and amended—showing that they had not as yet received the “last hand,” though five-and-twenty years had elapsed since the foundation of the Company.§

Nor did the aristocrats of the now most respectable Company of Jesus fail to hint that circumstances permitted some modification in the matter of *begging for alms and donations*. Alms, they said, were good things in themselves, good for the Company; and it was a good deed—*opus bonum*—to induce all men as much as possible to do good things; but for greater “edification,” for the “sincerity and purity of our poverty, our men must be ordered not to persuade any externe to give alms to us rather than to other poor people; but let us be content to beg simply and plainly for the love of God when we beg alms. However, for the purpose of getting donations or legacies, we may explain our wants simply and plainly, leaving the manner and matter (*definitionem*) to the devotion of the person from whom we beg these kinds of alms also—*a quo petimus has etiam eleemosynas*—and we can only suggest to him to have recourse to prayer and the other means, whereby he can resolve on the donation or legacy, according to what the Lord shall inspire unto him, and right reason shall suggest.”|| Such are the prominent and characteristic enactments of the Second Congregation. The characteristic mandates of the first, under Lainez, were those relating to the perpetuity of the generalate,¶ and the non-admission of the choir,** which last was mysteriously veiled under the name of common prayer, or prayers in common—*orare simul*—points which Pope Paul IV. contested; and the points now mooted happen to be precisely those which form the burthen of the world’s accusations in this period of Jesuit-history.

Scarcely was the decree against law-suits passed in the congregation, when the Jesuits at Paris prepared to contest the right of the University in refusing to permit their academical pursuits. Nor was that corporation their only opponent. The bishop, the curés, the Cardinal-Bishop of Beauvais, the administrators of the hospitals, the mendicant friars, in a word, the most respectable and distinguished personages of the French metropolis, united in demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits, not only from Paris, but from France. All had presented petitions to that effect, and had appointed advocates to plead their cause.†† This

* Dec. lxxviii.

† Dec. lv.

‡ Dec. lxxxv.

§ Dec. iii.

|| Dec. lvi.

¶ Dec. I. Cong. xlviij.

** Ib. Dec. xcviij.

†† Du Boulay, Hist. vi. 643; Annales, lib. xxviii. *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 155.

determined opposition would have been sufficient to strike others with dismay; but it only roused the Jesuits to more vigorous efforts than ever. They knew that favor and patronage were their only hope of success. Accordingly they dispatched Possevin to King Charles IX., with an humble petition. This dexterous and crafty Jesuit was passing his probation in important expeditions. A clever speaker, and copious linguist, with a prodigious memory, and all the boldness that a Jesuit requires, with just enough modesty to show that there is such a virtue in existence, determined in heart, and proud of his vocation, which raised him from nothing to the companionship of kings, he was just the man for these times, when kings and nobles needed enterprising emissaries—just the man for the rising Company of Jesus, preparing to move the universe. Charles IX. was then at Bayonne, with his mother, Catherine de' Medici, where they were having an interview with the Queen of Spain, the king's sister, and wife of Philip II. This meeting was a sort of *Holy Alliance*, for mutual defence, or, rather, offence, against the heretics driven to rebellion. It was in this interview that the famous Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or something similar, was proposed by the Duke of Alva, who represented the cruel Spaniard on that occasion.* A fitting occasion it was for Jesuit inter-

* Davila, i. 165. Dr. Lingard, viii. p. 60, gives a mystifying note against this general belief at the time in question; and the Doctor appeals to Raumer, who, he tells his readers, has published "one hundred pages" on the conference at Bayonne, "and yet there is not a passage in them to countenance the suspicion that such a league was ever in the contemplation of the parties at that interview." In the first place, we must read ten pages instead of "a hundred," remarking, at the same time, that the "mistake" is one of the most curious; and how the Doctor could write "one hundred," though he brackets the pages [112—122], is unaccountable. Secondly, there is a passage in Raumer's documents to countenance the assertion, and here it is: among the conditions stipulated as "the main objects," were "security of Christendom against the infidels, and the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and especially to prevent the daily weakening of the royal power in France;" and further, though the Doctor says that "Philip acceded to the request with reluctance," yet Raumer's documents state that, though he hesitated at first, from natural indecision or anxiety, lest other states should suspect the objects of the interview, "he was even himself inclined to betake himself to the neighborhood of Bayonne." Finally, there is another passage still more to the point. Alva "advised and exhorted her [Catherine de' Medici] to insist, in such fashion, upon obedience and strict execution of the law, that none should presume, on any pretext, to transgress it, without being so punished that he should serve as an example of dread to all."—P. 120. It seems, therefore, that Raumer's documents tend to strengthen the assertion; if there was no "league" agreed upon, there was certainly the sentiment of such a league suggested and accepted by Catherine, p. 120; and the "example of dread to all" does look very much like the Massacre of St. Bartholomew; however, much was to be done before it could be attempted. See also p. 276 of Raumer, for further attestation of the Spaniard's ferocious policy. This curious topic is a grand controversial affair between parties, and this is the reason why the doctor tries to weaken its outposts before he explains it off at its occurrence. Meanwhile Capefigue, a Catholic writer, but not less conscientious than the doctor, and quite as laborious, opens a tremendous cavern of "awful disclosures." He shows that, during the progress of the French king before he reached Bayonne, he constantly gave a minute account of his affairs and proceedings to Philip. "Philip II.," says Capefigue, "could not come to Bayonne, but sent the Duke of Alva, the most intimate of his confidants, the man who entered most perfectly into his idea. The queen-mother [Catherine de' Medici] wrote to the King of Spain, thanking him for permitting his wife to visit her and her son the king. 'I cannot fail to tell you the happiness I feel at seeing a thing approach which I have so much desired, and I hope will give not only great satisfaction to the king, my son, and to me, but good and security to repose, and

vention, and for this same Possevinus to deliver himself of a monster opinion, as he did afterwards, lauding the Spanish bigot for his atrocious cruelties inflicted on Jews and heretics.* The Jesuit's mission was to induce the king "to terminate the chicanery of the French Parliament and University,"† says Cretineau-Joly, who, we remember, paid the Jesuits themselves the compliment of possessing craft equal to any. The law-suit came on in 1564. Stephen Pasquier was the advocate of the University, and Peter Versonis, another famous pleader, championed the Company, or rather, says Quesnel, he delivered an oration whose materials were furnished by the Jesuit Caigord of Auvergne—a method not unusual with the *apologists of the Company of Jesus*. It would tire the most patient of men to enter into the arguments on both sides. Suffice it to say, that no efforts were spared on either side to insure the victory. Elsewhere may be found the long speeches on that occasion:‡ but not in *Sacchinus*, for the Jesuit has invented harangues, with his usual deep-mouthed rhetoric:—this trick adds to the discredit which is certainly attached to his History—as curious a piece of invention as any that the Jesuits ever produced. Patronage defended the Jesuits where their eloquence was of no avail. Possevin returned from Bayonne with letters from the Chancellor de l'Hôpital, to the Parliament, with recommendations from the queen-mother, and many lords, to the bishop and the governor of Paris. The Jesuits had induced the pope to write to the bishop, begging his lordship to favor his "cohort." In a word, they stirred all the powers, secular and ecclesiastical, to obtain what they foresaw would be refused on technical, if no other ground, at the ordinary tribunals of justice. Still, with all this machination, with all this credit, and patronage, the result fell short of their desires. All they obtained was the suspension of the suit; and that in the mean time matters would remain as they were before, namely, that without being aggregated to the University, and without judgment being passed on the rights of the parties respectively, the Jesuits might continue to teach publicly till further orders.§ Fiercely did bitter hearts pour leprous distilment into the ears of Christians during that agitation. A more rancorous enemy than Stephen Pasquier the Jesuits never had; and no man did the Jesuits ever abuse so hideously and disgustingly as they bespattered Stephen Pasquier. The latter published his celebrated *Catechism of the Jesuits*, denouncing the Company with the utmost severity. This might be excusable in an ambitious lawyer, seeking his advancement to fame and wealth

preservation to all Christianity? In the midst of festivities, tournaments, feats of arms and balls, they talked of nothing in the conference of Bayonne but the expedients to get rid of the Calvinists, who were accused of being alone the causes of the troubles which tormented France.[¶] Alva rejected the idea of a new negotiation—*transaction*. "They discussed the means of destroying Huguenotry for ever, and the Dispatches of the Duke of Alva attest that even at that time the *idea of a general massacre of the heretics was not rejected.*"—*La Réforme et la Ligue*, pp. 285—287. From Catherine's letter it is evident the meeting was intended for other purposes besides a friendly meeting, as Lingard asserts.

* See his *Judicium de Polit. et Milit.*, p. 86, also p. 93, ed. 1592.

† Cretineau, i. 448.

‡ *Annales des Jésuites*, i. 28, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii.; Coudrette, *et alibi*.

§ Ib.

over the destruction of his enemies: but there was no excuse for “the men of God,”—the poor, the humble, the chaste members of the Company of Jesus, to retaliate with tenfold atrocity of insult the most disgusting, as they did by their mouth-piece the Jesuit Richeome. The very year after the appearance of Pasquier’s *Catechism*, this Jesuit, under the name of *Felix de la Grace*, put forth his famous *Hunt of the Fox Pasquin*, in which he seems to exhaust rancor unto gasping; so fierce and foul are the epithets and metaphors he pours on the devoted head of the enemy.* “Pasquier raves,” said another Jesuit, Father *La Font*, “until some one of our Company, or some other person, for the good of the public, makes a collection of his ignorance, ravings, stupidities, malignities, heresies, for to raise him a tomb where he may be coffined alive; whither the carrion-crows and the vultures may come from a hundred leagues off, attracted by the smell of his carcass, which men will not be able to approach nearer than a hundred steps without stopping their noses on account of the stench—where briars and nettles grow—where vipers and basilisks nestle—where the screech-owl and the bittern hoot, in order that, by such a monument, those who live at present, and those who shall live in future ages, may learn that the Jesuits have had him for a notable persecutor, calumniator, liar, and a mortal enemy of virtue and good people, and that all calumniators may learn not to scandalise, by their defamatory writing, the Holy Church of God.”† The men who wrote thus of an opponent were highly esteemed for their piety and zeal, and Richeome, particularly, produced many pious tracts, among the rest, “*The Sighs and Counsels of a Christian Soul*,” just as the foul Aretino wrote a life of St. Catherine. And the Jesuit tells us, moreover, that the author of that foul, disgusting abuse, so untranslateable, “received this reward for his most excellent virtue, namely, that his head was seen surrounded with rays—God thus rendering illustrious that obscurity which he courted:”—in his eightieth year when laid up by gout, he amused himself with washing pots in the kitchen.‡ Doubtless some will say that such abuse was usual in those days. Let the excuse have its weight: but whose duty was it to give a better example, to teach a better method of rewarding

* Here is an extract from the work; it were absurd to attempt a translation: “*Pasquier est un porte-panier, un maraut de Paris, petit galant, boufon, plaisanteur, petit compagnon, vendeur de sonnettes, simple regale, qui ne merite pas d’être le valetton des laquais, belâtre, coquin qui rotte, pette, et rend sa gorge; fort suspect d’hérésie, ou bien hérétique, ou bien pire; un sale et vilain satyre, un archi-maître sot, par nature, par be-square, par be-mol, sot à la plus haute gamme, sot à triple semelle, sot à double teinture, et teint en cramoisi, sot en toutes sortes de sottises, un grata-papier, un babillard, une grenouille du palais, un clabout de cohue, un soupirail d’enfer, un vieux renard, un insigne hypocrite, renard velu, renard chenu, renard grison, renard puant, et qui compose tout de sa puante u—e. Fier-à-bras, trompette d’enfer, corbeau du palais, hibou de quelque infernale contrée . . . Catholique de bouche, hérétique de bourse, déiste, et peu s’en faut athéiste de cœur . . . O! que si de toutes les têtes hérétiques ne restait que la sienne, qu’elle serait bientôt coupée!* Asne qui chante victoire, et comme un baudent qui pensant avoir atteint son bran, sautille et brait avec son bast, paniers, et clitelles,” &c.—*La Chase du Renard Pasquin, decouvert et pris en sa tanrière, du libelle diffamatoire, faux, marqué le Catéchisme des Jésuites, par le Sieur Felix de la Grace.* Villefranche, 8vo. 1603.

† Lettres de Pasquier, x. 5.; Œuvres, ii.; Quesnel, ii. 152.

‡ Bib. Script. S. J. Ludov. Richeom.

evil, to imitate Him who only denounced the robbers of the widow, the vampires who sucked the blood of orphans, the hypocritical Pharisees? Surely the "Companions of Jesus" have no right to excuse themselves by appealing to abuses which their title required them to correct. It is indeed painful to hear the restorers of religion, the re-establishers of virtue, the apostles of India and Portugal, pouring forth abuse too foul to be translated, and such as would disgrace the worst of sinners. Those were indeed dreadful times when God's representatives on earth conformed themselves unto the image of the worst of men. Such a sample as I have given is necessary to prepare your mind for the "religious" horrors about to follow. With such fire-brands (Richeome was twice provincial in France), with such "bellows" amongst them, on a mission from Rome, "God's oracle," sanctifying all that is worst in the devil, the *men* of those times may truly be excused for most of their atrocities, since "the priests of the Lord" inflamed their hearts with cruelty, and made their swords more ravenous with a benediction. Another bad element in that lowering political and religious firmament was the Pope of Rome.

Pius IV. died in the same year of Borgia's election, and was succeeded by Pius V., a pope after the fashion of Paul IV., in the moments of his intensest rigidity. One of those grim bigots who think they honor God whilst they gratify the devil. "We forbid," says he in one of his Bulls, "every physician who shall be called to attend a bedridden patient, to visit the said patient for a longer space of time than three days, unless he receive a certificate within that time, that the patient has confessed his sins afresh."* One of those infatuated Pharisees who irritate men to the very sins they denounce, he would "put down" blasphemy and sabbath-breaking. How? Why, he imposed *fines* of *money* on the rich. A rich man who did these things—who broke God's sabbath or blasphemed his name, had to pay money into the papal exchequer: but—and is it not always thus?—the poor man—"the common man who cannot pay shall, for the first offence, stand a whole day before the church doors with his hands bound behind his back; for the second he shall be whipped through the city; for the third, *his tongue shall be bored*, and he shall be sent to the galleys."† A fiend of the Inquisition was Pius V., and a rancorous hater of the heretics. He sent troops to aid the French Catholics in their "religious" war, and he gave the leader of these troops, Count Santafore, the monstrous order to take no Huguenot prisoner, but to kill forthwith every Protestant who should fall into his hands;—

* Supra Gregem Dominicum, Bull. iv. ii. p. 281; Ranke, 92.

† Ibid. English law, in this point at least, is curiously just and equitable. By the Act of 19 Geo. II., c. 21, it is decreed, that if any person shall profanely curse or swear, and be convicted thereof, &c. &c., he shall forfeit, if a day-laborer, common soldier, sailor, or seaman, one shilling; if any other person under the degree of a gentleman, five shillings; for every second conviction double, and for every third and subsequent conviction, treble. The penalties are to go to the poor of the parish. Of course all such methods of reform are useless, because they do not reach the root of the abuse or evil; and certainly, in the case of the jolly tar, the same act ought to have increased his wages to meet his increased expenditure on the item of his oaths.

and the ruthless religionist "was grieved to find that his command was not obeyed!"* To the ferocious Alva, after his bloody massacres, he sent with praises a consecrated hat and sword. His own party lauded this pope for what seemed in the man singleness of purpose, loftiness of soul, personal austerity, and entire devotion to his religion: but all humanity should execrate his memory, because under these cloaks, so easily put on, his nature was grim bigotry, rancorous hatred, sanguinary "zeal" for his religion.† He was afterwards canonised—made a saint by Rome; although the Indian savage might say, as in the case of the cruel Spaniards, that he would rather not go to heaven, if he had to meet there such a thing as this sainted Pope Pius. He will give the Jesuits some little trouble, but will command their services to the utmost.

In spite of the decree against the presence of Jesuits at the courts of princes, we find them striving with more ardor than ever to penetrate within the dangerous precincts of royal favor. The Emperor Ferdinand had married two of his daughters, one to the Duke of Ferrara, the other to Francis de' Medici. The Jesuits had been the spiritual directors of these princesses before marriage; and the devoted penitents clung to the fathers with fond endearment. The fathers went with them into their new state of life: but they had the misfortune to excite the disgust and resentment of the ladies at court, who strongly denounced the tyranny of the Jesuits. General Borgia did not remove them according to the decree; but wrote them a letter of advice.‡

Ferdinand's successor, Maximilian, was no great patron of the Jesuits. The deputies who met in 1565 earnestly demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits from Austria. The tide of popular opinion almost swept them from Vienna. In connection with the strange and curious inquiries proposed in the congregation, touching the vow of "chastity especially," a foul charge raged against the Jesuits in Bavaria: a student of their college at Munich was the accuser: the procurator of the college was the accused. The King of Bavaria undertook to investigate the matter, which was one of the most extraordinary cases that ever puzzled a lawyer or mystified a surgeon. It is impossible to enter into the details which Sacchinus gives at full length: but if the Jesuits had no other proof of the procurator's innocence than the "fact" alleged in exculpation, the guilt of mutilation is not removed—and if the expedient suggested to convict the youth of imposture was exceedingly clever, it seems to point to some experience in similar cases, which, consequently, only renders the present more probable.§

* "Pio si dolse del conte, che non havesse il commandamento di lui osservato d'amassar subito qualunque heretico gli fosse venuto alle mani."—*Catena, Vita di Pio V.* p. 85.

† See Ranke for a full account of this pope, p. 90; and Mendham's "Life of Pius V."

‡ Quesnel, ii. 169; Sacchin. Pars iii. lib. i.

§ "Exoritur in Bavariâ . . . infestus rumor . . . Jesuitas, ut pueros ad castitatem sanctam compellant, eos eunuchos facere . . . Ipsemet, ad fidem faciendam cum obsignatis chirurgorum, qui inspexerant, testimonii, circumducebatur puer." Sacchinus then states that the youth had been expelled from the college for indifferent morals—

Nevertheless, the event points to the rancor that the Jesuits everywhere excited by their ferocious zeal and intemperate religionism,—which induced Maximilian to discountenance the Company. That Catholic king complained to Cardinal Commendone that the Jesuits, whom the pope had given the cardinal as advisers, were carried away with too great a zeal for religion, and that they did not possess that moderation which the present circumstances required—although he thought them learned and upright. He particularly objected to Canisius on account of his obstinate pertinacity; and even when requested by the Jesuit party at Augsberg to promote the establishment of a Jesuit college, his letter, without giving the Jesuits any commendation, merely alludes to the request, by stating that the people of Augsberg say the restoration of the Catholic faith cannot be more easily effected than by a college of the Company of Jesus, &c., quoting the petition of the Jesuit-party, with which he leaves the merits of the case, though, for political reasons, he requested his minister at Rome to use his endeavors for the fulfilment.* It was not in his nature to side with the Jesuits: though he made a public profession of the Catholic faith, and maintained the establishment of the church, he never swerved from the most liberal toleration, and in Germany made the religious peace, which he had so great a share in promoting, the grand rule of his conduct.†

In Spain other troubles, of their own making, harassed the Jesuits. Under the specious pretext of doing penance, they had established in several towns confraternities of flagellants, who, not content with whipping themselves in the churches of the Jesuits, performed the verberation publicly and in solemn procession. They had even introduced the practice amongst women, as elsewhere. The bishops of Spain were indignant at the abuses; they prohibited them; and proceeded to examine the book of the “Spiritual Exercises,” so well adapted to produce that wild devotion, which manifests itself through all the passions. The Jesuits were alarmed: but credit set them at rest. Their Jesuit courtier, Araos, was high in favor with Philip II., who now began to find out the utility of the Jesuits in his senseless and atrocious machinations, schemes, and perpetrations. The affair passed off without effects.‡ Philip had ulterior views respecting the Jesuits.

In India matters were more disastrous. There the Jesuits were trying the impossible problem of serving two masters at one and the same time. They had been received, together with the Portuguese,

ob mores haud bonos,—and then makes the most extraordinary assertion, that “eā erat naturā, ut, quoties liberet, introrsum testes revocatos apparere non sineret. Inde nequam procaci joco, . . . excisos sibi a Godefrido Hanats . . . affirmavit.” The physicians of Wolfgang, a “heretic prince,” says Sacchinus, “pronuntiant eviratum puerum.” When the boy was brought before Albert and his physicians, “statuit puer in medio nudus . . . at nec virilitas cernebatur . . . cū ab Duci chirurgo, sagacis ingenii homine, continere spiritum, ac ventrem inflare jussus, id quod calumniatores querebantur exemptum, palam in conspectum dedit.”—*Sacchin.* i. 100, 101; *Agric.* D. iii. 150.

* *Agric. ubi suprū*, 159, 183.

+ *Coxe, Austria*, ii. 24.

† *Sacchin. lib. i.* 117; *Quesnel. ii.* 176.

by the chieftain of Ternate, the most important of the Moluccas. The barbarian introduced the Portuguese for the sake of commerce; and the Portuguese brought in the Jesuits to serve their own purposes.* I need not state that the Jesuits made conversions: but it was painfully discovered that their converts gathered around the Portuguese, as in Brazil, leaving their king in a pitiable plight. By these accessions, under Jesuit-influence, the Portuguese became masters of several towns, until at last the poor king found himself a mere tributary vassal of the strangers, whom he had invited to trade, but who had come accompanied by Jesuits. The savage looked out for friendly assistance in his ruined fortunes. The Mohammedans of the adjacent isles espoused his cause; harassed the Portuguese for some time; and effected a descent on Attiva, the head-quarters of the Portuguese, and the residence of the Jesuit Emmanuel Lopez. The Portuguese were absent on other conquests: their settlement was pillaged, all their stations were retaken by the king of Ternate. The Jesuits took to flight, abandoning to the vengeance of the conqueror 72,000 "converts," whom they deserted, apparently as easily as they had made them Christians.†

In Brazil the Jesuits had succeeded in establishing numerous houses and residences: but their prosperity became, as usual, the source of discord and division. The usual causes of strife among mortals, avarice and ambition, produced a schism among these religious missionaries; and Borgia deemed it necessary to send out a visitor to remedy the evils as well as he could.‡

The savages of Florida next became the objects of their zeal. Three Jesuits set out on the expedition. One of them, Father Martinez, left the ship in a boat with some of the Spaniards: a storm overtook them: they were driven to the coast. Wandering into the interior they were attacked by the natives, who had so much reason to hate the Spaniards for their cruelties, and many of the party were massacred, among the rest, the Jesuit. The other two missionaries, after much suffering inflicted upon them by the savages of Florida, managed to do little or

* The Jesuits supply curious information on this topic. They tell us that in Cochinchina the very words, in the native language, employed to ask the people "if they would become Christians," meant nothing else but "if they would become Portuguese." This was the general notion among the pagans. The Jesuit Buzome says he saw a comedy performed in the public place, and, by way of an interlude, they introduced a man dressed like a Portuguese, with an artificial paunch so constructed, that a child could be concealed within. In the sight of the multitude the actor pulled out the child, and asked him if he wished to go into the paunch of the Portuguese, namely, "Little one, will you go into the paunch of the Portuguese or not?" The child said "yes," and the actor put him in accordingly. This scene was repeated over and over again, to the amusement of the spectators; and it was certainly a most appropriate emblem of the fact. Now the Jesuit says that these identical words were used by the interpreters when they asked the natives if they would become Christians;—that to become Christian, was nothing else than to cease to be a Cochinchinese and become a Portuguese; in point of fact, swallowed into the paunch of the invader! The Jesuit says he made efforts to correct "so pernicious an error," but the results did not eventually attest his success, if the "error" could possibly be dispelled in the face of events so admirably typified by the capacious paunch and the simple child.—*Relazione della nuova Missione, &c., al Regno della Cocincina*, p. 107. Ed. Rome, 1631.

† Quesnel, ii. 175; Sacchin. lib. iii. 138, *et seq.*; Observ. Hist. i. 226.

‡ Quesnel, ii.; Cretineau, ii. 137.

nothing in the shape of conversion, but nevertheless "founded" two establishments in the country, and wrote to their general for more companions.*

On the continent of India the glorious Inquisition, which they had advised and proved to be so necessary, was doing its work, and they were making wholesale conquests worthy of their zeal. If they did not convert the infidels, they at least demolished their temples, burned their idols, and caused their Brahmins to be imprisoned and slaughtered—in other words, did, or were ■ party in doing, what the Catholics and Protestants were doing against each other in Europe at the same time. If the vilest passions of human nature be not sufficient to account for all those contemporaneous atrocities, we must ascribe them to ■ sort of moral cholera sweeping over the earth and making cruel souls instead of putrid bodies.†

In Portugal the Jesuits were high in favor. Father Torrez was confessor to the queen-regent, Gonzalez to the young king, Henriquez to the Cardinal Dom Henry, the monarch's great uncle. All the lords of the court followed the royal example, and placed their souls into the hands of the Jesuits, who thus acquired unlimited influence in the kingdom and its colonial possessions. Between the queen-regent and the Cardinal Dom Henry the Jesuits interfered, gave their hands to the latter, and intrigued to dispossess the queen of her authority, in favor of the cardinal. Torrez was denounced as the leader of the machination, and the queen-regent discharged the Jesuit. The result did not correspond with her wishes. The Jesuits had a party, and the king's confessor was ■ Jesuit; and the cardinal was their patron for the nonce. The king was induced to discharge the queen, and the cardinal became regent; but only to be soon supplanted by the Jesuits, whom it was impossible to dislodge.‡ Under Jesuit-tuition, the young king Sebastian grew up a royal madman—fierce with the right orthodox hatred of all that was not Christianity according to the interpretation of Rome. He conceived the design, if it was not suggested, of invading the Moors of Morocco. Headlong he rushed to destruction: all advice to the contrary only stimulated his madness. On the plains of Alcazarquivir his whole army was cut to pieces or captured by the Moors. The king and kingdom of Portugal perished together. Fifteen Jesuits accompanied the expedition. The calamity is laid to the charge of the Jesuits, in perverting the royal mind by their fanatical exhortations: the Jesuits deny the allegation, and insist that their member, the king's confessor, was opposed to the invasion;§ which assertion, however, may have been caused by the unfortunate result. The Jesuits would have been happy to vindicate to themselves the glory of the invasion, had it proved successful. Cardinal Henry succeeded: his short reign was the agony of Portugal's independence: for Philip II. worried her to death. Amongst the numerous candidates

* Quesnel, ii. 190; Sacchin. lib. iii. 262, *et seq.*

† Quesnel, ib.; Sacchin. lib. ii. 101, lib. iii. 129, *et seq.*

‡ Quesnel, ii. 100; Hist. Abrégée du Port., P. iii. c. 17, p. 736.

§ Franc. Syn. p. 115.

who aspired to succeed, Philip was the most determined;* and the Jesuits lent him their assistance. Henriquez, the royal confessor, confirmed the vacillating mind of the priest-ridden king, who gave his vote to the Spaniard,† and died soon after, when Philip sent into Portugal the Duke of Alva, with thirty thousand men, and quietly grasped the sceptre, surrendered almost without a blow, and with that sceptre, the American, Indian, and African possessions of Portugal—all destined to furnish the royal bigot with gold, which he would lavishly spend “to stir” all Europe in his senseless schemes.‡ At the time of the event, the common opinion, in Coimbra, at least, was, that the Jesuits were a party to the betrayal of the kingdom into the hands of the Spaniards. Their college was stormed by the people: they were denounced as traitors, to their country, as robbers, and devoted to destruction.§ The Jesuit-rector came forth and pacified the mob: and, by the intercession of two other Jesuits, the Spanish general spared the city, which would have been otherwise given up to the horrors of Spanish warfare.|| Such was the beginning and end of Jesuit-influence in the councils of Portugal from 1556 to 1581. History accuses the Jesuits of these two prominent transactions—the invasion of Morocco, and the usurpation of Philip—as being promoted by members of the Company. The amount of their guilt can never be ascertained: but their innocence would have been certain, had their generals enforced the decree prohibiting the Jesuits from being confessors to kings, or living at courts; and had not the Jesuits themselves elsewhere mingled with politics during that eventful period. It was certainly somewhat suspicious that Philip showed them marked and distinguished honor immediately afterwards, when he visited his usurped kingdom. He paid their House his first visit, and increased its allowance: and his partisans joined in the benevolence, so that the House was never richer than immediately after the usurpation of the Spaniard. The Jesuit Franco attributes this result to “Our services,”—*ministeria nostra*. How far they were honorable to the “men of God” is the question.¶

* The Pope of Rome actually presented himself as candidate for the crown of Portugal! He rested his claim to the kingdom as the *property of a cardinal*, to whom, by ecclesiastical law, he was heir.—*Hist. of Spain and Port.*

† Rabbe, i. 231.

‡ *Hist. of Spain and Port.* 126, *et seq.*; Rabbe, i. 229, *et seq.*

§ Franco, *ubi suprà*, 125. “Plebs rumore inani permota divulgavit, nostrum collegium esse plenum milite Castellano et armis, ut repente captam urbem traderemus Regi Philippo . . . securibus lacerant scholarum valvas, alii scandere per murum, multi ad ostium posticum, multi ad commune; Nos Lutheranos, proditores patriæ, latrones vocant, necandos omnes.”

|| This Jesuit tells a curious tale, how the Portuguese women consulted *Nostros*, “Our Men,” on that dismal occasion, asking the Fathers “whether it was lawful for them, in order to escape the lustful brutality of the Spaniards, to commit suicide, to throw themselves into the river, or rush to places infected with pestilence.”—Franco, 126. Philip’s only opponent, Prince Antonio, expelled the Jesuits from Coimbra for harboring a Spanish spy; he met them as they were departing, and relented, ordering them to return: but the Spanish general came up “with his veteran army and easily routed the tumultuous forces of Antonio,” says the Jesuit Franco. Franco, 126.

¶ “Tantâ rerum publicâ mutatione, credidère qui gerebant animos Societati parâm benevolos, eam fore cunctis ludibrio, sed egregiè decepti sunt. Nam cessante causâ

In 1567, Pope Pius V. wished the Jesuits to do more “service” than they thought expedient, and they demurred and memorialised him accordingly. However favorable to the Jesuits, Pius V. did not approve of their dispensing with the monastic choir. Another objection was the constitutional rule by which the Jesuits bound themselves to the Company, whilst the Company entered into no contract with the members in like manner; and, thirdly, the usual abuse in the Company of making priests of their men almost as soon as they became Jesuits. These reformers, of everybody and everything, particularly objected to being reformed themselves. Their memorial to the pope’s delegates contains nineteen arguments against the proposed reform. Sacchinus enters into the details at full length, and Cretineau exhibits the document. It is astonishing what eloquence is expended in proving that the Company of Jesus was not instituted for the purpose of praising God. Here is a sample or two: Action is the end of the Company, the reformation of morals, the extirpation of heresy. “And what! do not these causes exist? The conflagration devours France. A great part of Germany is consumed. England is entirely reduced to ashes. Belgium is a prey to the devastation. Poland smokes on all sides. The flame already attacks the frontiers of Italy; and, without speaking of the innumerable nations of the East Indies, the West Indies, the New World, all begging us to break to them the bread of the word: without speaking of the daily progress of Turkish impiety, how many persons are there buried in ignorance in Spain, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, and other regions of the Christian world infected with error, not only in the villages and country places, not only amongst the laity, but even in the ranks of the clergy, in the midst of the most populous cities?”* In the estimation of the Jesuits all their “services” in these various and equivocal departments, compensated for the choir. The choir would interfere with their studies as well. “We are, however, ready,” they said, “to respect, as we hope, by the aid of divine grace, the will of God in the least sign of the pope’s will in the matter; but you must take into consideration the sentiments which would agitate the other religious bodies if a change in their rules were mooted. We, too, are *men*, and it cannot be doubted that there are in our Company members who would never have joined it, had they foreseen that the choir would be established in it;” a most

æmulationis, quæ fuerat Regum favor, ministeria nostra, vel inimicis amabilia, nobis omnium amorem procurârunt. Nunquam Domus Professa magis adjuta eleemosynis, nec majoribus frequentata concursibus.”—*An. 1518, 2.* Cretineau-Joly, the apologist of the Jesuits, treats the question controversially. If the Jesuits are satisfied with his defence, we have no reason to think that he has done his best to make the matter worse. One slight blunder, if such only it can be called, I will “signalise.” He says that “Henriquez, the confessor of the old king, received an order from the general of the company not to meddle with any political affair;” and for this fact he refers us to Franco, anno 1576. Well, there is no such fact in Franco for that year, nor any other in the *Synopsis*. In 1578 the general requested “the old king” Henry “not to apply his confessor to the administration of secular business,” to which the king consented; but this is evidently not Cretineau’s fact as above. If I stopped to signalise such references on both sides of the Jesuit-question, I should be almost continually striking some enemy or some friend of the Jesuits; it is always *signaque sex foribus dextris, totidemque sinistris*, six for one, half-a-dozen for the other.

* Cretineau, ii. 28.

extraordinary declaration by men who are prescriptively “indifferent to all things,” dead to their own will, resigned to every fate as holy Obedience shall appoint. “And now, moreover, the members have very little inclination for the choir, because they say it does not enter into our profession; and had it been the will of God, He would have manifested it to *Ignatius our founder.*” The memorial proceeds to menace the total disorganisation of the Company as likely to result from this reform, and the Jesuits conjure the pope to take into consideration their weaknesses, as men, in their prejudice against the choir: but the last argument is as characteristic as any. “Look to the heretics,” they exclaimed. “Do you not see how they strive to prove that there is a rash inconsiderateness, or even error, both in the judgments of the pope and his predecessors, and those of the council? They will publish this doctrine in their books—they will howl it from their pulpits, and, after that, they will strive by degrees to undermine everything else. They will pretend that the other orders have also been rashly confirmed, and that the holy council has also given a thousand other proofs of its temerity. In their insolent joy they will proclaim that discord has crept between the pope and the Jesuits—those papists so cruelly bent against us. Truly, whatever may be the orders of the holy Father, even if we had to sacrifice our lives a thousand times, we hope never to give so disastrous an example. But with all the respect and zeal of which we are capable, we beseech the common protector of the Church, and still more our protector and father, not to offer to the enemies of God, and our own, so favorable an opportunity for insulting and blaspheming against the holy Church.”* Thus they put the question to the pope. We cannot fail to observe what boldness the Jesuits have acquired in about ten years. They talked not thus to Paul IV. on a similar occasion. Borgia and Polancus had an interview with the pope. Pius V. was strongly inclined to the choir: but he would dispense with slow singing; the Jesuits might only pronounce the words of the divine office distinctly: “it is however only just,” said the pope, “that in the midst of your affairs, you should reserve a short time to attend to your own spiritual wants.” And then he smiled, significantly doubtless, saying: “You ought not to be like chimney-sweeps, who, whilst they clean chimneys, cover themselves with all the soot they remove;”†—a comparison as expressive as could possibly be applied to the Jesuits in every department of their labors. Nevertheless, Borgia, who was “the beast of burthen” according to order, held out against the pope, and, by his importunity, induced the pope to give in, or to defer the matter until the publication of the new Breviary,—such was the submission of the Jesuits and their “beast of burthen” to the will of the holy Father.

But if the article touching the choir was not to be swallowed by the Jesuits, the proposed abolition of the simple vows, and the prohibition of their receiving the priesthood until they took the four vows of solemn profession, roused them to desperate opposition. The latter would at once change the whole nature of the Institute. It would throw the

* Cretineau, ii. 32, *et seq.*; Sacchin. lib. iii. 25.

† Cretineau, ii. 35.

Company into a most embarrassing dilemma. They must either relax the rule respecting the select number of the Company's aristocracy—the professed, or at once resign their numerous emissaries in all parts of the world, in every court and city—emissaries whose functions as priests were their excuse in the most difficult machinations. It would have spared the world much suffering, and the Jesuits themselves much humiliation; but these were not the questions then: the pride of place—the pride of the *Jesuits*, the greatest that ever existed—the strong, unconquerable desire to extend, to enrich the Company,—a thousand motives rushed to the rescue of this constitutional right and privilege. On the other hand, if in order to have duly qualified emissaries, they relaxed the rule, and admitted a “multitude” to the profession of the four vows,—in other words, to the aristocracy of the Company, then would the monarchy be insensibly changed into the old monkish democracy, and this was not to be endured by the aristocrats in place, who induced their “beast of burthen” to avert the calamity by a crafty expedient.

Pius V. issued a positive order to his grand vicar not to permit any Jesuit to be ordained before he took the solemn vows, or was made a professed. This was a thunderbolt to the Jesuits. With bulls, breves, and privileges on his back, away went the “beast of burthen” to the cardinals to remonstrate: but the pope was inflexible. To all the arguments of Borgia’s riders, the pontiff replied that at least as much virtue and talent was requisite for the priesthood as they exacted for profession in the Company; consequently, those whom they thought worthy of the priesthood, “ought to be worthy—*à fortiori*—to take the four vows.” Nothing could be more reasonable; but Sacchinus thinks otherwise. He exhibits all his sophistical eloquence to prove that it is easier to make a thousand priests than one good and veritable Jesuit; which, after all, is perhaps too true.* What was to be done? The aristocrats deliberated whether the pope was to be obeyed. Opinions were divided. The privileges of the Company were to be defended. Borgia’s expedient met the difficulty most admirably. His advice was that the Jesuits should present themselves for ordination, not as Jesuits, but as *beneficiaries* or secular ecclesiastics. It follows, from this suggestion, that the Jesuits must have had very many benefices in the *res Societatis*, the capital of the Company, in order to derive titles for their numerous ordinations; and it throws some light of truth on the charge against the Jesuits, on a former occasion, that they would clutch all the benefices and parishes of Rome. The modern historian of the Jesuits does not mention this *ruse de religion* suggested by Borgia; but he says that the matter was accommodated “by a transaction which neither prejudiced the substance of the Institute, nor the authority of the Holy See.”† Nor had the Jesuits less cogent reasons for not abolishing the simple vows, that is, the vows which bind a Jesuit to the Company, immediately after his probation, whether that be two years, according to the Constitutions, or one year, or one month, according to expediency.

* Sacchin, lib. iii. 26, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 210.

† Cretineau, ii. 36.

By a corrective rule of the Constitutions, the Jesuits are allowed to retain their claims to property, and, consequently, their revenues, for a certain time dependent on the will of the superior, notwithstanding the vow of poverty;* a strange piece of inconsistency, but perfectly justifiable to a conscience ruled by holy obedience. This enjoyment of their hereditary rights, which this peculiar dispensation permitted to all Jesuits who had not taken the solemn vows—and consequently the vast majority of the Company—this power which they retained of *inheriting* from their relatives, and even of profiting by speculations, were the resources which guaranteed the Company from the inconveniences of holy poverty and degrading mendicity, alluded to in one of the late decrees, as I have stated. “Certain it is,” says Sacchinus, “that this formula of the vows is very convenient for tranquillising the mind, for enforcing the authority of the Company, for its own profit and that of others”†—which word “profit” is somewhat ambiguous—*perhaps* the Jesuits mean spiritual profit, like Leo X.’s indulgences, which served two purposes, as we remember.

The whole affair passed over as sweetly as any other contest of the Jesuits with the pope. Now, more than ever, they were in position to demand respectful consideration; and though, by the advice of the more prudent provincials, it was resolved to obey purely and simply, yet there was no doubt whatever in the minds of the aristocrats, that they would have their own way in that matter, as in every other, provided they did “good service to the Holy See.” Pius V. was the last man in the world to hamper the Jesuits, or to “throw cold water upon them;” you might just as well expect an incendiary to dip his matches in water. Soon he showed how he loved them. “This lightning without a tempest,” says their historian, “left no traces between Pius V. and the Company of Jesus.”

Pope Pius demanded a detachment of Jesuits from the Roman College, whom he dispersed all over Italy to propagate the faith and morality. Numerous were the conversions, vast the harvest of virtue, if we are to believe the romancist of the Company; but, after all, they left the Italians bad enough, if those who fought the pope’s battles were specimens. Still, the Jesuits did their best—stormed and coaxed—blazed and chilled—soothed and frightened, after the usual manner: but the close of one of their missions is too curious to be omitted. It was nothing less than a pious masquerade for the edification of the faithful; and it came to pass at Palermo in Sicily. The subject was, The Triumph of Death. The affair came off on Ash Wednesday. Sixty men, selected from their sodality, covered with a blue sack, and each of them holding a lighted taper, marched in two lines before a troop of musicians, playing on divers instruments. In the rear of the latter, there appeared a huge figure of Christ on the cross, which was carried in a coffin, escorted by four angels and many persons, each of them carrying a torch in one hand, and in the other, one of the instru-

* Const. P. iv. c. 4, (E) §.

† “Certum est votorum illam formulam Societati percommodam esse ad tranquillitatem, ad profectum et suum et alienum.”—*Ubi supra*, 20.

ments used in the passion of the Redeemer—such as a nail, scourge, crown of thorns, hammer, and so forth. Immediately behind the coffin marched two hundred flagellants, dressed in black, and scourging themselves with all their might, and astonishing and frightening the spectators, both with the clatter of the numerous strokes they gave themselves, and with their blood, which, says the edifying historian, streamed in the streets. They were inflamed to this pious cruelty by a troop of choristers disguised as hermits, by their beard and bristling hair rendered frightful and unrecognisable. They sang, in the mournful tone of lamentation, hymns on the vanities of this world. Next came twelve men, emaciated, pale, all skin and bone, mounted on sorry hacks, precisely in the same sad predicament as to bone and skin. They marched in a line, whilst the leader of the troop sounded a trumpet whose note was frightful. This *trumpeter* was followed by an ensign, who carried a banner on which DEATH was painted. All who followed this personage carried, each of them, some attribute of death, according to the inventive genius of these inexhaustible Jesuits. In the rear of this awful procession was a very high chariot, after the fashion of Jugger-naut, drawn by four oxen, all black, and driven by a coachman, who represented old TIME. This chariot was adorned with divers paintings, representing the trophies of death. It was lighted up at the four corners with four huge lanterns, which gave a light as red as blood, and by a prodigious number of torches made of black resin. From the middle of this chariot there issued a skeleton of colossal magnitude, holding in his hand a tremendous scythe, and carrying on his back a quiver full of poisoned arrows, with spades, hoes, and other grave-instruments, at his feet. Round about this skeleton appeared fifteen slaves, representing the different ranks and conditions of men. Death held them all enchain'd; and they sang hymns adapted to the situation which they represented. This frightful skeleton was so tall that it rose as high as the roofs of the houses, and chilled with affright all who beheld it. Through all the principal streets of Palermo the procession wended, and made a great impression on the natives, says the historian, even on those who were accustomed to approve of nothing that was done by the Jesuits.*

Nor was the inventive genius of Jesuitism confined to the horrible. In the same year, 1567, at Vienna, they performed the usual procession on the festival of *Corpus Christi*, with striking magnificence, and glorified themselves as much as the wafer they elevated to the adoring multitude. Their Austrian provincial, Father Lourenzo Magio, presided, and was assisted by no less a personage than the pope's nuncio, and the most distinguished of Vienna's gentry and nobility. A troop of musicians, followed by numerous children, representing angels, opened the procession. A band of Jesuits went next, in two lines, each being escorted by two of the principal inhabitants, with tapers in their hands. Another troop of angels followed the Jesuits, and sounded little bells as they walked; and all the rest of the Jesuits brought up the rear

* Sacchin. *ubi suprad*, 106, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 211, *et seq.*

immediately before Father Magio. This personage carried the wafer under a superb canopy, borne by the pope's nuncio, and the most distinguished inhabitants of the city. Magio not only received the incense from young ecclesiastics, but what was most edifying, says Sacchinus, one of the principal noblemen of the land scattered flowers before the holy sacrament, during the procession. It passed under a magnificent triumphal arch built for the occasion;—and what inspired more devotion, according to the same authority, was the appearance of twelve young Jesuit-scholars, dressed as angels, but representing twelve different nations. These angels met the procession, and one after the other, addressed a complimentary speech to the wafer, each in the language of the nation he represented. It was *thus*, says Sacchinus, that the Company succeeded in triumphing over heresy in Germany.* If there was then, as at the present day amongst us, a poor-hearted race of sentimental heretics who looked for a god where benighted pagans find one—then these Brahminic processions served the Jesuits a turn: but it unfortunately happened in the very year 1567, that two of their principal professors apostatised and abjured the religion of Rome. The first was Edward Thorn, and the second, Belthasar Zuger. Both were professors in their college at Dillingen. In these men the Jesuits lost two excellent members, and the loss was the more afflicting, inasmuch as they foresaw that the detestable heretics would ring a triumphant peal on the occasion:—nor were they wrong in the expectation. The apostacy was duly celebrated throughout Germany, and numerous pens inflicted plagues on the Company;† but the Jesuits were, on this occasion, wise enough to hold their peace, and not make bad worse, by those petulant recriminations with which they subsequently disgraced themselves and their Company:—I allude to the time when their PRIDE overtopped Lucifer's, just before he was seen falling from heaven.

In the same year, 1567, Pius V. despatched the Jesuit Edmund Hay to Mary Queen of Scots. A nuncio was added to the mission, and the Jesuit had his socius: but he proceeded alone to the scene of peril.‡ It was the critical year in the destinies of Mary. She had notified her marriage with Darnley, and the pope sent this mission to congratulate the queen, and to regulate her conduct, chiefly, however, as to the restoration of papal supremacy in Scotland. The zealous pope sent her a letter written with his own hand, assuring her of his paternal affection for herself and her kingdom, and his desire so ardent to see the Catholic religion re-established, that he would sell, said he, the *last chalice of the church* in the cause—a sentiment which shows the mistaken notions of these times,—as if any church can be really defended or established by *money*. The Jesuit was to follow up this devotedness of the pope, by holding forth flattering hopes to the queen, flattering indeed, but cruelly fallacious. Elizabeth being apostolically deprived of her right to the throne of England, proscribed, excommunicated—nothing would be easier than to place Mary on the throne—as soon

* Sacchin. lib. iii. 120, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 213.

† Quesnel, ii. 207; Sacchin. *ubi supra*, 126, *et seq.*

‡ Sacchinus; Tanner; Quesnel, ii. 215.

as it was made vacant—which was to become the “stirring” problem for the Catholic party with the Jesuits at their head.* But that was no time for distant hopes :—misery, such as few women should endure or deserve, now began to make despair the cruel prompter of every act performed or permitted by the unfortunate Queen of Scots. Was ever woman more beloved or desired—was ever woman more humiliated or debased than Mary Queen of Scots ? The first calamity that befel her was her education at the dissolute court of France : the next was her marriage with a fragile thing evidently destined to be prematurely cut down ; let a veil be thrown over her short widowhood in the dissolute court of France,—for it is not necessary to believe that she did anything more (as is asserted) than write sonnets on her lord deceased. Thus prepared—an ardent, self-willed creature, accustomed to the display of woman’s omnipotence—with that sensualism impressed on her features, which constitutes the most unfortunate “destiny” of woman, Mary became Queen of Scotland. It was necessary that she should take a husband. She chose Darnley, her first cousin—almost a brother—the pope gave a dispensation : but the union did not prosper. Darnley disgusted her. The young queen lavished her affections on an accomplished Italian. It is possible that Rizzio was a Jesuit in disguise, sent to the queen by the pope, just like the Jesuit Nicholai, who was sent in disguise to the Queen of Sweden to “wait upon her.”† Darnley got Rizzio murdered. Then Darnley was murdered ; and within three months the queen is the “wife” of Bothwell, who was accused of her husband’s murder—and a married man withal. These events took place between 1565 and 1567—within two years. And in the next year she began that protracted captivity in England—rendered so disastrous to the Catholics and herself by the machinations of her friends, which she must be excused for promoting—and finally, by her cruel death, destined to enlist those sympathies of the human heart in her favor, which bewilder the judgments of history, and will for ever procure the unfortunate Queen of Scots admirers and defenders. Her purer sonnets and her letters I admire : they are literally beautiful : but they only attest certain fine states of her finer feelings : they cannot wash away facts, though we add to them the tribute of tears. I lament her fate : but I do not believe her guiltless.‡ And yet pity wrings the hands when we reflect that after all her imprudences or levities, or sins, if you please—she was made the pretext of so many designing machinators who speculated on her misfortune. Philip of Spain and the Jesuits fed on her calamity like the vultures of the desert.

And now that most Christian king, from a suspicious disturber of the Jesuits, has become their hearty friend. His distinguishing visit and alms to their house in Portugal, immediately after his usurpation of the

* Thuan. l. 40 ; Sacchin. lib. v. ; Quesnel, ii. 219.

† Sacchin. lib. v. ; Maimbourg, ii. 249.

‡ See Raumer’s admirable Contributions, Eliz. and Mary ; also Politic. Hist. of England, i. ; and Hist. of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. It seems to me that Raumer’s industry has completely established the above opinion ; and the question should be now at rest, leaving the Queen’s voluminous letters to stand by their own merits, which they will certainly do.

throne, was followed up with a more glorious reward:—verily had Philip discovered that the Jesuits were useful servants. With gushing bounty he acceded to their request—and flung open to the enterprising Jesuits the gates of Peru. Kingdom of the unfortunate Incas—too rich in gold and precious gems—the only excuse for the unutterable crimes that Christians committed against their God, to the destruction of its inhabitants! A hundred pens have celebrated the Eden of Peru; its incalculable wealth, its wise government, the contentment of its people: and all remember how the kingdom of the Incas was swept away by the Spaniards under Pizarro—the cruel free-booter, whose atrocities were countenanced, promoted, exhorted by the Dominican Bishop Valverde. Spain's king was enriched: enormous fortunes were made by his subjects: God's skies above did not rain thunderbolts: the dreadful criminals enjoyed the fruits of iniquity; and recklessly added crime to crime—as though there was no God—no avenger in this world as well as the next. What a picture is that which Las Casas unfolds, describing the destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards. The natives slaughtered for sport. An Indian cleft in twain to prove dexterity. Pregnant women torn asunder. Babes at the breast cut in pieces to feed wild beasts and hungry dogs. Some they burnt alive; others they drowned; and some they hurled headlong down a precipice. The Indians whom they compelled to fight against their own countrymen, they also compelled to feed on the flesh of their prisoners, whom they slaughtered and roasted. And those whom they made their slaves, perished in such numbers by starvation and ill-treatment, that Las Casas assures us, their dead bodies floating on the waves answered the purpose of a compass to a mariner sailing to the Acel-dama of Peru. In forty years eighteen millions of Indians were the victims offered up by Spain in thanksgiving for the New World which the pope conceded to her king. And yet it is admitted that these poor pagans were the most docile, the most peaceful creatures in the world. But what a sample of Christianity had they experienced! They hated it accordingly; and when for refusing to receive “the faith,” some of them were condemned to death, and the monks still tried to “convert them,” they asked “Whither do Spaniards go after death?” “The good go to Heaven,” was the reply. “Then,” they exclaimed, “we would rather not go to Heaven to meet with Spaniards.” They evidently could not distinguish the *men* from the *religion* they professed—poor miserable pagans—but their betters were as blind in their hatred of the Jew and the heretic.* It is well known that to supply the place of the slaughtered Indians, or to have more work performed, the Spaniards transported negroes from Africa; and the dreadful crimes of the conquistadores found defenders in Spain, who argued on *the justice and equity of the war carried on by the King of Spain against the Indians*—words which are the title of a book by Spain's historiographer, the Canon Sepulveda. The Universities of Alcala and Sal-

* For the whole account, see Las Casas's book *On the Destruction of the Indies by the Spaniards*. I quote from the French, *De la Destruction des Indes par les Espagnols*.—*Rouen*, 1630.

manca decided against the publication of the work: but the canon sent the manuscript to Rome, where it was printed without censure. It is creditable to Charles V. that he forbade its publication in his dominions, and caused the suppression of all the copies he could find.*

To this depopulated country the Jesuits were dispatched, under the most favorable auspices, like their glorious beginning. Very different was this mission to all others. It was a gushing, a hearty gift to the Company of Jesus, from King Philip II. of Spain and Portugal. At the king's expense a house was to be built for them at Lima, the capital of Peru. A general muster of Jesuits was made from the three provinces of the Company in Spain, to found a colony in the wealthy kingdom of the Incas—destined to become one of the richest strongholds of the Jesuits in the day of their glory.† Philip's idea was that “to eternise his domination in a country whose very name had become synonymous with riches, it was necessary to teach the natives to love the Gospel,” and “with the hope of insuring a triumph to his new system of conquest, he demanded Jesuits from Francis Borgia.”‡ There were eight Jesuits in the expedition. A cordial reception welcomed the Peruvian Apostles. A magnificent college and a splendid church arose as by the lamp of Aladdin. And the Jesuits did good service to the king—did their best to carry out his idea by making the gospel subservient in “eternising his domination” in Peru. Indefatigably they catechised the Indians, and preached to the Spaniards. One of them evangelised the negroes—“taught them patiently to endure the toils of slavery.” Much better would it have been—much more consistent, had the Jesuits taught the king to obviate those toils by proving, as they could, that slavery was incompatible with Christianity—but that was not the way to carry out the king's “idea”—so they endeavored to make useful, willing, docile slaves for the master whom *they* also served. They established schools for the young, and a congregation of young Spanish nobles. In a single year their success was so great, that twelve more Jesuits were imported. With that astonishing rapidity in acquiring languages, which is constantly asserted by their letters, these Jesuits astonished the natives by addressing them in their own vernacular. Soon they dispersed all over the kingdom—radiating from the capital, which was a certain conquest. Three years scarcely elapsed when a college arose in Cusco, the ancient capital of the Incas: but that was already built; it was a Peruvian palace, and its name was Amarocana, or the *House of the Serpents*. Another college had arisen in the city of Paz. To supply laborers for these numerous vineyards an extraordinary effort was necessary or expedient. The Jesuit-provincial of Peru was also counsellor to the viceroy—in direct contravention of the Constitutions of the Company,

* Thuan. l. 54; Du Pin. Biblioit; Quesnel, ii. 250.

† Sacchinus, *ubi supra*, iii. 265, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 252.

‡ “Philippe II. sentit que, pour éterniser sa domination sur un pays dont le nom même était devenu synonyme de richesse, il fallait apprendre aux indigènes à aimer l'Evangile. Dans l'espoir de faire triompher son nouveau système d'occupation, il demanda des Jésuites à Francois de Borgia.”—Cretineau, ii. 155.

and a decree of the late congregation—but that mattered little:—the thing was expedient. The provincial looked to the *end*: the *means* were “indifferent.” He introduced native recruits into the Company, and dispatched them to the work of conversion without sufficient instruction. He even admitted the half-castes into the Company. His Jesuit-subordinates were indignant at these and other misdemeanors in his administration, made representations at Rome, and the first provincial of Peru had the honor to be recalled, after beholding the glorious advance of his work in the midst of internal division.

This is one of the peculiar features of the Jesuit system: however divided amongst themselves, the Jesuits were always united in their outward labors: if they retained the weaknesses and vices of humanity as individuals, they managed somehow to make the rest of mortals “perfect”—in other words, as the pope said, “they cleaned chimneys though they covered themselves with the soot.” This resulted from “system”—from rigid observance of appointed routine—mechanical means effectuating mechanical ends. But hence also, the want of durability in all their achievements. Philip was satisfied with the results; and in 1572 he sent thirteen Jesuits to Mexico, to carry out the same idea.* It is some consolation that the reign of blood was abolished by this “new system of conquest”—and it was a blessing for the poor remnants of the Peruvian Israel, that the Jesuits were ready to serve the king according to his “idea.”

But this was neither Philip’s nor the pope’s “idea” with regard to the heretics of Europe. Pius V. had long resolved to establish the Inquisition in all its rigor throughout Italy, and in every place where his authority might prevail. In spite of all his efforts, Avignon shrank with horror from the “idea” of the terrible tribunal. Pius, on the contrary, esteemed it exceedingly, because there was no chance of his own limbs being dislocated by the tortures, and because he believed it the most effectual method of promoting orthodoxy—so despicable was his opinion of human nature—or so utterly blind he was to the fact that compulsion is the least successful of all human expedients. The kingdom of heaven suffers violence in a certain sense, but man invariably kicks against the pricks in every possible sense: it is his nature. Pius V. asked Borgia for a man capable of providing the Avignonians with the machinery of the Inquisition. *Ed abbiamo martiri*—“and we have martyrs for martyrdom if required,” said a Jesuit general on one occasion, enumerating the classes of his heroes—and on this occasion, Borgia had a man whom he deemed capable of *making* martyrs “if required.” This was the famous Possevin—of Savoy and Bayonne notoriety. Possevin set to work with sermons, gently to entice the people to embrace the horrible monster of the Inquisition. Their taste was too rough to appreciate the delicacy. They were not “perfect” enough to be zealots. So Possevin undertook by sermons to lick the young cubs into shape—excuse the metaphor, for it is the veritable figure invented by the Jesuits to typify the function of their preachers—

* Cretineau, ii. 155, *et seq.*

concionatorum munus. In the *Imago* you will see the great bear at work—fashioning minds with her tongue—*vos mentes fingite lingua.** But the young cubs of Avignon had overgrown the licking season. The Jesuit's sermons excited suspicions, which were confirmed by the movements of the pope's legate, and the people of Avignon rose up with one accord against the Jesuits, who had a college in the city. They stormed the college: the fathers barricaded the doors, and held out until the magistrates issued a decree by which they revoked the grant of the college to the Company. This was an infallible method, it appears, to deal with the Jesuits, who required “well founded” colleges: being deprived of their revenues, they decamped forthwith. Under the mask of disinterested piety the Jesuits undertake to give instruction *gratis*: their terms are accepted to the letter: then the mask falls to the ground, their charity evaporates, and more unconcerned than the she-bear of nature, they resign their unshapen cubs without a pang, excepting that which results from the loss of a “consideration.” They struggled, however, to have the edict revoked,—and left no means untried to soften the magistrates. They appealed to the pope, whose scheme had produced the catastrophe. And the accommodating pope formally denied to the magistrates that he ever thought of introducing the Inquisition, and interceded so warmly for his obedient friends, that the gratuitous teachers were again provided with their college and revenues, and proceeded with their work of charity.† If we but compare the conduct of the Company in the three circumstances lately described, it is evident that the Jesuits were ready to carry out any “idea,” however at variance with its antecedent or consequent. In India they were demolishing the pagodas of the Hindoos; persecuting the priests without quarter or mercy; propagating the faith with powder and shot.‡ In Peru they were persuading the poor savages and negroes to serve King Philip and the Spaniards, for the sake of God Almighty and his Christ. At Avignon they were appealing to the same motives in order to make the people submit to the relentless Moloch of Rome's Inquisition—*simplex duntaxat et unum*,—they always kept right before the wind; though their gallant bark rolled herself to pieces at last.

Pius V. had other work for his faithful legion: he converted them into warriors of the faith. The pope's hatred of heresy and heretics roused him to the maddest efforts in the cause of orthodoxy. He equipped armies and sent them to the aid of various princes then battling with the Turks or their heretic subjects; but he never sent troops

* Page 465. Here is the last grotesque stanza of the ode printed beneath the Jesuit-Bear in the *Imago*.—What an incongruous comparison!

“Pergite ô vastum, Socii, per orbem,
Et rudes doctâ recreate lingua:
Pergite, æterno similem Parenti
Fingere prolem.”

“Go forth, O Brothers, over the wide
world,
And the unshapen polish with your wise
tongues:
Go, and like unto the eternal Parent
Fashion the young cubs.”

† Tanner. Ant. Possev.; Sacchin. lib. v. 139; extract ex Archiv. Avonen.; Quesnel, 258.

‡ Ante, p. 435.

without Jesuits to "excite the soldiers to do their duty, and inspire them with a generosity altogether Christian;" thus the fathers had the happiness to contribute to the wonderful victories of Lepanto, and Jar-nac and Moncontour,* the last over the wretched Huguenots of France. Awful times were those—times of incessant commotion, social, political, and "religious." The correspondence of Pope Pius V. in the midst of those social tempests is a curious expression of the sentiments prevalent at that epoch of humanity. When Charles IX. had resolved on war with his heretics, Pius V. wrote to all the Catholic princes, inviting them to maintain that zealous son of the Church, who was undertaking the complete extermination of the miserable Huguenots. His letters to Philip II. and to Louis de Gonzague, Duke of Nevers, to the Doge of Venice, to Philibert, Duke of Savoy—all have for their entire object the obtaining of men and money. He granted, himself, ten thousand ounces of gold to carry on the holy war. In his letters to Charles IX., to Catherine de' Medici, he speaks of nothing but the enormity of the crime of heresy, and the vengeance that ought to be inflicted for it, either to satisfy the just anger of Heaven or to reclaim the obedience of rebellious subjects—two ideas which were then intimately connected. "Give no longer to the common enemies," said the pope, "give them not the chance of rising against the Catholics. We exhort you to this with all the might, all the ardor of which we are capable May your majesty continue, as you have constantly done, in the rectitude of your soul and in the simplicity of your heart, to seek only the honor of God Almighty, and to combat openly and ardently the enemies of the Catholic religion to their death." Whilst the common father, the type, the personification of Catholicism, displayed and developed such ideas, ought we to be astonished at the zeal, the heroic ardor which animated his people in the war against the Huguenots?† And fierce and horrible was that bloody warfare to become. There was to be no hope, no rest for the Huguenot. So incessantly was he kept in the roaring blaze of persecution, that the word Huguenot became, and still is, the name for a *kettle* in France. Huguenots and Catholics all were drunk with the rage of mutual slaughter, whose prime movement came from the Pope of Rome. The King of Spain fanned the flame of civil war; kept it alive by his incessant advice, not without gold—the gold that was cursed by the blood of Indians crying to God for vengeance. And that vengeance was man's own making—the most awful that can befall humanity—the prostitution of religion to the vile passions and interests of calculating parties. There was some excuse for the multitude—the people who were roused to fight the battles of the designing great ones—but the great waded through their despicable blood to the accomplishment of their desires. And there is some excuse for the Jesuits, if their time-serving devotedness to all who would employ them, made a virtue of that intensest lust of their hearts to overtop all competitors in the struggle for influence on mankind. With the armies sent into France by Pope Pius, Jesuits went exulting, exhorting, inspiring despe-

* Verjus, ii. 22.

† Capefigue, Ref. 299.

rate energy to the fiend of their religion, panting for the blood of a brother. Nor did the Jesuit-aristocrats fail to enlist the feelings of the whole Company in the enterprise. Their historian tells us that Borgia ordered prayers to be said throughout the Company, *a thousand masses* to be celebrated, for the success of this worse than pagan warfare : and he adds, that doubtless the said prayers and masses eventuated the glorious Catholic victories of 1569 ! Jesuits were present, as they tell us ; and the battle of Moncontour merited, according to the Jesuit martyrologist, eternal glory for one of their lay-brothers, named Lelio Sanguinini, who perished among the slain of the papal army. And at the battle of Jarnac their famous Auger had the honor of assisting the Duke d'Anjou—afterwards Henry III.—in donning his cuirass and pulling on his boots.* The function of a valet he soon exchanged for that of propagandist—“converting” in eight days, 360 Huguenots, and founding a convent of nuns—and then, in horrible mockery of premeditated woe, publishing a book which he called *The Spiritual Sugar to sweeten the Bitterness of the Wars of Religion!*† Adored were the Jesuits by their party : but execrated by their opponents. Listen to one of the latter. “It is not the preaching of the word of God that they [the other party] demand. They care not whether this kingdom be peopled with good preachers, or that the people be instructed in their salvation, or that the strayed sheep be reclaimed. No,—they want *Jesuits* who inspire the venom of their conspiracy, under the shade of sanctity, in this kingdom :—Jesuits, who under the pretext of confession (what horrible hypocrisy !) abuse the devotion of those who believe them, and force them to join that league and their party with an oath ; who exhort subjects to kill and assassinate their princes, promising them pardon for their sins, making them believe that by such execrable acts they merit Paradise. True colonies of Spaniards, true leaven of Spain in this kingdom, which has for years soured our dough, has Spaniarded the towns of France under the brows of the Pharisees, whose houses are more dangerous than citadels, whose assemblies are nothing but conspiracies. Such are they known to be : such are for us the fruits of the general assembly which they lately held in Paris, over which presided a certain Jesuit of Pontamousson, the director of those designs. Others there are who blame the king [Henry III.] in open pulpit, inflame the people, arm them with fury against the magistrates, preaching the praises, recommending the virtues of those pretended scions of Charlemagne. This is the ardent zeal, this is the religion that animates them. And would you see them ? When they are in Germany they are Lutherans. They have an eye to the clergy ; they have an eye to the service ; they take precious good care of their residences ; possessing numerous bishoprics, numerous abbeys, contrary to the canons, contrary to the Council which they go preaching in France ; and selling the woods, they waste the domain, leaving the churches and dwellings to rot ; selling relics, reserving for them-

* Sacchin. lib. iii. 124—147, *et seq.*

† Sacchin. *ubi suprà*, 129, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 267.

selves all that is most precious. Few alms they give: the poor are naked, and even the priests die from hunger. True heirs, not of Charlemagne indeed, but of *Charles de Lorraine*, who knew how right devoutly to sell the great cross for his profit, with the richest jewels of Metz.”* Such being the sentiments against the Jesuits in France, the question is, not how far they merited this obloquy, but how far it was impossible for them to be otherwise than thorns in the sides of the people—by their very presence alone keeping alive and stimulating the rancor of parties.

Wherever they wandered, the Jesuits were drawn, or naturally fell, into every scheme that disturbed, agitated, harassed humanity. In that very year when they joined the pope’s army in France, they enlisted themselves in the expedition of the Spaniard, warring with the Moors of Grenada, whom he drove to revolt. Ferdinand the Catholic had burnt 4000 Jews together: he had driven the greater part of the Moors into exile; those who remained had purchased by the ceremonial of baptism a dear permission to see the sun shine on the tops of Alhambra. The Spaniards despised them, insulted them. They hated the Spaniards and their religion. Clinging together in the Alrezin of Grenada, they never resigned the language of Mohammed; and the dress of the Arab still grace the descendants of that race whose blood had bettered the Man of Spain. The Jesuits went amongst them, and, according to their historian, made numberless conversions. If they did so, there was no necessity for advising royal interference to promote the cause of religion. In concert with the Archbishop of Grenada, they induced King Philip to prohibit, under severe penalties, the use of the baths, all which were to be demolished. Besides, the Moorish women were to dress in the fashion of Spain: all were to renounce their language, and speak only Spanish. The Moors revolted. A thousand remembrances nerved their arms, and awoke the energies which had won for their race glory, kingdoms, supremacy among the nations. Led on by a youthful but valiant descendant of that race, they spread havoc and dismay far and wide. They began with the house of the Jesuits, which they forced, and sought, but in vain, the life of the superior. Throughout the surrounding country they profaned the churches, maltreated the priests and the monks. A war with the rebels ensued; and the Jesuits joined the armies of their master “to excite the soldiers, and inspire Christian generosity:” whilst those who remained at Grenada stood as sentinels to guard the city from surprise. The Moors were finally defeated, and reduced to a worse condition than before. They were forced more strictly to conform to the Church: they were scattered at a distance from Grenada, cantoned amongst the interior provinces; and the prisoners were sold as slaves.† It was no consolation to the Moors that the Jesuits lost their house in the Alrezin of Grenada.

The warlike spirit of the Company animated the sons of Loyola in India as well. The Portuguese were masters of Amboyna, where they

* Mornay Du Plessis, Mem. i. 457, *et seq.*

† Sacchin. lib. v.; Quesnel, ii.; Hist. of Spain, 122.

were well defended; and they conceived the design of building a fort in an adjacent island. The inhabitants granted permission; but whether they repented of their imprudence, or were impelled by their neighbors, they set upon the Portuguese workmen engaged in the erection. Vengeance, of course, was resolved. Fearful ravages ensued: the Jesuit Pereira was amongst the leaders of Portugal; but still the barbarians had the advantage. Two Jesuits headed a reinforcement and decided the victory in favor of the Portuguese, who would otherwise have been cut off to a man. The first Jesuit was Vincent Diaz: he wore a cuirass, and carried a huge cross in the van, whilst father Mascarenha edified the rear. Diaz was wounded, and would have been killed had he not been cuirassed. The conquest of the whole island gave finality to the achievement of these free-booters—with the timely aid of the warrior-Jesuits.*

It cannot be denied that the Jesuits were doing their utmost to serve the pope in extending the lever of his power and prerogatives. Nor can it be gainsaid that Pope Pius was a good master to his good and faithful servants. He had enriched them with benefices. He had exalted them with bulls. He had made them powerful with privileges. And now he generously gave them the *Penitentiary* of Rome. That word, like a vast many others, has been strangely perverted in the course of time. Its meaning on the present occasion demands some explanation, particularly as this grant was the sixth house of the Jesuits in Rome. The Roman Penitentiary is an establishment instituted for the accommodation of the pilgrims from all parts of the world, impelled to Rome by their devotion, or by the guilt of some enormous sin, whose absolution was reserved for Rome in particular; in other words, there were, and there are, certain terrible perpetrations for which there is no absolution either from priest or bishop without the special license of the pope. The Romans, you perceive, are hereby highly favored in not having to go far for pardon. This may have been one of the causes which made Rome (the city of Rome) at all times the very model of every possible crime imaginable. Now, to hear the confessions of these multilingualist pilgrims, there were attached to this Penitentiary eleven priests who spoke, altogether, all the languages of Europe. These were presided over by a cardinal with the title of Grand Penitentiary. They did not live in community; but each had a fixed salary, constituting a benefice for life. Their salaries were liberal; and, as it usually happens in such cases, particularly in matters spiritual, the penitentiaries delegated their functions to priests or curates, whom they remunerated as sparingly as possible—a practice which many will pelt at, without considering that their own houses are made of glass. These curates were generally as worthless as their cures or “situations.” According to Sacchinus, these abuses determined Pope Pius V. to transfer the establishment to the Jesuits. There were many objections against Borgia’s acceptance of the concern. It was easy to dismiss the fact that the donation would excite the envy of many,—

* Sacchin. lib. v.; Quesnel, ii. 271; Voyage aux Indes, iii. p. 197.

those whom they supplanted, especially; but the statutes of the Order positively prohibited the acceptance of any revenues excepting for colleges. It was easily managed. The difficulties vanished like smoke in the clear blue sky of Jesuit-invention. The Jesuits satisfied the sorrowing penitentiaries outgoing, by granting them a pension; and, secondly, they transferred some of their students to the house, so as to bring it under the mask of a *college*—thus exhibiting one of those curious and edifying practical equivocations whose neatness is equal to their utility on delicate occasions. Thus the holy general yielded to the scheme, like a gentle “beast of burthen,” and received on his back at one load, for the *res Societatis*,—the stock of the Company,—no less than twelve of the richest benefices in Rome, which were enjoyed by the Jesuits to the day of their destruction.*

They were not less favored in France. At length, after all their useless efforts to manage the University and Parliament, royal favor enabled them at once to dispense with the sanction of their rivals. It was certainly to be expected that Charles IX., so completely under the influence of Philip II., should follow the example of the Spaniard, and patronise the men who could carry out his “idea” so successfully. The time was coming when the Jesuits would be useful in France. The French king issued a mandate to his parliament for the speedy termination of the process against the disputed donations, which he confirmed to the Company without reserve. The Jesuits followed up this display of royal patronage with extraordinary efforts at conversion:—they would repay the king with the souls of Huguenots. Auger and Possevin, the two grand apostolical hunters of the Company, were incessantly in the pulpit or on horseback. Possevin laid the foundations of a college at Rouen, and threw himself on Dieppe, a stronghold of heresy. He preached two or three sermons, and, wonderful to tell, fifteen hundred Huguenots were converted! Pity that such an apostle did not do the same in every town of France: there would have been no Huguenots left to be slaughtered: the space of a single year would have been enough to forefend the maledictions of ages. Possevin left his work unfinished: he was called from his miraculous apostolate to gratify the Cardinal de Bourbon at Rouen, with a course of Lent sermons! His substitute, however, even surpassed the apostle. As rapidly, he converted fifteen hundred Huguenots,—which must have exhausted heresy at the small seaport of Normandy. This natural association of seaport with fishes, seems to have suggested a corresponding miracle to the secretaries of Jesuit-ambassadors—for we are told that this last apostle at Dieppe, attracted into the nets of the fishermen the shoals of herrings which had swum off to other coasts—since the *introduction of heresy*, says Sacchinus! Poitiers, Niort, Chatelleraut, and other towns of Poitou, furnished similar miraculous conversions to six other Jesuits—although in the middle of the eighteenth century these towns continued to be strongholds of heresy, filled with Calvinists, notwithstanding the fine houses which the Jesuits possessed in Nor-

* Sacchin. lib. vi.; Quesnel, ii. 283.

mandy and Poitou.* And if it be more difficult to make one good Jesuit than a thousand ordinary priests; and if an ordinary Jesuit may convert fifteen hundred heretics with two or three sermons,—then the conversion of a Jesuit must be tantamount to that of some ten thousand heretics—and such a conversion came to pass about the same time: a German Jesuit apostatised and took a wife. He was of the college at Prague. Vain were all the provincial's efforts to reclaim the lost sheep; vain were the prayers of the Jesuits; vastly they abuse the man for his secession; deeply they cut into his reputation for bringing discredit upon them—in the midst of the lynx-eyed heretics. And they pour the phial of God's judgment upon his head, devoted to destruction by the curses of the Jesuits, saying: “The plague which spared the city of Prague seized the apostate: it killed him and the woman who had the melancholy courage to link her destiny with his!”† Those who can say such things may be simply infatuated with rancorous zeal: but they can claim no praise or congratulation as to their hearts or their minds. And as a set-off to that rancor, public rumor trumpeted the bad morals of the Jesuits themselves at Vienna, and appealed to the evidence of a woman for the attestation of sin: nay, it was proclaimed that disguises were used to facilitate the indulgence of vice. Truly or falsely, it matters little to inquire, since the Jesuits so rancorously blasted the reputation of a member who joined the ranks of the detestable heretics.‡

The fortunes of war harassed the Jesuits more effectually than the loss of a member or the obloquy of fame. The “idea” of the Spaniard was even destined to recoil upon himself with vengeance redoubled, and to react against all who lent a hand to its development. The mighty schemes of heretic-extirpation prompted by Pope Pius, undertaken by King Philip and King Charles, were fast progressing to a dreadful consummation. To work the ferocious Alva went, exulting over the tortures and the blood of the rebels in Flanders. For the Catholic refugees from England there was gold in abundance, splendid liberality. For the native heretics there were tortures, unspeakable cruelty—and yet—*eventu vasto*—with vast benefit to the Catholic cause, according to the Jesuit Strada.§ Alva had cut down the Protestant leaders Egmont and Horn. The prisons were filled with nobles and the rich. The “*Council of Blood*” had the scaffold for its cross of salvation; and the decrees of the Inquisition for its gospel. Men were roasted alive: women were delivered over to the soldier's brutality. Alva boasted that he had consigned to death eighteen thousand Flemings. And who were these adversaries of the Spaniard? Who were the men whom this ruthless tyranny drove to revolt? A peaceful

* Sacchin. lib. vi.; Quesnel, ii. 286, *et seq.*

† “La peste, qui épargnait la ville de Prague, atteignit l'apostat: elle le tua avec la femme qui avait eu le triste courage d'associer sa destinée avec la sienne.”—Cretineau, ii. 48.

‡ Sacchin. *ubi supra*, 93, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 287.

§ “Hæretici plectuntur eventu vasto. Jamque hæretici trahebantur ad ergastula, plectebanturque, territis ex eo non paucis, iisque, qui supplicio afficiebantur, non raro Ecclesiæ restitutis.”—De Bello Belg. 166.

tribe of fishermen and shepherds, in an almost forgotten corner of Europe, which with difficulty they had rescued from the ocean; the sea their profession, and at once their wealth and their plague; poverty with freedom their highest blessing, their glory, their virtue. The severe rod of despotism was held suspended over them. An arbitrary power threatened to tear away the foundation of their happiness. The guardian of their laws became their tyrant. Simple in their political instincts, as in their manners, they dared to appeal to ancient treaties, and to remind the lord of both the Indies of the rights of nature. A name decides the whole issue of things. In Madrid that was called rebellion, which in Brussels was styled only a lawful remonstrance. The complaints of Brabant required a prudent mediator. Philip sent an executioner, and the signal of war was given.* Driven to frenzy, the cruel battle-field was their only refuge—retaliating slaughter, destruction, their only hope:—for kings had not yet been taught to *feel* that they are simply the servants of their people for *punishment*, as soon as they cease to be the exponent of God's providence over the land they call their kingdom. The Pope of Rome sanctioned the wickedness of kings in those days. Pope Pius, as I have stated, praised and rewarded Alva for his atrocities; he stimulated Philip with exhortation, and even gave him a “dispensation” to marry the betrothed bride of his *own son*—a dispensation to marry his *own niece*, who was disappointed of a husband by the *untimely death* of Don Carlos—of which it were to be wished that Philip was guiltless.† Such was the

* Schiller, Revolt. Introd.

† “Protestant writers accuse the king of poisoning his son during his captivity [being suspected of heresy, and known to be favoring the malcontents of the Netherlands], and also his young queen, a few months afterwards, when she died in premature child-bed. Spanish writers generally state that Don Carlos died of a fever; and of the authors who may be esteemed impartial, some allege that Carlos intentionally brought on such a fever by intemperance, whilst others assert that he was solemnly delivered by his father into the hands of the Inquisition; was convicted by that fearful tribunal of heresy, and sentenced to death, when, as an especial indulgence, he was allowed to choose the mode of his execution, and chose poison. The better opinion seems to be, that his death was a natural one. As such it was announced; when the king received the intelligence with expressions of deep sorrow, retiring to a monastery for a short time, the court went into mourning, and all the usual forms of grief were observed. Philip gave, however, an air of credibility to the horrible and improbable accusation of his enemies, by wooing his son's second betrothed bride, although his own niece, shortly after Isabel's death. A dispensation being with some difficulty obtained from the pope, the Archduchess Anne became her uncle's fourth wife, and the mother of his heir, inasmuch as Isabel had left only daughters.”—*Hist. of Spain*, (Lib. of Usef. Knowl.) 120. Cretineau gives a curious note on this affair. I must remind the reader that Philip's Queen, Isabel of France, had been promised to Don Carlos; and it is alleged that Carlos never forgave his father for robbing him of his beautiful promised bride, and that the king entertained a deep and savage jealousy of his son's attachment to that princess. Cretineau's curious note is as follows: “According to a manuscript half Spanish, half Latin, taken during the Peninsular wars in 1811, from the archives of Simancas . . . which manuscript was in the possession of the Duke de Broglie, and probably the composition of some chaplain of Isabel,—Don Carlos died in a bath, his veins having been opened; and Isabel was poisoned by a drink which King Philip forced her to swallow before his eyes. This writing confirms the intimacy supposed to exist between the queen and the king's son,” t. ii. p. 66. What a complication of horrors! And yet this Philip was the very god of orthodoxy. What a fearful example of believing like a saint and sinning like a devil! According to De Thou, Pope Pius

mediation of the popedom 'twixt heaven and earth in those days. And think you that the temporary punishment inflicted by the French and Napoleon has settled the account of humanity against the popedom? We have yet to see it swept away for ever—and many of us may live to see that desirable day for religion—for all humanity.

In the midst of the disorders produced by the revolt of the Netherlands, the Jesuits did not think proper to expose themselves to the discretion of the conquerors, nor the fury of the vanquished. They decamped. But they took precautions to conceal their flight. They doffed their gowns and donned the dress of the country, belted on a sword, and thus equipped, they dispersed in different directions—taking the additional precaution of cutting their beards. Their hair they always wore short; and that circumstance may have had some effect in exciting their incessantly active brains; for short bristling hairs are powerful electrics.* But the *res Societatis* was not utterly neglected and forgotten. They left a few companions thus disguised, to wander up and down, and yet keep an eye on the interests of the Company, so as not completely to lose the establishment which they had earned with so much difficulty.†

The town of Mechlin or Malines was taken by assault, and Alva gave it up to his hounds for rape and rapine. None were spared: even the monks and the nuns were plundered and maltreated by the troops of the most Catholic king under his general, complimented and rewarded by the Pope of Rome, father of the faithful, successor of St. Peter, Christ's vicar upon earth. The sack lasted three days: and the fortunate soldiers, glutted with crime and laden with the booty, marched into Antwerp, where they began to sell off their stolen goods to the best advantage. "A priest of the Company of Jesus, who was in high repute in Antwerp, assembled some of the merchants," says Strada, the Jesuit, "and induced them to buy up the articles so wastefully sold by the troops, in order to restore them to the original owners at the same price." The "pious merchants" complied, according to Strada; the goods, which were worth one hundred thousand florins, were bought in for twenty thousand, and resold to the owners at the same price; the portion which was not redeemed being distributed among the poor—*inter inopes*. Nay, the same merchants made a subscription, and freighted a vessel with provisions for the unfortunates at Malines. Even the soldiers, by the same Jesuit's exhortation, sent in the same vessel more than a hundred precious vestments, besides other sacred furniture, to be restored to the monks and nuns gratuitously.‡ Such

V. praised Philip for his stern uncompromising severity in the *Catholic cause* (!) for which he had not even spared his own son,—*qui proprio filio non pepercisset*. xliii. I must here observe that Cretineau, or the translator he quotes, has taken great liberties with De Thou in the seven lines he puts into inverted commas, as though they were translated from that author, to uphold his idea in defence of Philip's cruelty.—ii. 66, note.

* Hence to cut short the hair of prisoners is to prolong their wickedness by keeping up their physical excitement in solitude. A clean shave would be infinitely more to the purpose, just as in madness.

† Sacchin. lib. viii. 225, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 291.

‡ Strada, 432.

is the Jesuit-version of the affair, which, however, was differently related by other parties. These say that the soldiers gave a portion of the booty to the Jesuits, as it was a common practice with them to share their spoil with the monks: and the Jesuits converted the same into money, with which they built their costly and magnificent house in Antwerp. Sacchinus denies the fact, as a matter of course, stating that the Jesuits were publicly accused of having built their house out of the spoils of Mechlin; and further, that they had used some of the same money to procure the favor they enjoyed with Alva's successor in the Netherlands—an instance, adds the historian, of the malignity and perversity of man, which can find nothing good or virtuous without putting upon it a wrong construction.* It would have been better to supply the place of this moral axiom, by stating whence the funds were obtained for building or beautifying the house at Antwerp. However, perhaps we may *halve* the evidence on both sides, and believe that the Jesuits displayed a kind consideration for the unfortunates of Malines, *and* provided for their house in the bargain. It is delightful for a sportsman to kill two birds at one shot.

In the midst of these awful scenes of war in almost every other province of the Company, the Jesuits at Rome were cultivating the arts with their usual activity, were training youth according to their system, and with curious results. The German College, as I have stated, was filled with the sons of the nobility—youths destined for the highest functions in church and state—youths who would become men and be placed in a position to influence many a social circle, many a city, many a kingdom. Considering the dominant ideas of the Catholic reaction headed by the pope, considering the perfect concurrence of the Jesuits in that movement, we may take it for granted that the hatred of the heretics was intensely inculcated in their schools, as Possevinus told the Duke of Savoy. In the spreading establishments of the Jesuits, therefore, we behold one immense source of the desperate spirit of contention which made that most immoral first century of the Jesuits, the most bigoted withal. Everything was postponed to the bugbear orthodoxy. To insure fidelity to "the Church," everything would be sacrificed. And it was the great, the noble, and the rich, whose heart and hand the champions of Catholicism were eager to enlist around their banners. With such support there would be no necessity for the pope "to sell the last chalice of the church" for gold, whereon and whereby to establish and defend Catholicism. So the Jesuits were excessively endearing, kind, indulgent to these sprigs of nobility, whom they effectually bound to their cause, and to themselves or the Company: but not without the usual consequences of partiality, indulgence, and connivance in the management of youth. If there be a class of human beings for whose guidance the most undeviating singleness of heart, the most candid simplicity, with rational firmness, be absolutely necessary, it is youth—youth of all ranks—but especially the children of the great and the rich, who imbibe that un-

* Sacchin. lib. viii. 231; Meteren, Hist. Des Pays Bas; Quesnel, ii. 291.

natural pride, selfishness, and self-sufficiency which are destined to perpetuate the abuses of civilisation. Amongst the Jesuit-establishments the evils of their system were already apparent. Even in the life-time of Ignatius, we beheld them with grief, though we bitterly laughed at the incongruous contrast of rules as rigid as cast-iron, and conduct as unbridled as the ocean—amongst their own scholastics—the embryo-Jesuits of Portugal. We must not, therefore, be surprised to read of a “row” in the Roman and German Colleges, managed by the Jesuits. The Jesuit-theatricals were the origin—*un-*“ holy emulation” was the proximate cause of the strife. The students at the German College had performed a tragedy with the usual display: the pupils at the Roman College had also prepared their drama to succeed among the Roman festivities usual during the carnival. From a commendable spirit of economy, or to lessen the cost of their attractions, the Jesuits thought proper to request the pupils of the Roman College to perform their drama in the theatre already constructed in the German College. As soon as this was made known, the students of the German College resolved to give a second representation of their tragedy. It appears that it was “by particular desire” of the public, who had duly applauded the histrionic efforts of the young Jesuits: but the pupils of the Roman College were determined to fire off their gun, and resolved not to lose the opportunity. The Germans took possession of the theatre: the Romans rushed on, and a desperate struggle ensued. “In fact,” says Sacchinus, “there was every likelihood of seeing a real tragedy enacted, and the theatre converted into a gladiatorial arena.” On such occasions the young are themselves frightened by the serious consequences of their unbridled humors; and in that condition they are easily managed. Borgia interposed, prohibited both companies from acting, and dismissed the audience.* Still the Jesuits persevered in the practice of these exhibitions, and became famous for their theatrical pomps and vanities. Their Shakspeares composed tragedies—absurd and wretched platitudes most of them—and their Keans and Kembles delighted their silly parents and friends, who deemed it an honor to have the family-genius exhibited to the multitude. The Jesuits of course humored the weakness—sacrificed to the vanity; but those who have some experience in these matters, who have witnessed the total absorption of every other thought by the preparations for a college performance, the feverish anxiety to win applause, the positively demoralising impression produced by the concourse of gaily-dressed women, on the eyes at least of the students previously so strictly secluded,—whoever has witnessed these concomitants of college-theatricals, may be permitted to think that they should have been dispensed with by those who make a boast of their moral students. But these displays served the purpose of the Jesuits. They captivated the most vulgar portion of humanity—parents blinded by vanity, intoxicated with over-fondness for their progeny. Not only did the Jesuits stimulate the histrionic ambition of their pupils by these

* Sacchin. lib. vi. 9, *et seq.*; Quesnel, ii. 312, *et seq.*

regular displays, but their very *prizes* were neatly bound and gilt plays, composed by their Company—harmless, stupid matter enough decidedly, and not worth the binding; but it is the “spirit” thus entertained and stimulated, which demands attention.*

Their colleges answered another purpose as well—they presented a field of selection whence the noble oaks and mighty poplars emerged and towered aloft, overshadowing the fortunate confederation. Robert Bellarmine was now in condition to begin the glorious career of his pen and his tongue, in defence of orthodoxy. The Jesuits consoled themselves for the disaster at Montepulciano, by the thought that the city gave them a Bellarmine.† A cousin of Pope Marcellus II., he was sent very young to the Roman school of the Jesuits, and imbibed a “vocation” into the Company. It is said that his humility and simplicity of character led him to join the Company, on account of the vow by which the Jesuits engaged themselves not to accept any prelacy or church-dignity, unless compelled by an express command of the pope.‡ It seems to me that Ignatius could not have devised a better expedient for making his men most likely to be chosen for such appointments. It made them conspicuous amongst the monks—so eager for bishoprics and other church-pickings; and it slyly appealed to that *ruimus in vetitum*, the grasping at the forbidden fruit, which alone, without other motives, will make men, and self-willed popes particularly, enforce their desires. Of course, the general as wisely kept a check on his ambitious individuals. Bellarmine passed through his preliminary studies with great success and edification. We are told that he excelled in poetry, and never committed a mortal sin, nor even a venial sin with full deliberation.§ In fact he is compared by his Jesuit-biographer to the heavens, which were made for the utility of others.|| Without being prejudiced against this celebrated man by the wretched absurdities which the Jesuits say of him, it must be admitted that he was one of the best Jesuits—in the better sense of the word—that ever existed—an earnest believer in the doctrines of the Church which he successfully defended—to the utter ruin and destruction of heresy, according to the boast of his party, and not without affright in the ranks

* I fortunately fell in with one of the prizes, now in my possession—*Petri Mussonii Virdunensis e Societate Jesu Tragedia*, “performed in the theatre of Henry IV.’s college,” at La Fleche.. On the fly-leaf there is a manuscript declaration by Chevalier, the prefect of Studies at the college, attesting that the volume was merited by an “ingenious youth” named Michael Tartaret, to whom it was presented in the public theatre of the same college, as a reward for composition—“hoc volumen in primum scriptioris præmium, in publico ejusdem Collegii theatro, meritum et consecutum esse.”—Aug. 19, an. 1626. I shall allude to the work anon. The matter is certainly unworthy of the binding, which is red morocco, richly gilt, with beaded edges. The price was high, and upon my objection, the bookseller said that it was the *binding*, the *outside*, that made it valuable; otherwise, said he, you might have it for a shilling. But he altered his opinion when I paid the price, and explained to him the purport of the manuscript declaration on the fly-leaf, of which he was not aware, and which, of course, would have enhanced the price of the curiosity.

† Bartoli, Dell’ Ital.

‡ Frizon, Vie de Bellarm. i.; Quesnel, ii. 309; Fuligat. Vita, i.

§ Fulig. Vita.

|| Ibid.

of the Protestants.* He entered the novitiate in 1560, aged only eighteen: but his merits or the want of laborers in the Company, induced the general to dispense with the constitutional two years, which were compressed into two months for Robert Bellarmine. He was then hurried through his philosophy, and sent to teach the languages and rhetoric at Florence, and subsequently at Mondovi. His remarkable talent induced the superiors to dispense with the usual course,—and he was sent to preach in various places, the Company availing herself of a papal privilege which permitted her members to preach though not in orders. Genoa, Padua, Venice, and other large towns of Italy listened to the young Jesuit, scarcely twenty-two years of age, with profit and admiration. The success of his public disputation and lectures at Genoa, suggested to the superiors that Louvain, where they had so much trouble with the university, was the right position for such a great gun as the young Bellarmine. Besides, there was a sort of Catholic heretic at Louvain, the famous Baius, whose views of Divine grace were censured by others of his Church, who had other views in view. Hitherto the doctor, Baius, had to contend with hidden enemies, excepting a certain tribe of the monks; but now the Company of Jesus took him in hand, and sent Bellarmine, its famous young preacher, to bestow a few words upon him, which he did in a public disputation against the aforesaid views of Divine grace. Bellarmine was ordained shortly after his arrival; and continued to preach with more zeal than ever. His youth and eloquence astonished all the world, and his reputation became so great that the Protestants from Holland and England were attracted over to hear the new preacher. His great talent consisted in winning over the heretics by mildness. He spared the heretic whilst he inveighed against heresy: he strove to direct the steps of the wanderer rather than to beat him into the fold; and in wrestling with the opponents of Rome by his eloquence, his triumph was always the result of his mildness, which was charming.† Bellarmine was one of the very few Jesuits whose peculiar organisation permitted them to pursue that method with the heretics; and if he had had more imitators in his Company, Christendom would not have seen so much bloodshed amongst the heretics—all victims of that ferocious and sanguinary zeal which irritates and perpetuates dissension. There is a

* The title-page to his Life by the Jesuit Fuligati, published in 1624, is a splendid emblem of that boasting. Bellarmine appears clad as a warrior, "with his martial cloak around him," looking contemptuously but severely on a hideous demoniac, the perfect expression of horrible anguish, tearing out the leaves of a book, whilst her face is averted and dreadfully distorted. Bellarmine has the fore-finger of his right hand on his lip, commanding silence, whilst with his left he holds a fir-top, and a chain which is passed round the neck of the female monster. There are plenty of fir-tops pending from the two trees which bound the emblem, and at the top there is another hideous face with a fir-top stuck in his mouth, by way of "a nut to crack," I suppose. Then there is a most curious Anagram discovered by some idle but orthodox Jesuit. In the words *Robertus Cardinalis Bellarminus e Societate Jesu*, this Jesuit has discovered anagrammatically the following awful prophecy—*Lutheri errores ac astutias Calvini omnes delebis*—you will demolish all the errors of Luther and wiles of Calvin. I suppose the words "if you can" were sub-understood amphibologically, or by equivocation.

† Frizon, i.; Fuligat. ii.; Quesnel, ii. 311.

remarkable inconsistency in the Jesuits in this matter. How could men, so constantly complaining of persecution and intolerance, be the first to give the example when their bows, and their smiles, and their soft words failed to convert the heretic? But so it was, however. At the very time when they most lamented the injustice of persecution, they were elsewhere advocating the principle in its widest extent. Thus, in 1595, one of the first Jesuits, the bosom friend of Loyola, and the most venerable of the Company at the time, Father Ribadeneyra, published a sort of Anti-Machiavel, whose twenty-sixth chapter is entitled “That the heretics ought to be chastised, and how prejudicial is liberty of conscience—*Que los hereges deven ser castigados, y quan prejudicial sea la libertad de conciencia.*” And after heaping together very many arguments from all sources, in defence of his position, he asks: “If he who coins false money is burnt, why not he who makes and preaches false doctrine? If he who forges royal letters deserves the penalty of death, what will he merit who corrupts the Sacred Scriptures and the divine letters of the Lord? The woman dies justly for not preserving fidelity to her husband, and shall not that man die who does not preserve his faith to his God?” And lastly he concludes, “that to permit liberty of conscience, and to let each man lose himself as he pleases, is a diabolical doctrine,” attributing the words to Beza, whom he calls “an infernal fury, and a worthy disciple of his master, Calvin.” Nor is Bellarmine himself exempt from the charge of intolerance, though he thought Jesuitical craft and persuasion better adapted for success with heretics. In his practice he was a sleek seducer: in his theory he was a stern persecutor. Thus Ribadeneyra refers his readers for more copious details on the subject to “Father Robert Bellarmine of our Company.”* In fact it was the universal doctrine of the Churchmen; and what is more disgraceful still, actually practised by Protestants. Of all crimes in history none seems to me more hideously inconsistent—to say nothing of its guilt—than the ample share which Calvin had in the burning of Servetus. The plain fact is that there was no true religion, no pure religion on earth in those times, amongst the *leaders of parties*. All was utter selfishness in thought, word, and deed.

The infidels came in for their share. No one need be told that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries all Christendom was in constant terror of the Turks. It was destined for Pope Pius V. to be the great promoter of an expedition which broke the Ottoman power for ever; at all events so completely maimed it that since then Turkey has only served to “keep up the balance of power” in Europe—one of those incomprehensible axioms that statesmen invent to serve a purpose, until another maxim issues from a diametrically opposite procedure. One of these days Russia will swallow up Turkey, and our statesmen will find their balance somewhere else, without losing their gravity—as we hope and trust.

Now, in the year 1571 fright and orthodoxy admirably combined to

* *Tratado de la Religion*, c. xxvi. ed. Mad. 1595; Bellarm. t. i. l. iii.; *De Laicis*, c. xviii.

exterminate the Turks:—but the Venetians—the lord-high admirals of the ocean in those times—were rather the worse for the war of fright and orthodoxy. The Grand Turk was just preparing to smoke his pipe in Cyprus—a Christian stronghold rather too important to be sacrificed by the devout sons of orthodoxy. The pope, fierce old Pius V., bestirred himself accordingly—applied to the Spaniard, who struck an alliance with him, but sent very few ships to make the Turk strike withal,—whilst the Ottoman grinned fiercely at the prospects before him, as he scanned his mighty armaments ready to devour the Christians. The pope resolved to stimulate the Spaniard. Pius thought it his duty to exterminate the Turks, simply because they were not Catholics. That was the impelling motive of his ferocious zeal, added to the universal fright of Christendom at the encroachments of the Ottomans. When the Turkish power was crippled, vast praise was given to the pope for his exertions: but, with his known motives, he merited none, and the results of the victory of Lepanto, so beneficial to the terror-stricken Christians, proved decisive merely from the character of the Turks, who could not digest a disaster. Christendom was delivered of its incubus—and the Turks were not capable, by their character, to resume their deviltry—whereat we have great reason to rejoice and be thankful. But it must be admitted that Pius bestirred himself with vast determination. He despatched a cardinal to Philip, and sent General Borgia with him as secretary. The celebrated Francis Tolet had joined the Company—a “monster of intellect” as his master, Dominic Soto, styled him. Pope Pius set him to work, dispatched him into Portugal to labor for the same league against the Turks. It was a stirring time for the Company. The Jesuits dispersed themselves in all the kingdoms of Europe, and penetrated into their courts, with the noble pretext of begging assistance for the hampered Venetians. The Company profited by the work of charity. Her houses were multiplied to such an extent that it was found necessary to appoint six provincials to visit all the new establishments. The increase of their wealth set the Jesuits in constant agitation. They wished for ubiquity, omnipotence; and by the natural consequence of their indefatigable exertions in these stirring times, they constantly managed to fall in for something—new establishments arose almost daily. Everything favored their designs. The ignorance of the people and the priesthood and monkhood, in those days,—added to the by-play of the princes, lords, and monarchs, who found the Jesuits useful,—furnished them with the grand fulcrum for the lever of intellect, tact, and craft, set in motion by their boundless ambition.

Early in 1572 Borgia visited the Court of France in behalf of the *pope's affairs*. He returned to Rome almost dying with lassitude, harassments, and disease. In May, the same year, Pius V. expired “in the odor of sanctity;” and on the 24th of August, Charles IX. and his mother Catherine performed the grand religious ceremony of St. Bartholomew's massacre. It was an universal mandate to cut to pieces every Huguenot in Paris and throughout the provinces of France—as if the fiend of religionism in those days wished to mock what we

read of the destroying angel in Egypt. How Philip of Spain exulted thereat! "So Christian, so great, so valiant an extermination and execution," as he called it. "Finish," he wrote to the king, "finish purging your kingdom of the infection of heresy: it is the greatest good that can happen to your majesties"—Charles IX. and Catherine de' Medici, his mother. At Rome the news was received with enthusiastic acclamations. Pope Gregory XIII., who had succeeded to Pius V., expressed his joy in a letter to Charles and his mother—he congratulated them for having "served the faith of Christ in shaking off hideous heresy." Bonfires blazed in the streets at Rome, and from the castle of St. Angelo cannons roared glory to the deed of blood—and at last they mocked God Almighty by a solemn procession to the Church of St. Louis—all Rome's nobility and people uniting in the impious thanksgiving.* Such was the climax of religious zeal, for which the most ardent machinators of the faith—the Jesuits—with all Catholics of the time—might boast: but alas! how short-sighted it was—considering the desperation which it would produce in the persecuted—and the excuse it would give, in the eyes of all disinterested observers, for the most savage persecutions by Protestant kings and pagans against the Catholics—presenting that retributive justice which never fails to

* Capefigue, *Réforme*. This writer gives the best account extant of that dreadful affair. Nothing more need be known on the subject. A medal was struck, by order of the pope, to commemorate this "perambulating sacrifice of not less than 40,000 human victims to the Moloch of Papal anti-Christianity," and ruthless tyranny. If the Jesuits were not directly accessories to the slaughter, they were accessories after the fact, by their approval of the deed, as the following notice of the medal by the Jesuit antiquarian Bonanni, proves but too strikingly. The medal has on the obverse, as usual, a figure of the pope: GREGORIUS XIII. PONT. MAX. AN. I. The reverse has a representation of a destroying angel, with a cross in one hand and a sword in the other, slaying and pursuing a prostrate and fallen band of heretics. The legend is, UCONOTORUM. STRAGES. 1572. The Jesuit Bonanni thus proceeds: "The unexpected change of affairs overwhelmed Gregory, the pontiff, and Italy, with the greater joy, in proportion to the increasing fear produced by the account of Cardinal Alessandrino, lest the rebels, who had revolted from the ancient religion, should inundate Italy. Immediately upon the receipt of the news the pontiff proceeded with solemn supplication from St. Mark's to St. Louis's temple; and having published a jubilee for the Christian world, he called upon the people to commend the religion and King of France to the supreme Deity. He gave orders for a painting descriptive of the slaughter of the Admiral Coligny and his companions, to be made in the Hall of the Vatican, by Giorgio Vasari, as a monument of vindicated religion, and a trophy of exterminated heresy, solicitous to impress by that means how salutary would be the effect, to the sick body of the kingdom, so copious an emission of bad blood—*quam salubris ægro Regni corpori tam copiosa depravati sanguinis emissio esset profutura*. He sends Cardinal Ursino as his legate—a *latere*—into France, to admonish the king to pursue his advantages with vigor, nor lose his labor, so prosperously commenced with sharp remedies, by mingling with them more gentle ones. Although these were such brilliant proofs of the piety of Charles, and of his sincere attachment to the Catholic Church, as well as of pontifical solicitude, there were not wanting some who gave them a very different interpretation. But, that the slaughter was not executed without the help of God and the divine counsel, Gregory inculcated in a medal struck on the occasion, in which an angel, armed with a sword and a cross, attacks the rebels; a representation by which he recalls to mind, that the houses of the heretics were signed with a white cross, in order that the king's soldiers might know them from the rest, as likewise they themselves wore a white cross on their hats."—*Numism. Pontiff. Rom. a temp. Mart. V. &c. Roma, 1699, t. i. p. 336*. See Mendham, who quotes the original Latin, for some pertinent remarks, and other facts, relating to the massacre, its many medals, and its apologists.—*Life of Pius V. p. 210—217.*

overtake crime, in some shape or another, *here*—in *this* world, before the criminal departs for the other.

Two days before the massacre, Henry of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., had married Charles IX.'s sister. He was still in the Louvre. Henry was a Huguenot: the king would force him to abjure his religion. To give the transaction the appearance of conviction, he sent for the Jesuit Maldonat. The Jesuit came—through the scenes of blood he came trembling—but not without self-possession, and addressed the prince of the Huguenots. Henry listened, but made no reply, when Charles IX., in a paroxysm of rage, cried, “Either the mass, death, or perpetual imprisonment,—choose instantly. The future Henry IV. had no vocation for religious or political martyrdom, so he abjured heresy with his lips, saved his life, and bided his time. We shall meet him again.*

On the 1st of October, 1572, General Borgia expired. His age was sixty-two—twenty-two of which he passed in the Company. His generalate lasted eight years. His companions requested him to name a vicar-general; but he refused, saying that he had to render an account to God for many other things, without adding that appointment to the number. Then he humbly begged pardon of all the fathers for the faults he had committed against the perfection of the Institute, and the bad example he thought he had given them, craving their benediction; and, in accordance with their earnest request, promising to remember them in the abodes of the blest, should God be merciful to him; and asked to be left alone. But still they troubled the poor man, anxious to depart in peace, and to give his last moment to God alone. They had the heart to ask the dying man to permit a painter to take his portrait. Borgia refused permission. They disobeyed their dying general, because they wanted the bauble to sanction miracles withal, as the event verified.† In spite of his wish to be alone with God—in spite of his refusal to have his portrait taken, the Jesuit-aristocrats persisted; two of them stood before him, with the painter in the rear, at work with his paint and pencils: they actually tried to trick their dying general! What *children* would thus persist in annoying a dying parent? And yet for them there would be some excuse, since it would be motived by those strong feelings of *nature*, of which we are proud: but these Jesuits totally disclaimed any feeling of the sort in theory, and they were incapable of it in practice, as their cruel importunity attested. Borgia perceived the trick. The poor man had lost his speech: he could not reproach them: but with his hands he tried to express his displeasure, evidently without effect, for he made an effort, and turned away from the persecutors. Then only did they dismiss the painter; and then he sighed and expired.‡

Throughout the eight years of his generalate, Borgia kept his pro-

* Cretineau, ii. 123.

† See Verjus, ii. 323, for what he calls “the prodigious effects of a portrait of the saint.”

‡ Verjus, ii. 80—83. I need not say that the Jesuit makes a very *edifying* affair out of the disgusting conduct of the “fathers” who besieged Borgia on his death-bed.

mise to be the “beast of burthen” of the Company’s aristocracy; and the pope of Rome used him in like manner, to the utter affliction of the man, whose peculiar organisation ever made him the tool of influence—ever subservient to the will of others—utterly incapable of resistance to impulses from without, and a prey to the wildest notions of ascetic devotion from within. “Thus he was a saint in his infancy at the bidding of his nurse—then a cavalier at the command of his uncle—an inamorato because the empress desired it—a warrior and a viceroy because such was the pleasure of Charles—a devotee from seeing a corpse in a state of decomposition—a founder of colleges on the advice of Peter Faber—a Jesuit at the will of Ignatius—a general of the Order because his colleagues would have it so.* Had he lived in the times and in the society of his infamous kinsmen, Borgia would, not improbably, have shared their disastrous renown.”† How much soever his intimate connection with the “religious” *Borgias* of the sixteenth century—Philip II., Charles IX., and Pope Pius V., must tend to diminish our esteem of the man—the Christian,—yet there is evidence to prove that his mind perceived, and his heart embraced, the best intentions; but palsied as he was by the weakness of his nature, and the rushing force of circumstances in which he was placed, he lived a man of desire, and after doing what he could to avert evil, he died with bitter thoughts and apprehensions respecting that Company for which he made himself a “beast of burthen”—not indeed from terror or a grovelling nature—but in deference to that internal ascetic devotion which we must experience in order to understand its dictates of undistinguishing submissiveness.

His presence at the court of France, on a mission from the pope, immediately before the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, is suspicious; but, “though he maintained an intimate personal intercourse with Charles IX., and his mother, and enjoyed their highest favor, there is no reason to suppose that he was intrusted with their atrocious secret. Even in the land of the Inquisition he had firmly refused to lend the influence of his name to that sanguinary tribunal [as Ignatius *had* done before him]; for there was nothing morose in his fanaticism, nor mean

* *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1842, an article entitled “Ignatius Loyola and his Associates.” Cretineau-Joly boldly and confidently palms that article on *Mr. Macaulay*, and quotes from it triumphantly on many occasions; not without taking some liberties with the original. It is a curious piece of composition, but evidently written at some “religious” party—a cento of biting hints very deeply cut in. Certainly, however, no Jesuit nor friend of theirs should appeal to that article, since there is everything in it to produce a bad impression against Jesuitism even in its best aspects—the earlier phase of its history. There is much irony throughout the composition, and its highest praises are knocked down suddenly by a bitter blast of vituperation, all so completely huddled together, that it will be impossible for you to “make head or tail on ‘t.” Still it is admirably written; as the phrase is, “brilliant as a diamond—flashing like the lightning,” and must have been a thunderbolt to the party in view. It had the honor to eventuate a course of lectures and a publication entitled “The Jesuits,” which I have read; but the author, whose intentions were excellent, might have spared himself the trouble of invading the Edinburgh Jesuitarian, whose intention was certainly not to write up the Jesuits, but to write down some others, who merit no apologists. Verb. Sap.

† *Edinburgh Review*, *ubi suprà*, No. clii. p. 357.

in his subservience. Such a man as Francis Borgia could hardly become a persecutor."* Or rather, he might lend himself as the indirect, or direct, instrument of persecution, in obedience to his undistinguishing submissiveness—but would never cease to lament his share in the horrible perpetration. It may be asked, is it possible that Borgia was not at least aware of the intended massacre—he who was intrusted with the designs of Pope Pius V., whose atrocious advice and exhortations to Charles IX. we have perused? God only knows at the present moment. If he did, it suffices to explain the dreadful increase of his infirmities, which hurried him to his grave so soon after his return from the court of France, and five weeks after the awful event had desolated that kingdom.

Humble towards his enemies—he appointed public prayer for the enemies of the Company—kind to his subjects, gentle to all, but merciless to his own poor body, he strove throughout life to conform himself to the frightful image he had conceived of Christian perfection, and constantly displayed an example which few of his Company thought proper to follow, though they wisely made it the subject of glowing laudation.

The vast increase of his Company's establishments is to be ascribed to its own elastic energies rather than to Borgia's wisdom, prudence, or calculation. Always the "beast of burthen," he carried his men whithersoever they wished to advance, or the pope and princes directed their efforts. In the armies of Catholic princes battling with the Turks and the Huguenots, his Jesuits brandished the crucifix, and sanctified the slaughter of war. To the strongholds of vice or heresy and paganism—to Naples, to Poland, Sweden, Spain, France, Scotland, England, Germany, to the East and West Indies, to Africa, and the isles adjacent—all the wide world over, the Company sent her Jesuits to expand her power, wealth, and domination, whilst she did "good service" to her patron princes.

In the midst of this world-encircling expansion, Borgia was not without alarm for the fate of his Company. Already had it become the resort of nobles like himself—attracted doubtless by his name—the resort of great names in the circle of letters or the world's renown.—His novitiates were filled—his colleges were thronged—the Company was become the receptacle of the vain, the proud, the sensual. Some he found it necessary to expel: but to others he yielded. One young nobleman "felt himself strongly inspired and urged by the grace of the Saviour" to enter the Company: but this "grace of the Saviour" met with one overpowering objection—the young sprig of nobility "could not do without a valet-de-chambre to dress and undress him!" Borgia promised to allow him a Jesuit to perform the function, and fulfilled the promise. Another "refused to obey the voice of God, because he was accustomed from childhood to change his linen every day;—and the small dimensions and poverty of the rooms of the novices horrified" a third young lord. Borgia "gave the former his clean

* Edinburgh Review, *ubi supra*, No. clii. p. 357.

shirt every day ; and for the latter he prepared a large room which he got well carpeted."** We are assured by the same authority that these young lords became sick of the indulgences, and begged with equal ardor to be served worse than the other novices—the usual old song in honor of expedient concessions. Doubtless Borgia hoped for that result : but undoubtedly during that rush of applicants, noble and rich, some such expedients were absolutely necessary to retain those Birds of Paradise.

Borgia promoted the education of the Company with considerable vigor,—importing French professors from the University of Paris to teach in his college of Gandia, and sparing no pains nor expense in the cultivation of literature in all the Jesuit-academies :—but in so doing he merely conformed to the ambition of the Company—that " holy emulation" if you please, with which the Jesuits were inflamed, eagerly advancing to the foremost rank in all the departments of knowledge, human and divine. No " founder of a system of education" was Borgia, although during his generalate the Jesuit-system of education became " pregnant with results of almost matchless importance"—destined to begin its parturition in the eventful times of General Aquaviva.† On the contrary, there is reason to believe that he apprehended the pernicious consequences of that wild advancement in letters which left the Jesuits no time to think of the " spirit of their vocation." In a letter which he addressed to the Fathers and Brothers of the Aquitanian Province in France, he writes in prophetic terms on the subject. The object of the letter is to suggest the means of preserving the spirit of the Company, and the Jesuit's vocation. It was written three years before his death. After quoting the words: *Happy is the man that feareth alway*, and the other proverb: Darts foreseen strike not,—he strikes at the root of the evil as follows: " If we do not at all attend to the vocation and spirit with which members join the Company, and look only to literature, and care only for the circumstances and endowments of the body, the time will come when the Company will see

* Verjus, ii. 274.

† The writer of the article in the Edinburgh, before noticed and quoted, says that Lainéz was the author of the Jesuits' peculiar system of theology, and calls Borgia the architect of their system of education ; on what grounds, I am unable to discover. The " peculiar system of theology" adopted by the Jesuits was actually no system at all, but an endless variation adapted to circumstances ; so that every system of theology may, to a vast extent, find advocates in the multitudinous theologians of the Company. Certainly Lainéz advocated some peculiar views at the Council of Trent, but they were nothing new in themselves ; they might be found among the " Fathers." St. Thomas was the Company's theologian ; but according to the Constitutions (as revised) any other might be chosen at the will of the general.—P. iv. c. xiv. s. i.; ib. B. This refers to *Scholastic Theology* ; of course, in the *positive*, the doctrines of the Church were matters for the Council of Trent or the pope to decide. As to Borgia and " the system of education" attributed to him, nothing need be said except that he had neither the capacity, nor the will, to do more than favor the onward movement, which he found so determined to advance. In proof of the intellectual riot of the Jesuits at the feast of Theology, I appeal to the 83d decree of the 7th Congreg., when an attempt to settle the " opinions" of the Company was utterly abortive. See also the 31st Decree of the 9th Congreg., when the vagaries of " certain professors of theology" were complained of, long after the promulgation of the *Ratio Studiorum*! This was the case throughout the *seventeenth century*.

itself extensively occupied with literature, but utterly bereft of any desire of virtue. Then ambition will flourish in the Company ; pride will rise unbridled : and there will be no one to restrain and keep it down. For if they turn their minds to their wealth, and their relatives, let them know that they may be rich in wealth and relatives, but totally destitute of virtue. Therefore, let this be the paramount counsel, and let it be written at the head of the book—lest at length experience should show what the mind perceives by demonstration. And would to heaven that already before this, experience itself had not often taught us and attested the whole evil.” Thus we find that Borgia perceived the tendency of the spirit which was salient in the Company. The spiritual maladies which other generals cauterised in vain in their epistles, were already too apparent. The reign of ambition and pride was already begun. Already in receiving their members, the aristocrats of the Company were actuated by the spirit of worldliness, caring more for mental abilities and temporal advantages than true vocation, or the pure spirit of God resulting from a right intention in a right mind. Youths of blood, youths of wit, and youths of fortune or fine prospects, were the desirable members. Pride, mammon, and ambition, prescribed their qualifications. Such were the matters alluded to by Borgia’s prophetic warning ; and it is said that he exclaimed on one occasion : “ We have entered as lambs : We shall reign like wolves : We shall be driven out like dogs : We shall be renewed as eagles.”* Unquestionably Borgia would have totally reformed the Company in its most dangerous abuses, had it been in his power. He was no willing party to the Company’s court-favor, its worldliness, its ambition : but he was thrown upon the rushing Niagara,—and if he himself clung fast and firm on the rock mid-way, the roaring waters dashed foaming past into the gulf beneath, where they whirled and whirled for a time with strange upheavings, and then spread onwards to the gulf of destruction.

The thought is saddening : but still more painful when we think what good the Jesuits might have done for humanity in those dreadful times of transition.

This prophetic warning of Borgia was not pleasant to the Jesuits. Before the end of the Company’s first century, the prophecy respecting pride and ambition, was an old experience. Still the words were an eye-sore ; and they were accordingly altered, falsified, or expunged, “ by authority,” or otherwise. The original occurs in the edition printed at Ipres in 1611 : the amendments in that of Antwerp, in 1635, and all the subsequent editions of the Institute. As the trick is an important fact in the history of the Jesuits, I shall give the two texts, side by side, as a sample of Jesuit-invention, &c.

Edition of Ipres, 1611, p. 57.

Profectò si nulla habitâ ratione vocationis et spiritûs, quo quisque

Edition of Antwerp, 1635.

San si nulla habitâ ratione vocationis et spiritûs, quo quisque

* I actually heard the Latin of that prophecy of Borgia quoted by one of the novices : “ *Intravimus ut agni, regnabimus ut lupi, expellemur ut canes, renovabimur ut aquila.*”

accensus veniat, litteras modo adspectamus, et opportunitates, habilitatesque corporis curamus, veniet tempus quo se Societas multis quidem occupatam litteris, sed sine ullo virtutis studio intuebitur, in quâ tunc vigebit ambitio, et sese efferet solutis habenis superbìa, nec à quo contineatur et supprimatur habebit: quippe si animum converterint ad opes et cogitationes quas habent, intelligent illi se quidem propinquis et opibus affluentés, sed omnino virtutum copiis destitutos. Itaque hoc primum esto consilium et in capite libri scriptum, ne tandem aliquando experientia doceat, quod mens demonstratione concludit. Atque utinam, jam non ante hoc totum, experientia ipsa sèpiùs testata docuissest.

*impulsus accedit litteras modò spectemus, et alia talenta et dona, veniet tempus quo se Societas multis quidem hominibus abundantem, sed spiritu et virtute destitutam mærens intuebitur, unde existet ambitio, et sese efferet solutis habenis superbìa: nec à quoquam continetur et supprimatur habebit. Quippe si animum converterint ad opes et cogitationes quas habent, intelligent illi se quidam propinquis et opibus abundantes, sed solidarum virtutum, ac spiritualium donorum copiis egenos ac vacuos. Itaque hoc primum esto consilium, et in capite libri scribatur, ne tandem aliquando experientia doceat, atque utinam nunquam [utinam nondum, in edit. Ant. 1702], docuissest, quod mens demonstratione concludit.**

As the Jesuits ascribe the gift of prophecy to Borgia, and relate facts in attestation, it was certainly unfair to endeavor to deprive him of all the credit due to him for a foresight of the calamities which they were obviously preparing for themselves.

As a tribute of respect to Borgia, I shall be silent on the ridiculous miracles which the Jesuits impudently relate as having been performed by the intercession, the invocation, the relics, the portrait, the apparition, and the written life of Borgia—making him sometimes a Lucina, or midwife, sometimes a physician, or a ghost—phases of character which, however amusing in themselves, would be a very unbecoming prelude to the serious, the tumultuous, the “stirring” events about to follow the death of Francis Borgia, third general of the Jesuits.†

* See *Morale Pratique*, iii. 76, *et seq.*

† For Borgia's Miracles, see Verjus, ii. 298—337.



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